

Selected Writings of the Great Marxist-Leninist

ENVER HOXHA

**on the Life and Work of the Party, the State and the People
of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania**

1971-1977



Compiled by
NORMAN BETHUNE INSTITUTE
TORONTO, 1976



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!



ENVER HOXHA





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The Norman Bethune Institute is also publishing the "Selected Works of Enver Hoxha" in several languages following the edition of the "8 Nëntori" Publishing House, the publisher of the "Selected Works of Enver Hoxha". NBI has already published Volumes I and II in English and will be publishing other volumes as soon as they come off the press in Albania.

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**REPORT AT THE 6th CONGRESS OF THE PLA
"ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA"**

November 1, 1971

Dear Comrade Delegates!

The 6th Congress of the Party has been called to draw up a balance sheet of the self-sacrificing and heroic work the communists and all our people have done during these five years for the unceasing development of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism in Albania. As the highest forum of the Party, it has the great honour and responsibility of defining the fundamental objectives for the coming period, the tasks of the Party, and the ways of realizing them.

The 6th Congress, like the other party Congresses, will mark a new stage in our triumphant march, another step upwards of all-round progress in our socialist society.

The eyes and hearts of all the working people of Albania are turned today towards our Congress, because the life, aspirations and future of our people are closely linked with our Party of Labour, with its line and activity, because the interests of our Party, our people and our socialist Fatherland are one and indivisible.

Through its work our Congress will fully justify the unshakable confidence and love of our working class and all our working people in their Party, in which they see their tested leader, the guarantor of the victories attained and of the communist future.

Our 6th Congress is meeting on the eve of a great celebration, the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of our heroic Party of Labour. The thirty years of the life of the Party are thirty years of glorious battles and victories, thirty years of titanic struggle and work for the creation and building of the new Albania. This is the most brilliant and the most magnificent period in the age-long history of our people, when, guided by the Party, they passed

from darkness into light, when they demonstrated with unparalleled force their vitality, courage, and invincible freedom-loving spirit, when their creative talents, abilities, and energies burst forth as never before, when Albania emerged as its own master in the international arena, and stood with dignity and merit in the ranks of the advanced peoples and nations of the world.

The glory of all these victories belongs to the heroic sons and daughters who sacrificed their lives for the noble ideals of the Party and people, to those who have merged all their physical and mental energies for the strengthening and prosperity of our socialist Fatherland, to our working class, the labouring peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, to all our people who carry forward the cause of socialism in Albania courageously and with a lofty revolutionary spirit.

Embodied in all the achievements attained during these thirty years is the consistent and principled line of our Party. Its foundation has always been the life-giving teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which our Party has applied in a creative way and has defended with determination. These teachings have been the compass which has guided us in all battles. They have always illuminated our revolutionary path and will continue to do so.

The Party of Labour of Albania was created for the purpose of liberating Albania, of carrying out the revolution, of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism in Albania. Today, at the thirtieth anniversary of the Party, we are proud to see this historic mission which the Albanian communists took upon themselves in those difficult days of November 1941, successfully accomplished. Albania is free and independent, the working class holds the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat firmly in its hands and socialism has triumphed in all fields.

The red thread that runs through the entire life and activity of our Party is its stern and resolute struggle against all class enemies, its unbounded confidence in the people and unshakable reliance on their inexhaustible strength, its loyalty to the ideals of proletarian internationalism.

Fierce waves have surged and crashed against our Party and

our socialist Albania during these years. The imperialists, revisionists and all the other internal and external enemies have tried in a thousand ways to turn us from the right road, to stop our triumphant march. But our Party and people have stood like a granite rock and have smashed their attempts to conquer us and force us to our knees.

Our people have always emerged victorious because they have had and continue to have a strong revolutionary Party which has always maintained keen vigilance and kept the edge of the class struggle sharp, because a steel-like and unwavering unity has been wrought between the Party and the people. In our struggle, we have never been isolated and alone. Our Party and people have always had and felt close to them the powerful aid and support and solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, of the peoples of socialist countries, of all the revolutionaries and progressive-minded peoples of the world.

Our Party is always as young and dynamic as in the early days of its life. The thirty years that have elapsed have given it the maturity of a fighter tested in battle, have tempered it politically and ideologically, have formed it into a truly revolutionary party with its roots deep in the working class and the Albanian people, have made it a shock brigade of international communism.

The great process of all-round revolutionization which developed vigorously, especially following the 5th Congress, further strengthened the positions of socialism in Albania, increased the fighting spirit and enhanced the whole life and activity of the Party, gave an unprecedented impulse to the initiative and creativeness of the masses, to the rapid development of our people's economy and culture.

This has been a major class struggle to block the way to any possibility of the emergence of revisionism, of a turning back of our society, a struggle to constantly promote the revolution and the construction of socialism.

Our Party comes to this Congress with rich experience and great results, with an unbreakable unity of its ranks, ready to undertake new and heavier burdens for the welfare and happiness of the people, determined to carry the cause of socialism and revolution through to the end.

The proceedings and decisions of the 6th Congress will

undoubtedly give a new and powerful impetus to our revolutionary work and struggle, to the all-round development of our economy and culture, to the raising of the well-being of the people, so that our Fatherland will always stand as an invincible citadel of socialism, so that our Party will as always hold high and unsullied the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism.

I

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Our 6th Congress is meeting at a time when major contradictions and confrontations exist on a world scale, when, as never before, large class, political, economic, and military forces have been assembled and face one another throughout the globe.

The forces of imperialism, revisionism, and reaction stand on one side of the barricade, while the forces of socialism, the people's front headed by the international working class, stand on the other. The line of demarcation between them is becoming more and more distinct in all fields.

The correct understanding of these contradictions, the realistic and objective examination of the ratio of forces which are at work in the international arena, the recognition of the basic tendencies of the present world development, have decisive importance in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, in the struggle for the triumph of revolution.

The tendency of the present world development is revolution and the triumph of socialism

The events which have taken place in the world during these last five years have confirmed the correct assessment which our Party made of the situation and the tendencies of the development of international relations at its 5th Congress. In analyzing the situation in the world now, we must stress not only that it is favourable to the revolution, but also that the revolution is becoming the general aspiration of the peoples.

This assessment of the situation is not merely an optimistic statement, but an expression of the objective reality, of the historical process of world development today, in which the sharpening of social antagonisms and the uninterrupted rise and strengthening of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples,

which are shaking the imperialist and revisionist world to its very foundations and which are further deepening its all-round crisis, can be clearly seen.

Today, we are witnesses of the major class encounters between the workers and capital and its state power. The class struggle of the proletariat and the other exploited social strata has assumed such proportions, both as regards the number of participants as well as its intensity, that the present period can be compared with the most critical periods the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries have passed through. The brilliant battles of the French, Italian, Spanish, English, Belgian, and other workers, the positive and negative experiences gained, will leave indelible traces in their minds. Fierce battles are being waged between the workers and capital even in those countries which bourgeois propaganda has presented as zones of permanent "class peace". The social-democratic myth about "social evolution", about the creation of general well-being under the capitalist system, has been smashed.

The social contradictions have become very acute in the United States itself. The political, economic and social crisis of Yankee imperialism has been further deepened and the revolutionary struggle of the American people has been further extended as a result of the failure of U.S. imperialism's external and internal policy. The bastion of imperialism is shaking under the wide-scale revolt of the American Black people for equality and civil rights and of the whole people against the war in Vietnam.

It is important that in these new class battles which are being waged in the capitalist countries, political demands are coming to the fore, the revolutionary consciousness of the workers is increasing, and the breaking away from the influence of social-democratic and revisionist opportunism is becoming ever more marked.

Another feature of the class struggle against the exploiting capitalist system and the imperialist policy is the outburst everywhere of the youth and student movement, which is being turned into a powerful revolutionary force of our time. The youth of the capitalist world are not content with either their social situation or the system which has closed all the roads to the

future. They are now in search of truth, and truth is leading, and will surely lead them, towards unity with the working class, towards revolution.

World imperialism is receiving ever heavier blows from the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which is being vigorously waged everywhere. The determined anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Vietnam and of other peoples of Indochina, who have destroyed, once and for all, the myth of the invincibility of the U.S. superpower, of its military machine and modern weapons, is a brilliant example and a powerful inspiration for that struggle.

The anti-imperialist armed struggle of the peoples of Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, and Indonesia in Asia, has assumed new and greater proportions. The revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Brazil, and Colombia, Chile and Peru, Bolivia and Argentina and the other countries of Latin America against U.S. imperialism and their local oligarchies for the defence of their national sovereignty and independence, for democratic and independent development, for social progress, has developed on a broad scale. A new revolutionary situation is being created in Africa too. The peoples everywhere have been swept into the wave of struggle against old and new colonialism, against the oppressing and reactionary forces, for the defence of their freedom and independence. Neither the policy of dictate and deceit, nor the armed violence of imperialism, can subdue the will of the peoples to fight and take their destiny in their own hands.

Imperialism and revisionism are drawing down on their own heads the hatred of the peoples, who see the U.S. and Soviet revisionist policy as a danger to their freedom and independence. The peoples love freedom, they are against the brutal interference of the imperialists and revisionists, they condemn their policy of hegemony and blackmail. Anti-U.S. feelings are growing and becoming more powerful everywhere, just as the opposition to Soviet social-imperialism is increasing and becoming more powerful.

Great People's China and Albania, the countries which consistently pursue the Marxist-Leninist line and are building socialism, constitute an important factor in the revolutionary movement, an example of inspiration and encouragement for its

extension, and an unshakable base of the support for the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. Their successes in the socialist revolution, their economic, political and ideological strengthening, their determined, uncompromising struggle waged with success on two fronts, against U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism, their clear revolutionary policy, their firm support for the liberation struggle, all these things encourage the peoples and revolutionaries everywhere, strengthen their faith in the victory of their just cause, strengthen their faith in socialism, to which the future belongs.

The role of the People's Republic of China, this powerful bastion of the revolution and socialism, is especially great in the growth and strengthening of the revolutionary movement everywhere in the world.

The triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and guided by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tsetung, is a victory and a source of inspiration for the whole world revolutionary movement. The imperialists and revisionists, who by means of their agents endeavoured to strangle the Chinese revolution, were badly disillusioned. The China of Mao Tsetung remained red, emerged from the cultural revolution a hundred times stronger, the resolute enemy of imperialism and revisionism, the great friend and supporter of the peoples and their struggle.

An important event in the revolutionary movement of recent years is the growth of new Marxist-Leninist parties. Today, in almost all countries of the world Marxist-Leninist parties or organizations have been created, which are arraying themselves in the front ranks of the liberation struggle with increasing success. This is a great historic event testifying to the vitality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, proving that the perspective of the revolution and of the victory of socialism is becoming ever clearer.

The increase of the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary impulse in the world indicates that, despite their great and feverish efforts to turn the wheel of history back, imperialism and revisionism have not been, and will never be, able to change the general ratio of forces, which is tipping more and more towards

revolution. The historical initiative has finally passed into the hands of the working class and of the peoples. The road of the development of present-day human society is opened and determined by revolution.

The successful development and extension of the world revolutionary movement and the people's struggle is the most clear proof of the deepening of the grave crisis which has gripped the most hated enemies of peoples — imperialism and revisionism.

The betrayal by the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, which greatly damaged the revolutionary movement, was a temporary advantage for the capitalist system in general. But it did not rescue capitalism from its general crisis, nor did it change the course of history, its trend of development towards the revolution and the victory of socialism.

In its own plan for the exploiting system, imperialism aimed at eliminating the economic crises and at averting the profound contradictions amongst capitalist countries. Here, too, it suffered defeat. The big imperialist countries, not to mention the smaller ones, are at present passing through a stage when the phenomena of the crisis have become chronic and have created new difficulties for the entire economy. The crisis of the monetary and financial system has become an incurable disease. Inflation and the cost of living are increasing rapidly, while the unemployed are counted in millions. The severe shaking of the ruling positions of the U.S. dollar and Nixon's restrictive measures have caused great confusion and chaos in the entire capitalist world. The dollar crisis is not just a crisis of the U.S. monetary system, or of the monetary systems of the other capitalist countries. This is a manifest expression of the general economic, political, military and ideological crisis of the entire capitalist system, of its structures and superstructures, of the capitalist and imperialist regimes and alliances.

All such phenomena have added to and further sharpened the contradictions between the various bourgeois countries, and especially those with the United States of America.

The economic and political struggle between the capitalist countries is taking ever greater proportions. Economic integration and the creation of military blocs have added still

more to the ruthless competition between them. Now the European "Common Market" wants to challenge U.S. supremacy in the world market, while the new economic power of Japan, through its intrusion, is seriously cramping the expansion of the U.S. monopolies in Asia. Big squabbles have broken out in the ranks of NATO and the other alliances of imperialism. The trend of these rivalries and contradictions among the imperialist countries is to become ever deeper.

In order to consolidate its positions, to avert its economic difficulties, political contradictions, and social conflicts, imperialism has endeavoured and is still endeavouring to adapt itself to the new conditions of the class struggle both within its home country and outside it. But neither the development of state monopoly capitalism, the concentration, on a national and international scale, of production and capital, nor the militarization of the economy and the technological-scientific revolution have saved it, and such measures will never save it from its inevitable defeat and collapse. The partial and temporary solutions which they might provide, are fraught with new and still more severe contradictions and conflicts, with a still deeper and more tumultuous crisis of the whole world capitalist system.

An equally grave situation reigns now in the revisionist camp too. Our Party, in the light of its Marxist-Leninist theory, accurately predicted where their road of betrayal would lead the revisionists, predicted their all-round decline and degeneration. The crisis the revisionists are passing through is ideological, political and economic. Not only were the Moscow chiefs defeated in their attempts to establish their domination over the communist movement and the national liberation movement, but now they are unable to keep even their closest allies, the revisionist cliques in the satellite countries, in captivity.

Among the various sections of revisionism there is neither ideological unity, nor unity of action. Conflicts and squabbles amongst the revisionist cliques in power are commonplace phenomena and have reached such a pitch of tension that they might explode at any moment. Factions and trends of the most varied kinds have been created in the ranks of the revisionist parties. The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism

introduced confusion and disintegration in the ranks of these parties.

The revisionist countries and their boss, the Soviet Union itself, are beginning to suffer from the chronic ills of bourgeois society. The discontent aroused in the masses by the revisionist line is being transformed into open revolt. The events of last year in Poland demonstrated that the working class has lined up face to face against the revisionist state power. The example of the Polish workers, who came out on the field of battle, is inspiring for all the workers and peoples of the countries where the revisionists hold sway. It is a call to battle for the overthrow of the revisionist betrayal.

At the present stage, despite their powerful appearance, imperialism and revisionism are weak. Their decay and degeneration are advancing from day to day. At present they are unable to solve a single fundamental internal problem, or to achieve any of their major external aims.

The ground is quaking under the feet of imperialism, revisionism, and all other reactionaries. In our epoch, there is no force on earth that can stop the victorious march of the revolution and socialism.

We Albanian communists like all the Marxist-Leninists everywhere, regard the future of the world with optimism, convinced that it belongs to the freedom and independence of the peoples, to socialism. But at the same time our revolutionary optimism does not prevent us from seeing the threats and dangers to our country and all the peoples stemming from U.S. imperialism and its aggressive policy and from the new Soviet revisionist imperialism, which are jointly claiming world hegemony and domination.

Regardless of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world, U.S. imperialism remains the chief enemy of all peoples, the greatest oppressor and exploiter of other countries, the bastion of international reaction. As long as it remains on its feet, its reactionary nature remains unchanged, together with its aggressive and warmongering policy and strategy, which stem from the very essence of its exploiting system. U.S. imperialism cannot live without economic expansion, without political intervention and military

aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other people. Otherwise it dies, and the road is opened to revolts and revolutions.

The events of the recent years are the best proof that the imperialism of the United States has not only not given up, but on the contrary is doing its utmost, to undermine the freedom and independence of other states and to establish its world domination. It is brandishing arms, and threatening war everywhere.

The U.S. imperialists are continuing their barbarous war in Vietnam. They extended their aggression into Cambodia and Laos, too, thus inflicting destruction, murder, and grave wounds on the heroic peoples of Indochina. On the incitement and with the active and direct assistance of the United States, Israel unleashed its aggression against the Arab countries and maintains the occupation of their territories. The plots, subversive activities, armed intervention and violence in Libya, in the People's Republic of the Congo or Somalia, in Guinea or in many other countries of Asia and Latin America, have been and are the doing of U.S. imperialists. The United States is the ally and sponsor of all reactionary and fascist regimes, the chief defender of the international system of capitalist exploitation.

Open aggression is increasingly coming to the fore as a principal means to ensure the positions of economic, political and military domination of the United States in other countries. The U.S. imperialists try to realize this strategy through the policy of neo-colonialism and efforts to preserve their technological and scientific monopoly as a means of interference, oppression and exploitation.

It could be said that in practice today there is not a single free and independent country which is not being threatened by U.S. imperialism in some way, which does not feel its pressure and blackmail, which is not affected by its brutal interference.

Facing the peoples, stands a great, insatiable and barbarous enemy. For this reason the struggle against U.S. imperialism has become the supreme duty for all the revolutionary forces of our time, for all the peoples. The deep contradiction which exists between U.S. imperialism with its aggressive policy, on one hand, and the peoples with their anti-imperialist struggle, on the

other, will become ever more severe and acute. In the clash between them there can be neither periods of truce, concessions, nor retreats, as the revisionists preach. Any wavering in the struggle against imperialism is fraught with very dangerous consequences.

But U.S. imperialism is not the only enemy of the peoples; neither should we consider as its allies only the reactionary puppets directly connected politically, militarily and financially with Washington. Despite their contradictions with the United States, Britain, West Germany, Japan and other imperialist countries remain its chief partners, likewise follow the policy of economic expansion and neo-colonization towards other countries, seek to create spheres of influence, and always come out in support of world reaction. A united Europe, which is being hatched up by West European capital, aims at becoming a new imperialist superpower with claims to hegemony and domination similar to the United States and the Soviet Union. The struggle against U.S. imperialism will not be effective unless it is waged against its friends and allies too, against all imperialist powers.

The attitude to imperialism, in the first place, to U.S. imperialism, is the touchstone for all the political forces of the world. This is not just a tactical question, or a temporary solution in the existing circumstances. The attitude towards imperialism is a question of the content of the political line. It serves as a gauge for assessing practical actions, and, in the end, a demarcation line which divides two warring camps, dividing those who defend the vital interests of peoples and of the future of mankind from those who trample them underfoot, dividing revolutionaries from reactionaries and traitors.

The anti-imperialist struggle has not and cannot have the same extension and the same intensity everywhere. But it is important that the peoples stand up in the liberation struggle against imperialism, not only to make its life impossible, but also to shorten it. Only resolute resistance, the open blow for blow struggle which does not withdraw in the face of difficulties and sacrifices, can drive it back and defeat it. The duty of the revolutionaries is to make the masses of the people politically and ideologically clear, to raise their vigilance, to show them where the enemy is, how he acts, how they should organize

themselves and fight him.

An enemy just as dangerous, just as cunning and aggressive as U.S. imperialism for the peoples and the revolution, is the new Soviet revisionist imperialism.

From the time modern revisionism usurped power in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, our Party assessed the situation correctly and emphasized that a "second front" was being opened in the world against socialism and communism.

Today all of us are witnesses to the fact that the revisionist Soviet Union has been transformed into a chauvinist and neo-colonialist state. The foreign policy of the Soviet revisionists is the great-Russian policy of the old czars, it has the same expansionist aims, the same objectives of the subjection and enslavement of peoples. The appetite of the new Soviet revisionist imperialism is insatiable. Like the United States, the chieftains of the Kremlin have filled the skies with airplanes and the oceans with submarines, they are setting up everywhere they can military bases and economic markets to suck in the wealth of the peoples and to recruit agents in the four corners of the earth. Rubles and tanks, corruption and blackmail go hand in hand. There is no area in the world the Soviet revisionists are not trying to extend their imperialist influence; there is no international question in which they do not interfere in order to extract profits for their own benefit. Following in the footsteps of the U.S. imperialists, they have become the biggest dealers in arms, the most insatiable usurers, inspirers of counter-revolutionary plots and instigators of conflicts among nations.

The chronology of the actions of the Soviet revisionists during the last few years shows that their aggressive course is becoming ever more pronounced. The more the contradictions inside the Soviet Union increase, the more the squabbles and opposition in the revisionist camp, and, on the other hand, the sharper the competition with its rival and ally, U.S. imperialism, the more military adventures come to the fore in the actions of the Soviet revisionists.

The barbarous aggression against Czechoslovakia was not accidental, it was not an extraordinary situation that cannot be repeated, but the climax of an aggressive and chauvinist policy

raised to an official line, the beginning of a large-scale onslaught against the freedom and independence of many countries and peoples. The fact is that, at the same time as the open occupation of Czechoslovakia, the military occupation on the quiet of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and Mongolia was further strengthened. In practice these countries have been turned into military provinces of the Moscow empire where the Soviet generals not only maintain "law and order" but make both the policy and the law.

The irony of all this chauvinist policy, of all the efforts to dominate the peoples, is that the Soviet revisionists even try to justify their policy "theoretically" calling it "proletarian", and even "Leninist". Brezhnev came out with the infamous theory of "limited sovereignty", and his zealous propagandists are striving to convince the world that it was not tanks that the Soviet Union sent to Prague, but its "internationalist aid", that it is not oppressing its satellite countries, but is "strengthening the socialist community", that it is not exploiting them, but is speeding up their "socialist integration", and so on.

The theory of "limited sovereignty" is the theory of great-power chauvinism and expansionism, the theory by means of which the new Soviet imperialists try to extinguish any sovereignty of the other peoples, and to create for themselves the "sovereign right" to intervene wherever and whenever they want to. By denying the sovereignty of others they are trying to rob the nations and states of that which is dearest to them — their freedom and independence, to negate their national individuality, their indisputable right of self-determination and independent development, their right of equality in international life and their active participation in world relations. With their "limited sovereignty" they are trying to legalize the right of the strongest to oppress the weak, of the biggest to gobble up the small. It is a theory for the justification of imperialist aggression.

The "proletarian internationalism" of the Soviet revisionists, also, has a similar reactionary essence. The Kremlin rulers are trying to speculate and impose on the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces the distorted idea that the basic criterion of proletarian internationalism, its "touchstone", is the attitude to the Soviet Union, that all revolutionary struggles and activities

should be subordinated to the interests of the Soviet Union and its policy.

The speculation on the past and the use of theses which were correct at one time, convince nobody today when the Soviet revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and transformed the Soviet Union into an imperialist country. The attitude towards the Soviet Union remains a criterion of proletarian internationalism, but in the opposite meaning from that of the time of Lenin and Stalin, when the Soviet Union was the centre of the world revolution and its base. Today a revolutionary and internationalist is he who fights the Soviet revisionists, who exposes their treachery, who opposes their anti-Marxist and imperialist policy and line with all his strength.

The transition of Soviet revisionism to social-imperialism, the intensification of its expansionist policy and activity, have faced the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces with new tasks. The ideological struggle against revisionism remains a prime current duty which should be carried through to the end until the complete defeat of revisionism. But today this would be insufficient and would not have a successful conclusion if the present Soviet Union were not considered as an imperialist state power.

The greatest counter-revolutionary force opposed to the struggle of the nations for freedom and socialism is the Soviet-U.S. alliance. In all fields — economic, political and military — the imperialist courses of the U.S. and the Soviet Union are continuously drawing nearer to and embracing each other. In order to realize their aims of hegemony and domination, the two superpowers need each other, therefore they synchronize their watches, and continually coordinate their plans and concrete activity.

Their strategic objective is to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution, to establish their rule over the whole world. The edge of this alliance is directed against the People's Republic of China, which is the main obstacle to the realization of their counter-revolutionary schemes. The United States and the Soviet Union are doing their utmost, although it is only daydreaming on their part, to encircle and isolate China with the aim of going over afterwards to the suppression of the revolution and the

destruction of the People's Republic of China. All their activities in the field of international relations in Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceania have been subordinated to this joint counter-revolutionary strategy.

The weight of this reactionary alliance makes its presence felt in all the international conflicts and problems. Twenty-six years have elapsed since the Second World War ended, but the United States and the Soviet Union still keep their armies stationed in other countries. The two superpowers have recognized their respective spheres of influence accepting them as an accomplished fact, and try not to hinder each other in the domination and exploitation of them.

By means of secret diplomacy and in complete accord with imperialist practice, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are now striking bargains behind the scenes, over sharing between them the former zones of influence out of which the old imperialist powers have been driven, in order to "fill the vacuum", as they say. These "fruits" of the Soviet-U.S. alliance are quite clearly obvious in the Middle East, along the north coast of Africa, in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and elsewhere.

Over the big international issues the two superpowers try to come out with a coordinated policy and with a common attitude towards third parties, as in the case of the talks on disarmament in Geneva, the talks over the Middle East in New York, etc. This coordination and common stand are even clearer in the proceedings of the UNO which has been transformed into an instrument of their hegemonistic policy. In practice, no decision is taken, no suggestion is adopted, in the UNO unless it is acceptable to the two superpowers. What the United States and the Soviet Union are seeking and striving for is to force the other nations to entrust their fate to the two superpowers, so that these become arbiters not only of the foreign affairs of the other countries but also of their internal affairs. The two superpowers want acceptance of their will and the submission to their dictate to be raised to a law and norm of international life.

Strenuous efforts are being made by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists to preserve the balance of power between them, and to keep the other nations at a certain distance. All the

agreements they have reached over atomic weapons, space, the seabed, etc., aim at keeping intact this new strategic ratio, which also defines the common policy of the two superpowers. In particular they want to preserve their monopoly of new weapons and their technical-scientific superiority in the main branches of arms development, with the aim of keeping the other countries in submission and exerting continuous political, economic and military pressure on them. Nobody doubts that the strictly secret SALT talks, from which even their closest allies are excluded, have been turned into an institution not only for the coordination of military affairs discussed but also for defining concrete political attitudes and long-term joint strategy.

Naturally it would be incomprehensible and unrealistic if in the Soviet-U.S. alliance we were to see only the rapprochement and collaboration of the two superpowers, their common interests and actions. As imperialist powers, the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union also have discord, rivalry, and deep contradictions which hinder them from acting in complete harmony and unity always and everywhere. The existence and the sharpening of contradictions lies at the very foundations of this alliance, in the capitalist social system of the two countries, in their imperialist aims. The two partners, while preparing for war, are planning to seize each other by the throat.

Speculating with the contradictions which they have with the United States and with the aim of concealing their betrayal, the Soviet revisionists try to pose as anti-imperialists, as if they, too, oppose the policy of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism. But the "anti-imperialism" of the revisionists is a hoax, a device to deceive the people, to split their anti-imperialist unity, to sabotage the revolution. Any illusion about the "anti-imperialism" of the Soviet revisionists would be very dangerous, with grave consequences for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

As long as the imperialist United States and the revisionist Soviet Union are two imperialist superpowers and come out with a common counter-revolutionary strategy, it is impossible for the struggle of the peoples against them not to merge into a common trend. You cannot rely on the one imperialism to oppose the other.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying to preserve their peace, their status quo and their alliances. They demand that the peoples sit quiet, approve their policy and actions. But the peoples, the revolutionaries, and all progressive mankind wholeheartedly hate oppression and exploitation, which are equally unendurable whether exercised by the U.S. imperialists or by the Soviet revisionists.

They do not want the imperialist "peace" and "tranquility", nor do they want the present reactionary status quo which the imperialists and revisionists preach. The revolution, the struggle for national and social liberation is not the "destruction of mankind", as the imperialists and revisionists preach, but the destruction of oppression and exploitation; it is the salvation of mankind.

Of course, the revolution will not break out at the same time in all countries, nor will it triumph on the same day. It will have its zigzags, its ups and downs. But everywhere there is oppression and exploitation there will also be class struggle, there will be revolution. Now Marxism-Leninism is inspiring the world proletariat more and more with each passing day, is illuminating the road to victory for all the oppressed masses.

The true peace and the security of the peoples are achieved through struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism

Our Party and government have devoted particular attention to some important and acute special problems of international life which directly influence the fate and the future of the peoples on a broad scale.

For twelve years now the heroic Vietnamese people have been waging a life and death struggle against the imperialist aggression of the United States and its Saigon puppets. Although the U.S. imperialists have lost the war in the field of battle, although there is no hope that the situation will change to their favour, they are continuing their aggression and their efforts to oppress the Vietnamese people and to force them to their knees with desperate obstinacy. On top of that, in recent times the U.S. imperialists have extended their aggression to Cambodia and Laos, too. But the expansion of aggression showed that, today,

just as yesterday, armed violence, terror and atrocities cannot offer the U.S. imperialists any way out of the blind alley they have got into. Thanks to the united struggle of the Indochinese peoples, their unity and resolution, the strategic and tactical plans of the Nixon government have utterly failed.

Indochina has now become the main battlefield of the liberation struggle of the peoples against U.S. imperialism, therefore the victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, have been a great revolutionary inspiration for all those who oppose imperialism, who fight for freedom and national independence, for democracy and social justice. In particular they have raised the morale, the fighting spirit of the small nations and have strengthened their confidence in their own strength and in their future.

The historic lesson we draw from Vietnam is that people's war can be counterposed to the aggression of the big imperialist power with great success, that in the present conditions even a small country can defeat a superpower, provided it is determined to make any sacrifice and to march courageously on the road of freedom and revolution.

Nixon's new doctrine of the so-called "vietnamization of the war" and his manoeuvres for "peace talks" etc. cannot have any success. "Vietnamization" means extension and continuation of the imperialist aggression, so that Vietnamese are set against Vietnamese, Asians against Asians, while the U.S. imperialists dominate, suppress, exploit them, and use them as gun fodder in their aggressive and hegemonistic policy. But the Nixon plan for the "vietnamization" of the war in Vietnam failed in the face of the heroic stand of the peoples of Indochina, and it cannot lead its authors anywhere but to new and greater defeats. Nor can their friends the Soviet revisionists, who for years on end have undermined the efforts of the Vietnamese people and have exerted pressure on them to quell their anti-U.S. struggle, save the U.S. imperialists from disaster in Vietnam.

There can be no genuine peace in Vietnam and throughout Indochina until all the U.S. forces are finally withdrawn from that region and until all the U.S. military bases and installations there are eliminated. The Vietnamese people will certainly win, and this victory will be achieved on the battlefield by the

Vietnamese people who are fighting and shedding their blood. It is their right and theirs alone, to decide for themselves, independently, about their own future.

The Albanian people have been and will always be heart and soul with the fraternal Vietnamese people and with the other peoples of Indochina, they are in full solidarity with their just and heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism and its allies. We give our full support to the just stands of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam for the withdrawal of the U.S. troops and the settlement of the Vietnamese conflict.

The Middle East, too, has been turned into a hotbed of tension. The imperialist-Israeli aggression, which aims at subjecting and enslaving all the Arab peoples, has been going on for a long time. The situation has been aggravated also by the interference of the Soviet revisionists in that area, who, by posing as friends of the Arab states, are seeking to occupy strategic positions and to extend their domination there.

The zionists, the imperialists, and the Soviet revisionists are now trying to split the Arabs and to put them at loggerheads with one another, with a view to weakening their common anti-imperialist liberation front and imposing on them a peace against their vital interests. The aim of the two superpowers, which seek to take the fate of the Middle East in their own hands and to play the role of arbiter, is to divide it into spheres of influence and, on the lives and bones of the Arab peoples, build new war bases from which to launch imperialist invasions on the continents of Asia and Africa.

But the Arab peoples have not fought for centuries for freedom and independence, to defend their honour and riches, to sacrifice them now for the imperialist interests of the big powers. The price of the "peace" which the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists are offering them is very high. Furthermore, it is deeply offensive to the glorious traditions, the dignity and pride of all the Arab peoples. They have made it clear that they will not give up even an inch of Arab land and will make no deals over the Palestine cause. They have risen against the violence of the Jordanian reactionaries attempting to suppress the partisan

forces of Palestine, who stand in the front line of the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples, and have rejected the imperialist plot, which is aimed at completely and definitely liquidating the Palestinian revolution.

Our people consider the Arab peoples as traditional friends and brothers and are in full solidarity with their just cause. Our people have been and will always be beside them. We are convinced that the Arab peoples will raise high the banner of the liberation struggle against the imperialists and zionists, against the intervention of the Soviet revisionists and the deceptions of all those who pose as friends, but who are trying to stab them in the back. The Arab lands belong to the Arabs, the cause for which the Palestinian people are fighting is invincible.

The People's Republic of Albania is interested in real peace and security in Europe, in a real and just solution of the problems which have remained unsolved since the end of the Second World War, and, first of all, of the German problem.

But the situation in Europe is not as the Soviet revisionists try to present it, as if the tension has relaxed and the situation become tranquil because the Moscow-Bonn treaty has been signed, because the Soviet Union and Federal Germany have allegedly guaranteed the inviolability of the borders of the European states.

On the contrary, the conclusion of the Soviet-German treaty created a new tension in Europe, which springs from the real threats by Soviet revisionism and German revanchism against the interests, sovereignty and rights of the European countries, from their aims of hegemony and domination in our continent. Already the Federal German Republic has become the most powerful capitalist state in Western Europe, which is challenging the U.S. influence and trying to overshadow the power of France and Britain, not to mention the other NATO partners. Instead of contributing to any solution, the Soviet-German treaty creates new imperialist contradictions, rivalries, and complications, with dangerous consequences for all the countries of Europe.

The aim of this agreement is to avoid signing the peace treaty with Germany and to violate and deny the legitimate rights of the peoples who fought against Hitlerite Germany and won. But those who shed their blood in the war against nazism can never

agree to leave the hands of German militarists and revanchists free and create the preconditions for them to hurl Europe and the world again into a new slaughter. The conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany is a right which belongs to all the countries of the anti-fascist coalition, and nobody can rob them of this or deny it. By setting this question aside, the Soviet-German agreement violated the supreme interests of the German Democratic Republic, and these interests have been staked in a deal played behind the owner's back by the diplomacy of the four great powers and Bonn. This was also clearly confirmed by the Berlin agreement, in which the concessions and compromises of the Kremlin chiefs put the German Democratic Republic in a position where it was grossly disregarded and humiliated.

It is true that the peoples of Europe aspire to and need security for their freedom, independence and normal development. But the security about which the Soviet revisionists have been making a big fuss recently is a false security. The peoples of Europe cannot agree to become jointly guilty with the two big imperialist powers against their own supreme interests, they cannot agree to play the game of the two superpowers, which think only of security for their own spheres of influence and the subjection and domination of the European countries. The peoples do not expect true security from the two big imperialist powers, which are authors of the acts of aggression in Vietnam, the Middle East, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere, which maintain their bases and occupation armies in many countries of Europe, and trample underfoot the freedom and independence of sovereign peoples and countries.

In Europe there is the NATO bloc, which is an aggressive alliance dominated by the U.S. imperialists and in which the revanchists of West Germany play a major role. Its aim has been and remains the struggle against communism, the suppression of the revolution in Europe and the guaranteeing of U.S. imperialist interests. There is also the Warsaw Treaty, which has been transformed into a machine for maintaining the domination of the Soviet revisionists over the participating countries and into an aggressive force threatening the independence of other countries. What European security can we speak about when these two blocs keep the peoples of this or that part of Europe

under their heel, when they are the main pillars of the domination and dictate of the two superpowers? It is clear that so long as these two blocs exist in Europe, so long as the bases of the U.S. and Soviet armies exist in the countries of Europe, there can never be true European security.

Our country got out of the Warsaw Treaty and publicly denounced its aggressive policy and activity. By this just act we not only defended the freedom and independence of our Fatherland, but also showed that the road to defend freedom and independence, the road of peace and international security, is firm opposition to the hegemonistic and enslaving policy of imperialism and revisionism.

We hold that the peoples of Europe can and will achieve their security only by strengthening their national independence and sovereignty, in resolute struggle against the hegemonistic policy of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, against their efforts to preserve their military bases and zones of influence in Europe, against their efforts to preserve this status quo and to spearhead the war to Asia.

The People's Republic of Albania, as a Mediterranean country, is interested in and fights for the Mediterranean basin to be an area of peace and fruitful collaboration. She resolutely condemns the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers, and, in the first place, of the United States and the Soviet Union, which with their war fleets seriously threaten the freedom and independence of the Mediterranean countries. It is the duty of the freedom-loving countries and of all the progressive forces of the Mediterranean to demand the withdrawal of these fleets and to fight for this, to oppose any hegemonistic policy in this part of the world. The Mediterranean belongs to the Mediterranean peoples and countries alone.

For a long time a big fuss has been made in the world about the problem of disarmament. This has been raised deliberately by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists to lull the peoples while they intensify their aggressive plans. Facts show that while the two superpowers have a great deal to say about disarmament, while they have convened hundreds and thousands of meetings, and have set up countless committees and commissions, they are continuing the unbridled armaments race. The United States of

America and the Soviet Union have increased their military budgets as never before, have extended their military bases and the deployment of the invading troops to all the continents and seas, have concentrated their greatest and best technical and scientific forces on perfecting weapons of mass extermination, and so on.

Continuous arming is a condition of the existence of imperialism which stems from the very character of the economic order and its aggressive policy. Therefore, so long as imperialist and social-imperialist states exist, there will never be disarmament in the world. The imperialists and revisionists are arming and increasing their striking forces to occupy and redivide the world between them, to suppress the revolutions, to destroy the socialist countries, and to enslave the peoples. Their "efforts for disarmament" are aimed at disarming the peoples and at imposing their own domination on them more easily. On the other hand this propaganda is a sop to the pacifist theoreticians and all the naive who live on hope and outside of objective reality.

The armaments race, which the two superpowers try to develop in a balanced way between them, is fraught with very dangerous consequences. They are preparing for aggressive wars, which they will unleash separately or together against other countries, or even against each other. In these conditions, not only local wars, which the imperialists and revisionists unleash continuously, but also wars on a world scale cannot be excluded. Indeed, the local wars prepare the ground, for whichever aggressor, for wars on a wider scale. They are tactical advances of the imperialists' aggressiveness in their strategy for a global imperialist war. This is the aim of the conspiracies and putsches hatched up by the agencies of the imperialist and revisionist powers in various states without direct outside military intervention.

So long as the imperialists and social-imperialists arm themselves and prepare for aggressive wars, the socialist states cannot sit by with folded arms. Their arming is aimed at defending the socialist Fatherland, at opposing the policy of intervention, pressures, and blackmail, of imperialism and social-imperialism. It is directed against their attempts to violate

the rights and freedom of the peoples and towards helping the other peoples to preserve or win their freedom and national independence.

The peoples cannot fail to see that the aggressive military groupings, NATO, dominated by the U.S. imperialists, and the Warsaw Treaty, dominated by the Soviet social-imperialists, constitute the main threat to peace and international security today. Under the pretext of defence from each other, the two superpowers are making the law in these treaties, dividing the spheres of influence, launching separate acts of aggression, or aiding other aggressors in their service. Taking advantage of the power of the grouping, they are further endangering the freedom, the existence of peoples and states. The peoples throughout the world must look the situation straight in the eye, they must expose this alarming state of affairs and make all those governments which play the game of the two superpowers face up to their responsibility.

Responsibility for the aggressive actions of the two superpowers rests not only on their governments, but also on their peoples, just as it rests on the governments and the peoples of the partners in the respective military alliances. With regard to the aggression against Czechoslovakia, for example, responsibility rests not only on the Soviet social-imperialists who organized it, but also on the governments of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty which participated in this aggression, on the peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, Democratic Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary, who stood passive and permitted this barbarous act. The same can be said also for the direct and indirect aid which the U.S. partners give the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam. Participation in NATO or the Warsaw Treaty, the alliance and friendship with the United States or with the Soviet Union, is justified by their partners with the need for defence. But in this way they strengthen the superpowers, assist them to preserve and divide the spheres of influence, to carry out the policy of hegemony, dictate, and aggression.

The more organized, broad, and powerful the resistance and struggle of the peoples of the NATO countries and those of the Warsaw Treaty against the aggressive actions of the two superpowers and against their governments which support their

aggressive groupings, the more difficult will it be for the aggressors to carry out their military adventures against the peoples.

Innumerable military manoeuvres are carried out on the borders of Yugoslavia and Rumania by the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. It is clear that here we have to deal with pressure, blackmail, and threats, which, if not today, then tomorrow, could turn into open aggression against sovereign countries. Do the peoples of the countries participating in these manoeuvres not see and feel what dangerous plans and plots are being hatched up? History will condemn them heavily if they sit quiet and leave the aggressors' hands free.

The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania is a consistent and principled policy in all directions

Comrades,

Today the People's Republic of Albania occupies an honoured place in the international arena, it enjoys the respect and admiration of the freedom-loving peoples and of all the progressive forces. Socialist Albania has not been isolated, as her enemies predicted and desired, but her international ties, her authority, and position in the world have become even stronger.

The sympathy and respect she enjoys with all the progressive countries and peoples of the world, the weight and influence of our country, result neither from the size of its population nor from its economic and military power. The strength and influence of socialist Albania lie in the Marxist-Leninist ideas that inspire her, which she preserves unsullied and spreads throughout the world. They lie in the true socialist society which is being built in Albania, in the courageous, principled and consistent struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all the reactionaries.

Our country has hundreds upon hundreds of millions of comrades and friends all over the world, for it is a country that respects itself and all the peoples, for just as it resolutely guards its own freedom and independence, it wishes well and a happy future for all the other countries, too.

It is precisely because we pursue this policy and enjoy this respect, that our enemies hate us, curse us, and fight us. But this does not make us change our ways nor conceal our viewpoints

and actions. Our Party has never lacked courage in the international arena and it will not lack it at any time or under any circumstances.

The Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania are and will remain sworn enemies of imperialism and revisionism. Considering their struggle as part and parcel of the general revolutionary struggle of the peoples, they have waged an active struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against revisionism, headed by the Soviet leadership, they have resolutely condemned and exposed their aggressive policies and activities, their aims to oppress the peoples, to strangle the revolution and to dominate the world. The experience of our country until now has convinced us even more completely that freedom and independence can be defended and guaranteed only by a continuous struggle against imperialism and revisionism, without compromise, everywhere and in every aspect, and this is still as true today as it was in the past.

The correctness of the line of our Party in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism has been fully confirmed by life, it is confirmed by the victories achieved.

Conscious of its lofty responsibility to its people and to socialism, our Party will never stop half-way. It will fight with determination and with all its strength against imperialism and social-imperialism, till their complete destruction and the worldwide triumph of the revolution. Our people and Party regard this struggle as one and indivisible, because one cannot successfully oppose imperialism without also fighting Soviet social-imperialism at the same time, and vice-versa.

The foreign policy of our Party and government has been and remains principled and consistent in all its directions and components. A fundamental and firm basis of our foreign policy has been and remains the strengthening of friendship, mutual aid, fraternal cooperation, and militant unity with the socialist countries with which we are united by the ideals of socialism and communism, by the common struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

We are proud of having as our allies and friends the 700-million-strong Chinese people, the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China, with their great leader, the most

respected friend of the Albanian people, Chairman Mao Tsetung, at the head. The great Albanian-Chinese revolutionary friendship, the unity, and the all-round fraternal collaboration between Albania and China, based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on proletarian internationalism, forged in the joint struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and all reactionaries, have withstood all the tests and have brought our two countries great successes and victories.

Our Party and people immeasurably rejoice at and wholeheartedly welcome the brilliant victories that the fraternal Chinese people, under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party and of Chairman Mao Tsetung, have achieved in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in the building of socialism. The decisive and historic victory of Chairman Mao Tsetung's revolutionary and proletarian line over the bourgeois reactionary line of the renegade Liu Shao-chi, which was crowned and sanctioned at the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, has still further strengthened the revolutionary unity of the Party, has consolidated the positions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has raised still higher the militant revolutionary spirit in the country, and has opened to the Chinese people brilliant prospects for their socialist future.

Our Party and government fully support the indisputable right of the People's Republic of China to liberate the part of its territory, Taiwan.

For a long period of time the question of the re-establishment of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization has been a major international problem for the correct solution of which the People's Republic of Albania has fought resolutely and consistently.

The approval of the Albanian resolution in these last days by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, according to which the People's Republic of China is invited to take the place appertaining to her in the United Nations Organization and the Chiang Kai-shek clique is expelled from it, is a great victory for the People's Republic of China and her correct policy. This is a world-wide confirmation of the international prestige and role played by the People's Republic of China in the interest of the cause of peace and security of

peoples. This is at the same time, a brilliant victory for the People's Republic of Albania which for years on end has consistently and resolutely defended the just cause of People's China by courageously fighting against the anti-Chinese policy of the U.S. imperialists and the intrigues of the Soviet revisionists.

The Albanian people, their Party of Labour and the government of the People's Republic of Albania heartily congratulate the fraternal Chinese people, Party and government on this historic victory, which is also a victory for all the anti-imperialist forces, for all the freedom-loving peoples, a heavy defeat for U.S. imperialism.

Our Party and people are bound by a powerful friendship and socialist solidarity with the Vietnamese people, with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Just as we support their efforts for the building of socialism, we give all our support and backing for their determined opposition to imperialist aggression. We likewise support the Republic of South Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam which are the only and incontestable representatives of all the Vietnamese living south of the 17th parallel.

The People's Republic of Albania, just as in the past, is for the further development and strengthening of the friendly relations with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interest of the building of socialism in our two countries. The Albanian people resolutely support the just struggle being waged by the Korean people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for the defence of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the reunification of their homeland. We condemn the aggressive policy of the Japanese imperialists against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, as well as the manoeuvres of the Soviet revisionists who encourage their expansionist policy.

Our Party and government have supported and will always unreservedly support the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, for national and social liberation, against imperialism, racial discrimination, colonial oppression and exploitation. They support the just and heroic struggle of the Cuban people against the threats, blockades, and provocations

of the Yankee imperialists, for the defence of their national independence and state sovereignty.

Friendly relations exist between Albania and the Arab Republic of Egypt, Algeria, Syria, Libya and the other Arab countries. In the future, too, we shall strive to have good relations and mutual cooperation develop further and become stronger for the good of our peoples.

Our country has always shown good will and has undertaken constructive steps to maintain and develop normal relations with all countries with differing social systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence, equality, respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another, and mutual advantage.

While struggling against imperialism and revisionism, we strictly adhere to the principle that the internal affairs of each country are questions that should be settled by that country itself, without any imposition or interference from outside. Likewise we defend the viewpoint that all relations between countries, whether small or big, can and must be built only on the basis of equality and non-interference in internal affairs. We have established and are developing our relations with all states on this basis. The establishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and a number of countries, concluded during this last year, is a visible success of our foreign policy and testifies to the strengthening of the international position of the People's Republic of Albania. It complies with the common interests of the peoples and serves the promotion of understanding and collaboration between them.

The Party and the government have devoted special attention to our country's relations with the neighbouring countries. Friendly relations are developing normally between Albania and Rumania, which is to the mutual advantage of the two countries and meets the interests of our peoples and of socialism. The Albanian people will always support the Rumanian people's just struggle to defend the independence and sovereignty of their homeland from any outside threat.

Our relations with Yugoslavia too are developing in the spirit of good neighbourliness. Recently, trade, cultural and tourist exchanges in particular, have been extended. Despite our well-

known ideological differences, we stand for the continuous improvement of state relations in all those fields where mutual interests exist. We are friends and brothers with the peoples of Yugoslavia. We hope that the feelings of friendship, forged in the anti-fascist war, will be developed in a proper way for the common good of our peoples. In the Albanian people the peoples of Yugoslavia will always have friends who wish to see them free, independent, and sovereign, who resolutely oppose all the manoeuvres, blackmail, and threats of the imperialist powers towards our neighbour Yugoslavia.

Good relations exist between our country and Italy and Turkey. The preservation and development of them responds to our common interests. Diplomatic relations were established this year also between Albania and Greece. This is an important event which puts an end to an abnormal situation and which serves the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans.

The People's Republic of Albania is in favour of the future development of the relations between our country and the neighbouring countries in a positive direction and in those fields that present mutual interest in the struggle against the interference and intrigues of the great imperialist powers.

The friendship and understanding between the Balkan countries must have its foundations among the peoples. We do not intend to put forward or to accept proposals to form Balkan blocs and alliances. The People's Republic of Albania desires and will strive to forge its friendship with the Balkan peoples on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence. The regime of each country is a matter for its own people. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of anyone, but neither should others interfere in ours. This does not exclude mutual criticism and polemics. Socialist Albania will never allow herself to violate the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of other countries. The Albanian people have never done such a thing during their whole history, but neither will they allow others to violate their freedom, independence, and sovereignty.

The times have changed for us Albanians. If it should happen that the new czars of the Kremlin, like the old czars, various imperialists, or the chauvinist cliques of the Balkans, attempt to violate the borders of the People's Republic of Albania, the

Albanians, united to a man, will no longer be found as they were in 1878, or in 1914 or even in the time of Mussolini and Hitler. Clear accounts make for good friends.

The Albanian people who have suffered for centuries from barbarous invaders, who won their freedom by shedding rivers of blood, advise the fraternal peoples of the Balkans to guard against the intrigues of the imperialists of each and every hue, to tell them jointly, "Hands off our countries", to permit no one to abuse our friendship.

The Balkan peoples are completely capable of deciding for themselves and in a sovereign way on the relations between them. They did not make the Balkans a "powder keg". It was the foreigners, the imperialists, who did this, in the past, and it was they who held all the detonators in their hands. And they would like to bring about the same situation today. It is the duty of the Balkan peoples to cut all the fuses with the sword, so that peace and security may really be established in the Balkans.

It is only natural that our peoples need friends. But they should never become tools of foreigners to the detriment of the interests of any one people or of all our peoples jointly. This is the most sincere and steel-like alliance that can be proposed to the Balkan peoples.

It should be clear that if some Balkan state, prodded by the imperialist powers, undertakes aggression against another Balkan state, it will not be possible to avoid the intervention of the other Balkan states. This would not remain a local war, but would become the cause of a world conflict.

All the states that respect the sacred rights of socialist Albania, that implement the recognized principles on which the relations between sovereign states are based, and wish to maintain normal relations with us, will find understanding and reciprocity in the People's Republic of Albania.

The relations of our country with the East European countries party to the Warsaw Treaty are on a low level. This is not our fault. Their leaderships, being completely subject to Moscow, and blindly obeying its foreign policy, have followed a hostile policy towards our country, which, as is known, has caused Albania great damage. Although they have failed in their attempts to intimidate us and make us yield, they are persisting in

their pig-headed anti-Albanian stand. So much the worse for them.

As to the peoples of these countries, who are not to be blamed for the situation that has been created, we have been, are, and shall remain friends with them. We have always wished them well. Our Party and people, who condemned the August 1968 aggression, with the same determination support the Czechoslovak people's resistance against the Soviet revisionist occupationists and the local traitors for freedom and national independence, the struggle of the Polish people and the peoples of other countries where revisionist cliques are in power, against the revisionist domination and the policy of dictate and great state chauvinism of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Many times our Party has addressed itself to the people and communists of the Soviet Union, explaining to them in detail and in a documented way the real causes of the breach in Soviet-Albanian relations. Our people and Party are aware of the whole course of events, and it would be superfluous to repeat them.

Recently the Soviet leaders have adopted a pose of desiring the "normalization" of relations with our country. This is demagoguery from start to finish and an effort to gain a certificate of expiation. But we are not falling into their traps. We have not been intimidated by their armed threats, and neither are we to be deceived by the waving of the olive branch. They have great political, ideological and economic debts towards Albania. There can be, and will certainly be, normalization when the Soviet peoples and the genuine Bolsheviks intervene to establish Marxist-Leninist revolutionary justice on these questions.

Our people understand and defend the foreign policy of our Party and government and they carry it out consistently, right to the end, because it is a clear, correct and principled policy. The new socialist Albania has been able to cope with the furious imperialist and revisionist storms, to increase her international authority and prestige, to ensure powerful friends and supporters throughout the world, because the Party, the government, and the people have acted in complete unity, both in analyzing the situation and in the conclusions drawn and stands adopted.

This unbreakable unity, the unabated revolutionary vigilance, the sound Marxist-Leninist attitudes towards the present-day

world developments, in general, are a great guarantee that the People's Republic of Albania will march sure of its road and will always stand proudly in the first ranks of the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front, an unyielding fighter for the sacred cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades!

The 5th Congress set important tasks for the development of the economy and culture and for raising the well-being of the people. Under the guidance of the Party and with lofty revolutionary consciousness, our working class, cooperative peasantry and people's intelligentsia, accomplished all these tasks with honour. Thus, a further important step was taken towards the complete construction of socialism in our country.

The targets of the 4th five-year plan for overall industrial production and investments were achieved in four years and seven months while the workers of the city of Tirana achieved them in four years and four months. The level of industrial production set for 1970 was achieved as early as 1968. Such mighty works as the "Mao Testung" Hydro-Electric Power Plant on the Drini River, the new oil-fields, the chemical fertilizer plants, the Rogozhina-Fier railroad, and others were added to our economy. More than 200 major projects were built and put into operation in industry, agriculture, transport and other branches of the economy. All these increased the potential of our economy, further consolidating the material-technical base of socialism.

Important too are the successes achieved in the socialist development of the countryside and agriculture. On the road to its intensification, our agriculture increased production and, particularly, the crop yields of bread grain, from one year to another. In 1970, the average yield of grain was 17.3 quintals per hectare. Such productivity had never been achieved before, even in the best seasons. A great leap forward was made in extending the area under irrigation, in raising the level of mechanization, and the use of artificial fertilizers and selected seeds.

The 5th Congress launched the slogan "Take to the hills and mountainsides, beautify them and make them as fertile as the plains". This directive opened new horizons for the development of agriculture and for the flourishing of life even in the remote mountain regions. Within a short period, collectivization was completed in these regions too. The plan targets set for the cooperative peasantry to break in virgin land during the preceding five-year period were achieved and exceeded ahead of schedule. Bringing this land into use enabled many mountain villages to increase their grain production, to meet their needs for bread by their own efforts and to sell the surplus to the state. This was the first victory on the road to turning the new prospects the Party opened to these regions into reality.

During the 4th five-year plan, many steps were taken to consolidate the socialist nature of economic-social relations. The entire system of management and planning of our economy was improved. In the countryside, by means of the voluntary amalgamation of the smaller cooperatives with the larger ones, the socialization of property and labour was raised to a higher level. The cooperativists' private plot was reduced, harmonizing the general interest with the personal interest of the members more correctly. The top salaries for party and state cadres were reduced, and the difference between them and the pay of other workers was narrowed down in conformity with the principles of socialism. Material interest was put into a more correct relationship with the moral incentives, while many material incentives which had become outdated or were excessive were abolished altogether.

The self-sacrificing toil and struggle of the working masses for the development of the economy provided the essential basis which made possible the successful accomplishment of the tasks set in the 4th five-year plan for raising the well-being and cultural level of the people. In 1970, the national income was 55 percent higher than in 1965, while real income per capita of population rose 17 percent. The population was supplied better and uninterruptedly with the necessary commodities. A wide network of social and cultural services was set up in nearly every cooperative. The daily life of every rural and urban family was improved.

The extension of compulsory eight-grade schooling throughout the country was completed, making it possible to raise the general educational and cultural training of the youth to a higher level. But the most outstanding victory scored in the field of education was the program the Party put forward for the further revolutionization of the school. The implementation of this program is of extraordinary importance for the sound revolutionary education of the younger generation and for the future of socialism in Albania.

The realization one year ahead of schedule of the great mass action, the electrification of all the rural areas, is a brilliant and truly historic achievement of our socialist order, and further evidence of the constant concern of the Party and the state to bring about the all-round uplift and emancipation of our cooperativist village.

During the 4th five-year plan the state invested large funds in building dwelling houses. But a very important factor which opened up new prospects for a radical turn in meeting the needs of the workers of the towns and work centres for housing was the outburst of the revolutionary initiative of the masses to build houses with the voluntary labour of the workers themselves. During the last five years in town and countryside, about 73,000 apartments and houses have been built all told. A great work of construction, in which the unity and socialist solidarity of our people was brilliantly expressed, was done to deal with the serious damage caused by the earthquakes which hit the Dibra and Tepelena districts. With the aid of the state and the contribution of the entire people, 1,600 new houses were built and about 11,000 were repaired in record time.

Our country is the only one in the world where the people pay no direct taxes. The complete abolition of taxation on the population is clear proof of the superiority of our socialist order over the capitalist order.

The results attained in the development of the economy and culture, in raising the well-being of the people and the consolidation of our social order, are outstanding victories of our socialist construction which rightly make our Party and people rejoice, which give them new revolutionary energy and the courage to forge constantly ahead. They are a clear indication of

the correctness of the consistent Marxist-Leninist line and policy which the Party has pursued, of that enthusiasm, mobilization at work, and high revolutionary spirit which characterize our working masses.

The five-year plan which has been fulfilled will go down in history as the period of the great people's initiatives and mass heroism, when the united forces of the people, under the leadership of our Party, have made the plains and mountains quake. This is the time when old and young rose to their feet, when enthusiasm and revolutionary drive swept factories and villages, schools and mines. It is the time of conscious heroes whom no obstacle, no difficulties or storms could turn back, for whom to perform their task, to fulfil the people's orders, is the supreme and sacred law. This glorious period gave birth to such heroes as the young girl highlander Shkurte Pal Vata, the worker Adem Reka, engineer Muhamet Shehu, schoolmaster Ismet Sali Bruçaj, soldier Agron Elezi, and many others, who laid down their lives in the course of duty for the ideals of the Party and the interests of the people. Their example and image epitomized the manly stand and boundless devotion which became the inspiration of the whole people.

In this irresistible revolutionary wave the marvellous initiatives of the masses and the spirit of mass actions burst out, and this gave a new content and impetus to the work in all sectors, which showed what colossal forces remain still unrecognized and unutilized within the ranks of the Party, the working class and peasantry, the youth and the women, what inexhaustible strength our socialist order has.

Our people are modest but they have a right to be proud of their sons and daughters who themselves build factories, and install in them the world's latest equipment, who man up-to-date ships plying the oceans, who build such technically complicated projects as the Vau i Dejës Hydro-Power Station so well and in so short a time. They have a right to be proud of their new men who tackle scientific and technical problems with such unparalleled courage, overwhelm the academic norms and leave even the most optimistic expectations far behind.

This unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm, this mass heroism and this lofty spirit of initiative have not fallen like

man from heaven. They stem from that heroic and unprecedented struggle the Party and people have waged to smash the blockade imposed by the imperialists and revisionists, from the ardent patriotism and unshakable confidence of the people in their own strength, in the certainty of the future that socialism is hammering out, in the life-giving impulse which the teachings of the Party inspire. Only a great perspective gives rise to great courage; deep-rooted ideological convictions work wonders. We must preserve and further develop these great moral attributes we have acquired. We must strive with all our might to keep them always alive and unsullied, and make them a driving force in successfully solving the major tasks that lie before us.

The great victories achieved in all fields of socialist construction, the experience accumulated, and the enthusiasm and high revolutionary spirit of the working masses, constitute that powerful foundation on which the whole economic and social development of the country during the years of the 5th five-year plan will be based. The main targets of the plan which this Congress will approve stem from the continuation of the complete construction of socialist society, from the present stage, and the prospects for the development of the economy.

Our economy has reached a new and higher quantitative and qualitative level. The further development of industry is characterized by a large volume of production and, especially, by the setting up of new branches of the heavy processing industry. Big complex establishments with advanced equipment and technology have been set up. Wherever handicraft methods of production are still in use, the task has been put forward of going over to industrial methods of production. Science and new technique are being introduced gradually into all branches of the economy. Agriculture is proceeding more and more on the road to intensification.

All this shows that our economy is entering a new stage, that its further development requires a better harmonization between extension and intensification, as well as the solution of problems arising from this harmonization. Under these conditions it becomes essential that the entire development of the economy, its management and organization should be put on a firmer

scientific basis.

In compliance with the fundamental guidelines of the policy of the Party regarding the complete construction of socialist society, the main tasks for the development of our economy during the 5th five-year period will be:

To ensure the general strengthening of our people's economy on the road to turning Albania from an agricultural-industrial to an industrial-agricultural country with a view to raising the independent action of our economy to a higher level, to further strengthening the socialist order, to raising the material well-being and cultural level of the people, especially by reducing the essential differences between town and countryside and to increasing the defence potential of the country;

For this:

To strive for a further development of industry by improving its structure with new branches of production, especially of the heavy processing industry, to expand the power and raw materials base, and to utilize the resources of the country more rationally;

To attain a larger increase in the output of agriculture by further intensifying it on the basis of strengthening the scientific organization and management of production and increasing the power of the material-technical base of agriculture;

To rapidly develop technical-scientific progress in all the branches of our people's economy, to constantly improve the socialist relations in production, to deepen the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture, to resolutely apply the principle of self-reliance.

The new five-year plan was drawn up by the working masses themselves on the basis of the directives and orientations of the Party and government. The working class, cooperative peasantry, specialists and technicians, cadres from the grass roots and the centre, all together, took part in the discussions more vigorously than ever before and set the targets for the 5th five-year plan. Their high revolutionary spirit, creative thought, rich experience, self-reliance and their profound sense of responsibility for the fate of the country and socialism are embodied in the draft directives submitted to this Congress on the development of the economy and culture for the years 1971 to

1975.

During this five-year plan period, industry, as it always does, will play a vanguard role in developing the forces of production. Total industrial production in 1975 is expected to increase 61 to 66 percent above that of 1970. This means that industrial production in 1975 alone will be 12 percent higher than that realized during the entire 2nd five-year plan of 1956-1960. This fact alone is sufficient to refute the banal slanders of the Soviet revisionists, that our economy allegedly came to a standstill when they cut off their aid.

During this five-year plan period our objective will be to strengthen our extracting and heavy processing industry, in particular to further modernize and raise it to a higher level. For this purpose a series of new projects will be built with technological processes and proportions of production unprecedented before in our economy. Such are: the ferrous metallurgical combine with a full production cycle, the plant for the deep processing of oil, the big mines for the extraction of iron-nickel, chromium, phosphorites and coal, the Fierza hydro-electric power plant, the ore-enriching factories and others. Steel, cast iron, nickel, cobalt, sheet metal, tubes, high quality hydrocarbon fuels, liquid gas, urea, hydrochloric acid, and so on, will be produced for the first time. During this five-year plan period the necessary conditions will be created for a future development of petrochemistry. As a result of this development the working class will be increased, and its technical-professional level and its leading role in the entire life of the country will be raised.

Great prospects are opened in the new five-year plan also for the development of our socialist agriculture. By 1975, total agricultural production will be 65 to 69 percent larger than that of 1970 or about 3 times greater than in 1960. The production of grain, milk, meat, eggs, vegetables, and industrial crops will be greatly increased. The number of fruit trees will be 28 percent higher. By building important land reclamation and irrigation projects, especially in the mountainous regions, about 58 percent of the arable land of the country will be brought under irrigation. The number of tractors employed in 1975, calculated in units of 15 hp, will be about 40 percent higher than in 1970, or 3.5 times as

high as in 1960. It is envisaged to meet the needs of agriculture for artificial fertilizers and mechanized means, for selected seeds and breeds of livestock of high productivity, better than ever before. During this five-year period, thousands of middle and higher specialists will be trained for this very important sector of our economy.

A vast program of capital construction will be carried out in all fields of social activity. Investments allocated for the 5th five-year plan are equal to the total investments made during the past eleven years (1960-70) taken together. The value of buildings and installations for the two major projects, the metallurgical works and the Fierza hydro-electric power plant alone, is almost equal to the total investments made during the 1st five-year plan, or about 50 percent of those of the 2nd five-year plan. Altogether about 270 economic and social-cultural projects will be built.

The revolutionization of our school will be accompanied by a further extension of secondary and higher education. One in every three persons of the population will attend school. During the coming five years 20,000 specialists will be trained in institutes of higher learning, or 33 percent more than during the last 26 years, from the establishment of the people's state power to 1970. All our socialist construction in every field will be intensified under the banner of a wider use of knowledge and scientific research.

The complex and dynamic development which our economy will undergo will bring about, as always, the raising of the material and cultural well-being of the working people of town and countryside. The life of our brave and hard-working people will become more beautiful, happy and joyful. Suffice it to mention that the apartments and houses which will be built during the 5th five-year plan will accommodate a population equal to the present population of the cities of Korça, Elbasan, Shkodra, Durrës, Vlora, Berat, Fier and Lushnja, taken together.

This, in broad outline, is the program for the economic and social development of the country during the 5th five-year plan which is being submitted to the Congress for approval. Since Comrade Mehmet Shehu will submit to the Congress a special and more detailed report on the draft directives of this plan, we

will dwell here on certain of the more important problems of the economic policy of the Party for the coming five years.

Improve the structure of industrial production and strengthen its material-technical base

During the years of socialist construction our country has traversed more than twenty years of industrialization. The successes achieved have put an end to the age-old economic backwardness inherited from the past. New and brilliant prospects have been opened for the development of this vital branch of our economy. Today, the emphatically agrarian Albania of the past is advancing with firm steps towards becoming an industrial-agrarian country. The present productive potential of industry, together with the working class and the technical cadres, constitute that basis which now permits the industrialization of the country to be raised to a new stage.

Consistently pursuing the correct policy of creating a powerful national industry, in this period the main objective of our industrialization will be the utilization of the natural resources of the country on a wider scale and with a greater economic effect so that the greatest and most urgent needs for expanded reproduction will be met. In line with this orientation, the development of heavy and light industries, extracting and processing industries, will be continued simultaneously, in the proper proportions according to our needs and possibilities, in harmony, always, with the development of agriculture and the other branches of our economy.

In the implementation of this general orientation stage by stage, the main task of our industrialization remains the expansion and improvement of the structure of our industrial production. This is precisely why our industrialization during the 5th five-year plan will continue the development of the existing branches and the setting up of new branches of the heavy processing industry.

The establishment for the first time, of the ferrous metallurgical industry is of exceptional importance to our whole economy. The metallurgical combine which will be built in Elbasan, a gigantic undertaking which will strengthen the

independence and self-action of our economy, will ensure within the country the raw materials essential to the development of the engineering industry, and for its eventual transition to a machine producing industry, greatly strengthening the material base of construction work.

In the complex development of industry, priority during this five-year period, too, will be given to the branches of industry extracting minerals and fuels. This will be done for the purpose of extending the raw materials base for metallurgy and for the chemical industry, for the purpose of increasing exports of minerals, as well as of strengthening the power base which is so necessary for industry itself and for our people's economy as a whole. In line with this, it is planned that production of certain main products in 1975 should reach the following targets: oil 2,700,000 tons, coal 1,250,000 tons, chrome 900,000 tons, copper 600,000 tons, iron-nickel 650,000 tons. Never before have these products had such high rates of growth. Therefore, the party, state, and economic organs, the workers, technicians and specialists on this front vital to the problem of industrialization, must exert all their strength and ability to realize and exceed them.

In order to realize the plan successfully in the extraction industry it is necessary to concentrate the principal means and forces, first and foremost, in the existing mines, securing most of the increase in production from them. The attainment of this objective requires that the known reserves in these mines, and their rational exploitation, should be increased.

The guarantee of the realization of the tasks for the extraction of minerals and carbohydrate fuels depends to a large extent also on the special role geology has played and plays in the development of the extracting industry. It must meet the ever growing needs for raw materials of the processing industry, both for today and for many years to come. Therefore, a wider knowledge of the underground resources already under exploitation, the discovery and utilization of new valuable resources, raising the reserves discovered to the category of industrial reserves, as well as the rational exploitation of the existing equipment, should be considered among the most important tasks of our geological workers. The realization of the

planned targets for prospect-drilling should never be considered as an objective in itself, but should be assessed by the quantity of the reserves of minerals which are extracted or disclosed for the first time.

As in the past, special attention will be attached to increasing the production of electric power. The electrical industry should have precedence over other industry and over all the other branches of the economy. Therefore its rate of development should be higher than the rate of increase of overall industrial production. Our taking this road is dictated by the need to equip labour with more power as an essential condition for applying the new equipment, to lighten the burden of labour and increase its productivity in all branches of the economy. For this reason, it is envisaged that in 1975 the production of electric power will reach more than 2 billion kWh, that is more than twice as much as in 1970. This quantity will meet the needs of our economy and of our population.

A special role in strengthening the technical base of industry itself and of the other branches of our economy should be played by the engineering industry. Its primary task has been and continues to be the ensuring of the technical readiness, and the exploitation of the machinery and equipment which our economy has at its disposal without interruption and with high productivity. On the other hand, an equally important and urgent task of our engineering industry is that it greatly and continuously improve the quality of the spare parts produced. No matter how much production of this branch may increase, if the quality of these products is not raised to a higher level, the burden on our economy of importing spare parts will not be eased.

In the conditions when steel, rolled metal, and cast iron are locally produced, when the question is raised of giving a further impulse to technological and scientific progress, new and greater prospects are opened to this branch of industry. It must not restrict itself simply to the production of spare parts, but the time has come for it to go boldly into the production of machines as well. This has become an urgent need for our economy, which must be faced step by step but with determination, in line with the new possibilities which will be created. In this so important but

complicated a matter, we must start, first of all, on those machines, mechanisms and items of equipment which our economy needs most, which can be produced in a series, and which lighten the burden of imports.

It is necessary to further intensify specialization and cooperation in production so that the engineering industry may respond better to its present and future tasks. Regarding this problem, the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee has drawn up a detailed and long-term program of action. Up to now, however, one notices that there are many delays in the implementation of this program, that many tasks arising from it have not yet been solved. In the future, in order to see this important problem through, it is necessary that better, more coordinated work be done at the regional and national level, overcoming all narrow local or departmental interests, and any bureaucratic obstacle.

The development and structure of industry have always been closely linked with the needs of the other branches of our economy. This has made it possible to preserve the balance between the development of industry and agriculture, so that industry can serve directly in the development of agriculture. Proceeding along this correct and tested road, the development of industry during the 5th five-year plan will be more closely linked with the needs of agriculture for its further modernization and intensification. For this purpose, it is planned to raise the production of chemical fertilizers in 1975, 77 percent higher than in 1970, reaching 330,000 tons, and to further expand the production of chemicals used in fighting plant pests and diseases. Parallel with this, the production of spare parts for tractors will be doubled, the production of new agricultural machinery and equipment will be undertaken, measures will be taken to prepare more processed stock foods, to increase the means of transport and other materials of reproduction which agriculture needs. All this will be a major contribution made by our socialist industry to the development of agriculture.

Although the main manpower and financial resources, and material means will be used, during this five-year period too, for the development of heavy industry, no excesses will be allowed which might impair or slow the development of light industry. In

deciding the proportions between heavy and light industries, priority will be given to heavy industry. This has been and continues to be a correct and unshakable principle regarding the development of our industry.

Today, our production of mass consumption goods does not always conform as it should to the buying power of the people.

To correct this discrepancy, during the 5th five-year plan period the production of mass consumer goods will be increased at a higher rate than the money incomes of the population. This increase envisaged for mass consumer goods must be regarded as the indispensable minimum and not as the maximum which should be realized. Therefore, the organs of the Party, state and economy should do their utmost to encourage and support every initiative of the workers to increase the production of mass consumer goods, especially, by setting up new sectors and lines for those commodities for which the demand is greatest. In this direction, the collectives of the heavy industry enterprises should also give greater assistance than they have done until now.

The producers of goods for daily use should take all the necessary steps to fulfil the plan without fail according to assortments and quality and to come as near as possible to meeting the real demands of the market. A situation has now been reached when, without neglecting for a moment the struggle for quantity, unceasing efforts are necessary to produce commodities for the people in greater variety, more durable, more attractive, and cheaper.

These tasks of our light industry have a political significance as great as their economic importance. They have to do with the daily needs of the people. The fulfilment of the demands of the workers, the rapid circulation of money and the increase of its purchasing power are dependent on the quantity, structure, and quality of the goods for use.

The Central Committee of the Party is fully convinced that the workers of this branch of our economy will exert all their strength and knowledge to make a radical turn in this direction in order to achieve successfully and exceed the targets which the 5th five-year plan sets before them.

The principal directions of our Party's policy for the development of agriculture

Although the aim is to turn socialist Albania into an industrial country, agriculture still remains the basic branch of our economy. The firm reliance of our national economy on both industry and agriculture is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition for its rapid and harmonious development, for raising the level of its independent action. For this reason our Party's policy for the development of agriculture has always had the aim that the deepening of the socialist revolution in the countryside must lead to the development of the forces of production in agriculture as well.

And indeed, every year that passes is an ever better testimony to the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party in this field too. The socialist order has already triumphed completely in our countryside and the entire life of our peasantry, their economic and social relations, their mentality and psychology are being ceaselessly transformed on a revolutionary basis. Agriculture has made great and all-round progress.

Our agriculture marked further successes during the 4th five-year plan period. In 1970, total agricultural production was 33 percent higher than in 1965. Nevertheless, because of a series of subjective and objective factors, agriculture did not fulfil all the targets set for the 4th five-year plan period. This in turn caused difficulties and temporary disproportions in our people's economy which must be overcome without fail to avoid hindering the rapid, overall development of the country.

During the 5th five-year plan period, the requirements of the population and the economy for agricultural and livestock products are increased in larger proportions than during the past. This raises the urgent need for the rapid development of agriculture, which therefore should be viewed as the decisive link for the successful accomplishment of the five-year plan.

The main objective, the basic task, of agriculture during the 5th five-year plan period, too, remains to increase production of bread grain. For this purpose it is essential to see to it that grain production becomes as reliable as possible and increases at a high

rate from one year to another. In 1975, as against 1970, it is planned to increase grain production by 50 to 55 percent. This increase meets the needs of the population and the economy for grain while coping with the needs of livestock for concentrated feed to a greater extent, and further increasing emergency reserves. The accomplishment of this task will be a major victory.

While concentrating our efforts and means of increasing bread grain, we must fight just as hard to develop the other branches of agriculture, industrial crops and animal husbandry, vegetable and fruit-growing. In 1975, as against 1970, it is planned to increase the production of industrial crops as a whole by 80 to 85 percent, including sunflower by 145 percent. Major efforts will be exerted also to develop animal husbandry, especially to increase the production of milk by 68 to 72 percent.

We are always speaking about changing the structure of the people's food, of making it better balanced and richer, in conformity with the physiological needs of man. For this the production and yields of all kinds of vegetables and fruits must be increased to ensure ample supplies of them for the working people all year round. In this way, not only will the people be supplied with more products of high nutritive value, but the possibilities will be increased for the use of more grain or wider areas of land for livestock farming.

In order to accomplish the great tasks facing agriculture successfully, it is essential to continue the correct course towards its further intensification. During the 5th five-year plan period, large and all-round investments will be made for this purpose, not only in the lowlands but also in the mountain regions. The objective of this is to achieve such productivity in field crops and the livestock as to ensure the overwhelming part of the increase which overall agricultural production will achieve during this five-year period.

The development and intensification of agriculture will, of course, be greater on the plains. At the same time, the attention and efforts to promote the development of agriculture in the mountain regions as well will be increased. Along with the intensification of agriculture the breaking in of new land is our permanent task so long as there are areas of land that could be worked and become productive.

The utilization of virgin land and the intensification of agriculture require, above all, a higher level of mechanization of the work processes. Without the complex mechanization of work processes everywhere, on the plains and in the mountains, our agriculture will not be able to achieve the results required of it and the cooperativists will not be able to revolutionize their concepts completely about work and modern agriculture. For this purpose we must strive for the greatest possible mechanization of the work processes in agriculture.

Our agriculture will have everything it needs to accomplish the major tasks it faces in this five-year period. The material and technical base of agricultural production is being expanded from day to day. The cooperativist order has been strengthened by going over from the small-scale and limited property of the group to enlarged cooperatives. Our peasantry is patriotic and revolutionary, always prepared to fight and work for socialism, to carry out the Party's teachings. The workers and cadres of agriculture have accumulated experience over many years.

But from the broad public discussion of the Letter of the Party's Central Committee "On the Need for a Radical Turn in the Improvement of the Organization and Strengthening of the Discipline of the Work in Agriculture" it turns out that, notwithstanding the progress achieved, there are significant shortcomings in the activity of the agricultural cooperatives and state farms. These shortcomings stem from the old conservative views about agriculture, from the old concepts, forms and practices of management, organization of the work and planning. The discussion also showed in a convincing manner that all the possibilities and favourable social and economic conditions exist for the state farms and agricultural cooperatives to be transformed within a short time into developed economies with high levels of productivity.

To accomplish the task of raising the cooperatives to the level of up-to-date economies, it is essential to advance further in their specialization. Our agriculture cannot develop successfully with "mosaic" economies which plant all kinds of crops and raise all kinds of livestock. Neither should it have a narrow, one-sided specialization. It needs a specialization which will allow a more correct, more rational concentration and distribution of

agricultural crops and livestock, both among the different districts and among the cooperatives of the same district. The final goal of specialization in agriculture is to increase agricultural and livestock products in ever growing proportions, while continually lowering social expenditure per unit of production.

The specialization of each agricultural cooperative or district should be supported with economic arguments, prepared from an all-sided view and must not be done in a hurry.

In the context of specialization, the solution of the problems connected with the modernization of animal husbandry requires special attention. Intensive livestock farming cannot be based on either the sheep or the goat which have prevailed traditionally in the agricultural economies of our country. Therefore, the necessity arises of bringing about, within a relatively short period, a radical change in the structure of our livestock farming, giving priority to the increase of cows, and on this basis restricting the number of sheep and goats according to an organized plan. On the other hand, the efforts to intensify our livestock farming absolutely must be associated with ensuring the necessary stocks of feed, both for the cattle of the socialist sector and for the house cattle of the cooperative members. To advance more rapidly in this direction, it is necessary to fight the conservative views which have been deeply implanted among our peasantry under conditions of the prevalence of extensive livestock farming for a very long time in our country.

The complex tasks put forward for turning the cooperatives into economies of high productivity cannot be successfully accomplished without placing all our agriculture on a broader and more profoundly scientific basis. The time has come for the work of the cooperativists to be combined better and more closely with scientific knowledge, for science to be introduced to a greater extent in all the branches of agriculture, for strengthening the discipline of scientific agronomy, for carrying out its demands at the proper time and to the letter, in every process of production. Therefore, our Party calls on the workers, cooperative members, specialists and all the leaders of agricultural economies to study persistently and apply zealously the conclusions of science and agronomic technique.

The realization of the many great tasks in agriculture demands that every able-bodied person in the countryside, man or woman, boy or girl, throw himself into work all year round, in summer and winter, in good or bad weather. It is essential, likewise, that every job in agriculture should be tackled with strict socialist discipline. The loss of even one working hour must not be permitted. Everywhere and at all times work should be done on the basis of well-established work norms based on scientific criteria and on advanced experience which will serve to measure up the work done with just as much accuracy as in industry.

At the present stage of development, our agriculture stands in great need of specialists and cadres, of qualified people who love agriculture heart and soul and who are closely bound to the village. To fulfil these needs as quickly as possible, steps will be taken to set up throughout the country a wide network of technical-vocational schools to be attended by the village youth, the cooperative peasants and all those who want to put all their efforts and ideas in the service of agriculture. In addition, it is necessary to look for more suitable forms of remuneration for the working people of agriculture which will stimulate increased production and better quality work, and which must take into account their experience at work, their level of qualification, the difficulties of the job and so on.

At the present stage of the complete construction of socialism, we should further intensify the work of reducing the essential differences between village and town. The results achieved in this respect are great, but they must be pushed ahead, firmly based on the real situation of our countryside, on our specific national characteristics and economic possibilities.

The Central Committee of the Party has reached the conclusion that the present economically strong cooperatives of the plains should be turned into cooperatives of a higher type, the state taking a direct part in them with non-returnable social means. These cooperatives will continue to be the collective property of the group, while the state will assist them to make capital investments of proportions bigger than their indivisible funds permit and will provide them with more machinery, pedigree livestock, selected seeds, and so on. Although the relations of distribution resulting from the property of the group

will be preserved in these cooperatives and the members will keep their private plots, the forms of management, of organization of the work and payment will be similar to or the same as those of the state farms. The cooperative members will be paid according to their work with a guaranteed wage based on the income of the cooperative.

The setting up of the cooperatives of the higher type is of major theoretical and practical significance for the present and the future of our socialist agriculture, for the complete construction of socialism in the countryside. The immediate aim of this measure is to achieve a more rapid development of agriculture in our country's most fertile fields and to ensure a stable increase of production of those agricultural and livestock products of which our people's economy stands in greatest need. On the other hand, these cooperatives will represent a higher level of the socialization of the property of the group, bringing it closer to the property of the whole people. Life, the revolutionary practice of our socialist construction, will show us later the other stages through which this process will have to pass. It will indicate the measures that should be taken to gradually eliminate those differences which exist today between these two forms of socialist property.

Our Party has always considered the improvement of life in the countryside as a principled problem of primary importance for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, for reducing the differences between town and countryside, and for improving the general well-being of the people. Our Party has always viewed any stand which does not take into account the needs and interests of the peasantry as an unconscious hangover of the underestimation of the countryside, as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology.

Resolutely following the correct Marxist-Leninist road regarding the economic links between the agricultural cooperatives and the state, the system of compulsory deliveries of grain to the state has been abolished, the system of voluntary deliveries, with a price differentiated between the mountain zones and the plains, has been established. It has been decided also that industrial products which are used for reproduction in agriculture are to be sold to the cooperatives at prices the same as

for the state farms. In order to bring the living conditions in the countryside nearer to those of the town, the supply of the rural areas with industrial and food products will be improved. The needs of the rural areas for education, culture, and health services will be met to a greater extent than heretofore with social funds. A major victory of our socialist order is the establishment of the system of pensions for all the cooperative members using the funds of the state and of the cooperatives themselves. This measure is of great political, economic and social importance to our labouring peasantry. This is a further step ahead towards improving the well-being of our cooperative workers, towards bringing the living conditions in the countryside nearer to those in the towns, and will serve as a powerful stimulus to the progress of agriculture and our socialist countryside.

The tasks assigned to agriculture by the 5th five-year plan are great and difficult but realizable and inspiring. Their aim is to turn our plains, fields, pastures and mountains into flourishing gardens from which to take ample production to make the life of the people richer and more prosperous. We should utilize everything judiciously and frugally. Nothing should escape the eye, the keen mind, and untiring hand of our cooperative peasant, from the soil to its products, from animals to the grass, from the bees to flowers.

The Central Committee of the Party is fully convinced that the tasks that lie before us will be transformed into a militant working program for our cooperative peasantry and all the agricultural workers. The problem of agriculture, of its speedy development and modernization, should become more and more the concern of all our people, of our whole national economy.

Raise the effectiveness of investments and capital construction

The practical implementation of the majestic program for the economic and social development of our country during the 5th five-year plan period requires that we provide the appropriate financial and material means for investment and capital construction. During this five-year period too, the overwhelming bulk of these means will be provided by our internal resources, following, as always, the correct revolutionary course of relying

on our own efforts. In these circumstances, raising the economic effectiveness of these investments and tightening up the savings regime assume special importance and significance.

During the 5th five-year plan period, it is envisaged to increase capital investments by 70-75 percent as compared with the 4th five-year plan. The volume of investments during this five-year period will be greater than the investments made during the 21 years from 1946 to 1966. Investments for the development of industry are nearly 2.5 times greater than in the 4th five-year plan and represent 66 percent of the total investment for the development of economy and culture.

Such large investments are unprecedented in our economy and an indication of its ever growing strength. It is a great success for our economy to provide them. At the same time, we are conscious that they constitute no small burden for the present level of our national income and call for a considerable increase in the fund of accumulation, raising its norm 34 to 37 percent. The maintenance of the norm of accumulation at such a high level is dictated by a series of internal and external economic and political factors, which make it essential to carry out during this five-year period that magnificent program envisaged for the development of our economy, especially of industry, to create a powerful and stable economy capable of independent action regardless of any unexpected developments that may arise.

Our task of coping successfully with this need is made much easier by the great, unsparing, and internationalist aid which the fraternal People's Republic of China is giving our country for this five-year plan. This is a further tangible expression of that sincere and revolutionary friendship which links the Albanian people with the Chinese people, which unites our two Marxist-Leninist parties. The Albanian people and their Party of Labour are profoundly grateful to the Chinese people, to the glorious Communist Party of China and to Chairman Mao Tsetung for the fraternal aid they are giving us for the construction of socialism, to make our socialist Fatherland prosperous and powerful.

With the aim of achieving the maximum fulfilment of the needs of our economy, we must see to it that every project, factory, sector, line of production, newly built or reconstructed,

is planned with minimum expenditure, fighting any demand in excess of the plan, and enforcing a strict regime of savings in raw materials, electric power, and so on. All the projects designed for capital construction should be viewed from this angle. Very much greater care than heretofore should be devoted to economizing financial and material means and especially secondary investments.

All organizational, technical and designing measures must be taken to build the projects on time and put them into operation by stages, without waiting for them to be absolutely complete. Any delay or prolongation of the schedule for their completion ties up means and creates other undesirable consequences.

During this five-year plan period, the construction workers are faced with a great task. To carry it out, they must take all the necessary steps to introduce industrial methods on a broader scale in construction work and to increase the mechanization of work processes from the very simple to the very complicated, especially on big jobs, to save manpower as much as possible. Organization of the work and technical discipline must be raised to such a level as to turn building sites into assembly yards to implement the Party's militant slogan: "To build faster, better, and cheaper".

Experience has shown that the effectiveness of capital constructions cannot be raised without improving the designing work. Despite the improvements made, steps must be taken to simplify designs, fighting any trend to unnecessarily heavy construction, as well as to spread the use of the lightest possible structures. The problems of architecture deserve still greater attention, to make it more attractive and more variegated, so that our towns and villages are built to be more beautiful and adapted as well as possible to a cultured life for the working people.

For the successful implementation of the great program of capital construction a special role must be played by the building materials industry, the development and modernization of which is essential if it is to cope with all the construction in the towns and rural areas. It is high time for this branch of industry to step up the production of prefabricated elements in general and in particular those which are easier to assemble, and to begin the production of those materials which can replace materials in

short supply.

The various kinds of transport will be further developed in order to cope with the large volume of movement of the social product and of capital construction during the 5th five-year plan period. In particular railway transport, which, under our conditions, offers the greatest economic advantages, will be further intensified. For this purpose, the network of railroads will be extended and the most important industrial projects will be linked by railway lines. As a result railway transport will increase about three times and will represent about 41 percent of the total volume of transport planned for the system of the Ministry of Communications. In compliance with the territorial conditions of our country, road and sea transport will be further expanded.

The productivity of labour must be increased unceasingly at the highest rates

With the present proportions which social production has taken in our country, the maintenance of its high rate of development cannot be thought of without, at the same time, raising the productivity of labour. Therefore, for the development of our economy we will follow the same course as we have done until now of harmonizing the increase of the number of new workers with the increase of the productivity of social labour. This remains a question of principle for extended socialist reproduction. In the final analysis, this has to do with the correct solution of such economic and social problems as the increase of the nominal wages of workers, reduction of costs and increase of accumulation, avoiding the wholesale withdrawal of labour power from the rural areas to the cities, etc. Therefore, the uninterrupted increase of the productivity of labour should increasingly become the main way to advance the development of our industry and the economy as a whole. Our workers and cooperative peasants, specialists and cadres should always be racking their brains to find ways of increasing productivity, of saving and lightening the work of man as much as possible.

The successes already achieved in raising the productivity of labour in our economy are not small. But during the 4th five-year plan period there were some deficiencies, with planned targets

for the increase of productivity not achieved. As a consequence of the slow rate of increase of the productivity of labour, the increase of industrial production was due almost entirely to increasing the number of workers above the planned limit. This caused a disproportion between the increase of production and the wages fund. Of course, this should be regarded as a temporary phenomenon in our economy, but still one that must be overcome and as soon as possible.

There are great, all-sided, and inexhaustible possibilities and reserves for a rapid increase of productivity in our economy. Proceeding from this reality we must see to it that during this five-year plan the increase of the productivity of labour should account for about 70 percent of the increase of social production, 56 percent of the increase of industrial production. Ninety percent of the increase of the volume of construction and about 80 percent of the increase of agricultural production will come from the increase of yield of crops and livestock production. This is one of the most important tasks of the plan which should be appreciated in all its seriousness by the organs of the Party, the state and the economy, by the working class, the cooperative peasantry, and all the cadres and specialists.

In order to accomplish the task regarding the uninterrupted and rapid increase of the productivity of labour, our main efforts should be concentrated on deepening the technological and scientific revolution. Technological progress in our country has already become the order of the day and has turned into a broad movement of the working masses in town and countryside. Our task is to extend this movement and carry it constantly forward, waging a determined campaign against conservative concepts, bureaucratic practices and everything else that hinders its progress. The thing is that the technological and scientific progress should include all those material factors on which the increased productivity of social labour depends, and, first and foremost, the implements, machines, equipment, and instruments, with the aim of introducing a higher and more complex stage of mechanization of the work processes and a more perfect technology and organization of production.

Good results have been attained in mechanizing the work processes since the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the

Party and the struggle to carry out its decisions. However, progress has been very slow in solving this problem and we are still far from achieving those objectives which the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee set for us. Therefore, it is essential for the Party, state and economic organs to take this job properly in hand, and for each ministry, enterprise, workshop, factory, mine, agricultural cooperative and state farm, individual plans for mechanization must be drawn up because manual work is still widespread in all sectors of our economy.

The bringing in of highly efficient machines and mechanisms from abroad will continue to play an important role in mechanization, but this will always be done within the possibilities of our economy. The problem is that the mechanization on a wide front must be done through our great internal reserves and possibilities, with the funds at our disposal and with our marvellous people, from the simplest mechanisms for mass use to the modernization of whole factories and workshops, as is being done in many cases.

There is a big internal reserve for raising the productivity of labour also in the continuing improvement of technological processes. Any radical improvement or change in the existing technology throws a heavy burden on the technological bureaus, those of construction, and the laboratories, which should work according to a program and with perspective. In this respect, it is necessary that scientific research, designing and teaching institutions extend their assistance and all-round participation.

But for any change in the material factors of productivity to yield the maximum effect, it is essential that it be associated with an increase of the role of the workingman as the decisive factor in production. Our most immediate reserves and possibilities for increasing the productivity of labour should be sought in the improvement of the utilization of working time, in the establishment of sound proletarian discipline at work, by intensifying both the state supervision and the direct control by the working class.

To set this problem on the right path, the organs of the Party, state and the economy must take all the concrete organizational measures to strengthen the large-scale and detailed socialist organization of the job. A splendid example of the perfect

organization of work and conscious revolutionary discipline has been set by the mass actions with concentrated blows. We must extend this good experience to every enterprise and cooperative, sector and brigade, to every job.

The rapid development of our economy, the speedy introduction of advanced equipment and technology, the application of new and more efficient methods of work and production, raise more and more new demands in regard to norms of work and remuneration. If these demands are faced squarely in the light of the present situation in this field, a number of urgent problems which need solution will be seen. In the first place, the problem arises of extending working to norms everywhere, and of reducing to the minimum the number of workers working without norms. All the necessary measures should be taken also for the earliest possible establishment of technical work norms based on scientific criteria. As regards remuneration for work, it is necessary to further improve its forms, always keeping in mind the socialist principle "to each according to his work", differentiation according to qualification, and the incentive to increase productivity and production without impairing quality.

The great task of raising the productivity of labour more rapidly cannot be accomplished without raising the qualification, the technical-professional level of the working class, the peasantry and of all the working masses. On the other hand, this is dictated also by the rise of the level of the material and technological base of production, by the modern machines and factories which are coming into use and which cannot give the desired results in quantity and quality without qualified manpower.

The standard of living of the people must be constantly raised

All our economic, political and social development has always aimed at serving the interests of the people, at ensuring for them a life of happiness and prosperity, of freedom, democracy and independence. Therefore, during the 5th five-year plan period, every effort will be made to meet the ever greater material and cultural requirements of the people as fully and as well as possible.

Our Party will continue to pursue its correct policy with regard to raising well-being: to attain the general well-being of the whole people; to meet the most urgent and widespread economic, cultural and social needs of the workers; to continually reduce the differences in levels of income and standards of living between town and countryside, between the various groups of the population.

The practical application of this policy during the 5th five-year plan period is embodied in the increase of the national income and its ultimate use. In 1975, as against 1970, the national income will increase by 55-60 percent, the consumption fund 50-55 percent, the income per head of population 14-17 percent, while the volume of retail trade circulation will increase by 36-39 percent.

The social consumption fund has been set at such a level as to meet the requirements of the population for education, culture, health services, social insurance and certain other social needs. In 1975, per capita expenditure by the state for these needs will increase about 60 percent above that of 1970 and will represent 22-27 percent of the total consumption fund. This expenditure, which is very high, expresses not only our ever growing economic potential but also the superiority of our socialist social order over the capitalist and revisionist order. Only the socialist order completely frees the workers from that continuous anxiety and the difficulties they encounter in meeting their needs for education, culture, and health services in the capitalist countries.

In the struggle to fulfil our task as well as possible in raising the people's well-being, our socialist trade must play a major role. All our commercial activity should be directly adapted to providing the people regularly and uninterruptedly with the goods they need and demand most, to distributing everything that industry and agriculture produce and which the people need, and dispatching them to the consumer on time, to serving the working people in the most cultured way. The economic-social mission of trade is to play a greater role and exercise a more active influence than it has done up to now in stimulating the production of high quality goods, in extending the range of them, as well as in preventing production of those commodities which are of poor quality or unattractive to the public. Therefore, the

organs of trade and all their workers should continually study and become acquainted in detail with the consumers' demands, with the differences that occur in these demands among various groups of workers and in different districts.

It is of major principled and practical importance to get a good and all-round understanding of how workers live, of making their lives easier, of the services, both collective and individual, which should be set up for them. In this context more efforts than heretofore should be exerted to expand and improve public catering and community services in town and countryside, to create better conditions for the people to spend their free time, and so on. Above all, steps must be taken to raise the cultural level of services, to improve their quality and shorten the time required to carry them out as much as possible.

Special efforts should be made to improve drinking water supplies to the villages, and to link them with motor roads. For the solution of these two problems all our cooperative peasantry should be rallied, the state should give greater aid than it has done so far in providing financial and material means, cadres, specialists and technicians, while the towns should give all the help they can. The great revolutionary experience that was accumulated during the mass action for the electrification of all the villages should be utilized and further enriched for the solution of the above-mentioned problems.

The turn which has begun in the construction of dwelling houses will become more apparent during this five-year plan period. With social investments and the direct voluntary labour contribution of the workers during the 5th five-year plan period 40,000 new apartments will be built in the towns and work centres as against 29,000 built during the 4th five-year period. This will greatly assist to normalize the housing problem of the town workers. This is a bold undertaking which highlights the superiority of the socialist social order over that of capitalism and the concern of our Party to solve this acute problem of the life of our workers.

A happy and joyous life for our people would be meaningless and unattainable without protecting their health. Therefore, care for the health of the people, for prolonging their life-span, has been and continues to be an integral part of the policy of the

Party in raising their well-being. All-round care to protect the health of mother and child by radically improving their dietary and medical treatment will be the object of special attention on the part of our whole society, our Party and the state.

Further improve the management of our economy

The stage reached in the socialist construction and the new tasks before us, call for a further improvement of the organization and management of our economy, putting them on a sounder scientific basis. Though this problem is neither new nor unrecognized, today it constitutes one of the fundamental links we must seize on to give a further powerful impulse to the development of our whole economy.

Our efforts to improve the management of the economy proceed from sound Marxist-Leninist principles and are completely the reverse of the revisionist concepts and practices. Experience to date shows that the so-called workers' self-administration or the economic reforms of the Khrushchevite revisionists lead to the capitalist degeneration of socialist economy, to the re-establishment of capitalism. The whole world is well aware of the negative consequences of the revisionist concepts on the organization and management of the economy. They are an indisputable public exposure of the revisionist theory and practice of economic-social development.

Many matters which have to do with the improvement of economic management were put forward correctly at the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee and many of them are now being carried out with success. In order to forestall any pronounced manifestation of excessive centralism and bureaucratic tutelage the competences of the base have been extended. The executive committees of the people's councils and economic enterprises have been vested with more financial and material competences, both for drawing up and for carrying out the plan. The management of the economy has become more flexible and more self-acting, the responsibility of the base, of the enterprise, has been increased. However, to further strengthen it, not only is it essential for the measures taken to be carried out in a creative spirit, but it is also essential to find new, better, and more efficient ways and forms.

Which are the main problems that should attract our attention most for a better management of our economy at the new stage of its development? They are: the raising of the level of the managerial work of the economic organs to a higher level, putting it on a sounder scientific basis, improving the method of management of production on the basis of a deeper knowledge of economic laws; and the further extension of the participation of the working masses in the administration of our economy.

The further improvement of the management of the economy requires, first and foremost, that the organizing role of the state must be strengthened to the level of the new tasks. The tasks of the state organs which direct our economy are now greater and have become more complicated and complex. Any reducing of them, as sometimes happens, to the management of operative problems only, is one-sided and of harmful consequences.

The state organs and their cadres cannot direct our economy effectively without doing more and better work in the analysis and explanation of the economic policy of the Party, its directives, and orientations, without seeking and finding the best and most effective ways of putting them into practice. It is essential that they should pay more attention than heretofore to the study of the fundamental problems regarding the economic-social development of our country — both immediate and more long-term ones.

The improvement of economic management has raised the question of strengthening the scientific character of our planning as an acute current issue. The solution of many economic and social problems at the stage of the complete construction of socialist society requires more than one five-year plan. Therefore, parallel with the five-year planning, we should draw up long-term forecast plans. The main objective of these plans should be to predict the main directions of the development of the economy as a whole, of its individual branches, of the most important kinds of industrial and agricultural products, of the directions of the development of education, culture, science, etc.

For the five-year or longer term plans of economic development to be as realistic as possible our social needs must be very carefully assessed on the basis of systematic, detailed and all-round observations, studies, analyses and generalizations, in

different variants, and on technical, economic and financial calculations. The aim of all this is to enable the party and state organs to select the optimal variant.

Strengthening the scientific character of planning dictates the need for a wider use than heretofore of the familiar analytical methods of comparison, standardization, and weighing up. In addition efforts should also be made to introduce the new methods which are based on mathematics, programming, and modern computer equipment into the practice of planning and economic calculations.

The present stage of development of our economic enterprises raises the task of combining the methods of administrative management better with the methods of economic management. This absolutely demands knowledge and conscious application of the objective laws of socialism. The increase of the proportions of production in every branch of our economy, the need to turn our attention more to quality, to apply new technique and up-to-date technology, time after time reveal defects and shortcomings in the management of production. To overcome these shortcomings, it is important to step up the initiative and independent action of the base, to strengthen the system of economically self-supporting enterprises, the use of economic levers, the discipline of the plan and financial discipline. The calculation of costs and profits, the comparison of labour consumed with results achieved, should become an indispensable criterion by which to evaluate the planned allocation of quotas and their realization. The need to step up the combination of the administrative management of production with economic methods has raised the problem that the structure of organization and direction of the enterprise itself should be brought into better conformity with this combination.

The improvement of the management of the economy cannot be thought of or achieved without the participation of the masses, of the working class, the cooperative members, and of all the workers, without their supervision of the activity of the economic organs. This is not a matter of mere desire but a logical consequence of that mass line which is faithfully carried out among us, and is the guarantee that production will increase and that the social basis of socialism will never change its nature. In

the future more should be done to encourage and give greater freedom of action to the participation, check-up, initiative, and creative thought of the masses in drawing up and carrying out the economic plans, in allocating and deciding the technical economic indices, productivity, norms of work and consumption of materials, enforcing order and discipline at work, in increasing production and improving quality, in everything, from the smallest to the largest things.

The increase of the participation and check-up of the masses, especially of the working class, should always go parallel with an increase of the moral and financial responsibility of everyone for the fate of the production, the enterprise, or cooperative, with the precise and timely implementation of the decisions and directives of the state organs, of discipline and order at work.

Comrades!

The tasks of the 5th five-year plan are a further great and important step on the road to the complete construction of socialist society. They are bold, but well thought out and correctly weighed up. We are optimistic, certain that they will be accomplished with success.

When viewing the accomplishment and overfulfilment of the tasks of the 4th five-year plan, which were also very solid and daring, one cannot but be astonished at the colossal strength of our Party and people.

We are embarking on the realization of the new five-year plan with great enthusiasm based on the assurance that the magnificent results of the past have given us and on the inspiration which our brilliant future engenders.

The heroism, wisdom, and knowledge of our people combined with their realistic optimism and enthusiasm, will turn the indices of this five-year plan too into material goods for the people, the Fatherland and socialism, will perform new miracles and raise the prestige of our heroic Party and the glory of socialist Albania even higher.

III

THE STRENGTHENING OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Comrades,

A key problem of the revolution has been and will remain until the attainment of the victory of communism the problem of the state power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whatever the field in which the class struggle between the two roads — socialist and capitalist — is waged, whether political or economic, ideological, cultural or military, it is, in the final account, a struggle around the question of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be preserved and strengthened, or will degenerate and be overthrown as occurred in the Soviet Union and several other countries. Our Party always has in mind this vital lesson of Marxism-Leninism fully confirmed by life.

The years that have elapsed since the Party's 5th Congress are years of all-round struggle by the Party, the working class and the whole people for the further development of the socialist revolution in the political field. This has been a struggle for the preservation, strengthening and perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for purging it of traces of the influences of the old society, for avoiding the danger of its revisionist-bourgeois degeneration, for the growth of the active role of the state in all spheres of the complete construction of socialist society.

The edge of all this struggle has been directed against bureaucracy, for the further development of socialist democracy. Its results can be seen and felt in all fields of our national life. The links of the state power with the masses have been further strengthened and extended. The state apparatus has been freed from a considerable bureaucratic burden and has become more efficient and more operative, it has been brought closer to the base and its problems. The initiative and self-action of the masses, their interest and active participation in state affairs have

increased as never before. The control of the working people, in the first place of the working class, over the apparatus and the leaders, over the whole life of the country, has become a powerful and effective means for the improvement of work in all directions. Relations between the cadres and the masses have been put on a more correct basis, a thing which has further strengthened the mutual confidence and close collaboration between them. The work of the elected state organs at all levels has been greatly enlivened, and these bodies are exercising their competences and control over the executive organs and administrations better and better. A more correct concept of these matters has been created and a strong blow has been struck at bureaucratic, intellectualist and technocratic concepts and practices.

Our experience, and especially that accumulated in these recent years of vigorous political life, full of originality, has shown that in circumstances where the Party is giving correct leadership the dictatorship of the proletariat can withstand all tests and successfully perform its historic mission.

But we are conscious that the results achieved in the implementation of the orientations and measures adopted by the Party have not eliminated all the dangers once and for all. The fight against bureaucracy and all its manifestations, as one of the most important expressions of the class struggle in the conditions of socialism, remains a permanent task of the Party, of the socialist state and of all the working people. It must be said that in practice, in many cases, this question is not understood in all its seriousness. Herein lies the source of the fact that in the fight for the implementation of the orientations of the Party we have continually encountered restrictive concepts, conservatism and bureaucratic resistance, we have frequently encountered formalism, which shows that the essence of bureaucratic distortions has not been understood in all its profundity, and the fight against them is often simplified and reduced to attacking some partial manifestations and side issues.

Therefore the party organizations and the state organs should have the struggle against bureaucracy at the centre of their attention, must strengthen their educative work, and be continuously in search of ways and means which should be

implemented in order to carry this fight through to the end, resolutely smashing obstacles and restrictive trends, whenever, and in whatever form, they may appear.

This fight is of vital importance to the future of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for bureaucracy is a great and deeply rooted evil. As the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of some other countries shows, it leads to the separation of the state power from the masses of the people, to placing the leading organs and cadres above the masses and beyond their control, to the erosion of socialist democracy, to the creation of bureaucratic centralism, to the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The general road to the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the entire socialist order is the development of mass democracy. Without socialist democracy there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, just as there can be no real democracy for the working people without a dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the guise of extending democracy the Khrushchevite revisionists liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in its place they have established their bureaucratic dictatorship, as a weapon of the domination of the new bourgeois class over the working masses. Just as in the classical bourgeois countries, the so-called "democracy" in the countries ruled by the revisionists is a privilege of the exploiting minority and a shameless fraud for the masses of the people.

The broadest possible drawing in of the masses into running the country has been and remains the unwavering line in the whole activity of our Party of Labour and our proletarian state for the building of socialism. We consider this participation as the main direction of the deepening of socialist democracy in action, as an indispensable condition to secure the experience of the broad working masses in the building of socialism, to multiply the strength of the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make the working people ever more conscious that they themselves are the absolute masters of the country, that they ought to have the decisive say about everything.

The arming of all the citizens with such an understanding of their role and place in political and social life, training them to play this role properly, has required and continues to require, in

addition to a great educative and explanatory effort on the part of the Party, many practical measures in order to create the necessary conditions for the working people to take part on the broadest possible scale in the exercise of state power, so that the adoption and implementation of decisions should come more and more under their direct judgement and control.

From this viewpoint the implementation of the method of consulting the masses, of listening to them, of relying on them, which has already become an integral part of our practice, must be developed and deepened unceasingly. It would be a mistake to slip into complacency with ourselves and remain at the point we have reached. It is indispensable to continue our efforts even more persistently to overcome any obstacle that restricts the effective participation of the masses in the management of the affairs of society, that curbs their creative initiative. We must invigorate and further enrich the forms of democracy. In particular we must enhance the role of the mass organizations as important centres of the organization of the working people, as tribunes of their voice and their revolutionary self-action.

Reliance on the masses for the verification of the correctness of decisions in the vivid practice of life is especially important. The continuous verification, the uninterrupted critical and self-critical re-examination of all previous work and experience in every sphere of activity, with a view to preserving and developing what is soundly based, and changing what is not justified by practice or which life has passed and left behind, with a view to finding new ways and means for the solution of problems — this constitutes a law of the socialist revolution, which, as Karl Marx used to say, is invincible because it continually criticizes itself.

This method is incompatible with the bureaucratic and conservative tendency to make a fetish of everything issued by the apparatus, with petrified schemes and practices which no longer respond to the new tasks and conditions, which do not conform with the great revolutionizing ideas of the Party and become obstacles in the way of their implementation in practice. To this question we must give serious attention, because, as Lenin teaches us, the contradictions between the new and the old in the development of the revolution manifest themselves with special force and are preserved for a long time in this field.

*"In the whole field of social, economic and political relations", Lenin writes, "we are 'terribly' revolutionary. But in the field of hierarchy, of observing the administrative forms and procedure our 'revolutionism' is nearly always replaced by the mouldiest routine. Here a very interesting phenomenon can often be observed: how in social life the greatest leap forward is associated with the most monstrous fear of the smallest of changes." **

The party organizations, cadres, and all the working people must always be dialectical revolutionaries, they must look reality in its uninterrupted development, right in the eye, they must canonize nothing, they must not fear changes, but must courageously overthrow everything obsolete in the concepts, methods, laws, forms of organization and management.

The check-up by the masses from below, as a question of principled importance and one of the main aspects of the development of socialist democracy, has been continually in the centre of attention of the Party. But its deepening and improvement in the most suitable forms always remains a current, primary task.

The direct control of the working class is decisive in this. The workers' control from below is a necessity and a basic principle of social life during the whole historic period of socialism. This control, which is carried out under the leadership of the Party, is one of the concrete expressions of the leading role of the working class and of proletarian democracy in action. It constitutes a sharp weapon in the fight against bureaucracy and influences alien to socialism in social life and in the consciousness of the working people, a very effective form of the proletarian education of the working class itself, and is a powerful incentive to carry socialist construction forward. We regard the workers' control as one of the fundamental guarantees to avert the danger of revisionism and turning back to capitalism.

Our practice of the direct control by the working class is being confirmed by life. In the period following the Party's 5th Congress the implementation of the workers' control led to a further growth and enlivenment of the revolutionary activity of

* V.I. Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 925 (Alb. ed.).

the working class in all fields. The role of the working masses in the solution of various problems has increased appreciably, their concern and feeling of responsibility for the affairs of the enterprise and for the country's life in general has greatly increased and the spirit of criticism and self-criticism towards alien manifestations has been strengthened.

The workers' control is a long process of struggle against various bureaucratic trends which strive to restrict it, curb it and place it under tutelage, against fear, doubts, and equivocation in its application. Its further perfection requires that it be understood by everyone as an indisputable right of the working class to preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order. It is the control of the working class over the entire activity of their party, state and economic organs and organizations, of the apparatus and cadres, which extends over everything and everybody, in both town and countryside. The workers' control is not an administrative check-up on minor, superficial matters of the moment. It is an expression of the opinion and stand of the working class on the key political, economic and social problems.

The party organizations, the trade unions, the workers themselves, ought to be continually seeking out ways of enlivening the existing forms and finding new ones, swift and effective in the exercise of the workers' control. Rigid frameworks and petrified forms mutilate and paralyze it.

The aim of the workers' control is not only to observe and note but to settle and carry through to the end the questions it raises. It is a duty of everybody, of the party organizations, of the state organs and of the mass organizations to fight persistently for the application of the remarks and proposals made by the workers, to solve the problems which emerge from the workers' control rapidly and with the greatest seriousness. This is indispensable for the very development of the ideas, revolutionary action, and active participation of the workers in the affairs of the state, for the encouragement of their initiative and for the further development of the workers' control itself.

It is of special importance to the working class that it itself should understand in the first place, not only its role as the decisive productive force, but also its political role as the

vanguard class in our society. With its struggle, stand and example, it draws in behind it the whole mass of the rest of the population, induces in everybody the proletarian spirit, discipline and culture in work and life. In order to live up to this mission it is indispensable that the workers' control should develop as self-control of the working class also, as criticism and self-criticism in its ranks, as a persistent struggle against manifestations of self-complacency, indifference, and of running after narrow personal interest, against any spirit of becoming reconciled to the phenomena which hinder our forward march.

The workers' control is part and parcel of the check-up of the masses on the activity of the state organs, of the economic, cultural and educational organizations of town and countryside. The exercise of this check-up is a right and a duty of everybody: of the peasant on the cooperative farm, the student at school, the intellectual in his sphere of activity, of every citizen in the whole of social life.

With a view to opening a wide vista to the control by the masses and creating the most suitable conditions for it, it is necessary that the working people should be continually informed of the activity of the state and social bodies and institutions. Control by the masses becomes possible and is facilitated the more the struggle is waged against the tendencies of the state and social apparatus and organs to forms of work behind closed doors, and the more the publicity given to their activities, which must be as open as possible and easily controllable by the working people. The ever better acquaintance of the broad masses of the working people with the mechanisms of socialist social life, with the laws of the state, coming before the masses and rendering accounts, as a permanent method of the functioning of the whole of our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, also constitute indispensable conditions for the exercise of control by the masses. It is up to the press, which is duty-bound to keep the masses well abreast of the situation and the problems, to play a more active role in this respect, to promote criticism, to become to a more pronounced extent a tribune for the vigorous thrashing out of ideas, of the deep reflection and summing up of the experience of the masses in the socialist construction.

In the fight against bureaucracy and for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat the relationship between the cadres and the masses is of first importance. The negative experience of the revisionist countries shows that when incorrect relations are established between the cadres and the masses, when the cadres cut themselves off from the masses, from their life and struggle, when they are not subject to the control by the masses, when the cadres are given unlawful privileges and favours, they become bureaucratized and they degenerate, their relations with the masses are changed into relations of domination and submission.

Our Party and our people's power, enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, especially during the period following the 5th Congress, have adopted a series of political, ideological and economic measures for the improvement of relations between the cadres and the masses so that the cadres will always remain consistent revolutionaries and devoted servants of the people. The systematic circulation of the cadres from the leading posts to the base and from administration to production and vice versa has been established. Now about 56 percent of the principal cadres of the central and local apparatuses and 50 percent of all the cadres of the administrative apparatuses have been less than five years in these positions. The participation of the cadres and of all working people engaged in mental work in manual work has been implemented on healthier criteria. At the same time, adjustments have been made in the pay of the cadres, to prevent disproportions between their living standards and those of the working masses. We have also aimed our efforts so that the ideopolitical, educational-cultural and technical-professional training of the cadres should not be done separately from the uninterrupted elevation of the all-round standard of the broad working masses. These measures, along with the broad educative work of the Party, serve to combat manifestations of bureaucracy and careerism in the cadres, to strengthen and deepen their ties with the workers and peasants, to combat and eradicate the influences of the intellectualist concepts of underestimating and despising the masses, to bar the road to the revival of dangerous feelings of arrogance, subjectivism, etc.

Our Party is constantly concerned with the problem that all the cadres should be developed and tempered as revolutionaries, that they should think and work as such until the end of their lives. Socialism does not need bureaucrats and technocrats who believe only in their own "genius", in technology, in the power of decrees, but it needs cadres that merge themselves and live with the masses, think and feel in the same way as the working class and cooperativist peasantry. In the party line, in the majestic work and spiritual world of the working class and cooperativist peasants the cadres will always find strength and inspiration.

In order to carry further the experience gained in the relations between the cadres and the masses, it is necessary to combat any subjectivist, departmentalist, or localist stands, as well as the petty-bourgeois attitudes of some cadres, so that the circulation and direct work in production will be understood as a measure of educative and ideological importance and not as an aim in itself, that it should be understood as a measure for the continuous revolutionization of the cadres themselves and of various organs and apparatuses.

The Party devotes special attention to the principle that the cadres of every link and level should have a two-fold dependence: both on the organs of the Party and the proletarian state from above, and also from below, directly on the working masses. Upholding this principle, it is necessary that in the future we should fight any trend towards making a fetish of the competences of various organs for the appointment of the cadres and closed door work, so that the voice, the opinion and the appraisal of the masses about the cadres and their activity will be heard ever more forcibly.

For the further deepening of democracy and enhancement of the role of the masses, in the period between the two Congresses special attention has been paid to the strengthening and improvement of the work of the elected organs of the people's power. In this respect, an important role was played by the recent elections to the People's Assembly and people's councils, which were, to a considerable degree, renewed with capable, revolutionary, new people, closely linked with the masses.

Despite the results achieved, there still remains a great deal to be done so that the people's councils of every level, as direct

representatives of the working people in power, can perform the functions entrusted to them, avoid any manifestation of formalism in their work, prevent any taking over whatsoever of their role by the executive organs, administrations, or economic organizations. We should not allow any disrespectful stand by anyone with regard to the elected representatives of the people and the problems they raise. What the deputy or councillor has to say must be listened to with attention and respect.

The further improvement of the work of the executive organs is connected with the fierce struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, technocratism and shallow practicicism in the style and method of their activity, in the constant strengthening of their links with the masses. We should never forget for a single moment that the evil of bureaucracy is found, in the first place and above all, in the executive organs and administrative apparatus. The vigilance of the party organizations, of the cadres working there themselves and the working masses, is a sharp weapon to fight successfully and nip in the bud any bureaucratic trend or distortion.

The measures that have been adopted recently for a more correct distribution of competences have relieved the central organs of excessive burdens and of an unnecessary concentration of many affairs in their hands. In particular, this has increased the responsibility and initiative of the state power at the grass-roots level.

Considering the vigorous development in breadth and depth of national economy and culture, the increase and constant elevation of the level of the cadres, the growth of the participation of the masses in all social and economic life, tendencies to codify everything from above, to tutelage over the power organs, would be anachronistic and harmful. Proletarian centralism in our country rests on unshakable foundations, for it is based on the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, on the unified laws governing all social and state relations, on the unified plan of the development of socialist economy and culture, on the centralized use of financial means through the state budget, on the unified price policy, on the unified and centralized pay system, on the state monopoly of foreign trade, etc. Therefore there is no reason to fear that with the development of initiative and self-action of

the grass-roots level, with the extension of its competences, centralism will be violated.

Comrades,

The building of socialism in our country is being done in conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. Therefore the defence of the Fatherland, of freedom and national independence, without which there is neither people's power nor socialism, has always been and is considered by our Party as its supreme and permanent duty. If little Albania has continued to stand firm and unshakable as a granite rock, this is due above all to the fact that the enemies are well aware of the unity, strength and determination of our people to defend the victories of revolution to the end, to cope successfully with any danger.

Preparation for the defence of the Fatherland is a permanent and continuous task which is carried out in good times and bad, irrespective of the events occurring in the world. We base the defence of our country not on international political conjunctures, but mainly on the internal factor which we consider decisive. We base it on the strength, heroism, and iron resistance of our people courageously led by the Party of Labour, on the fighting readiness of our country to cope with any situation or aggressor.

To perform this lofty historic duty successfully the whole people, old and young, united to a man around the Party, must be raised to a high ideological and political level and clearly understand the line of the Party, its tactics and strategy, carry them out in practice conscientiously and with a steel-like discipline, with a fierce patriotism at any moment and in all circumstances regardless of the sacrifice involved.

The Fatherland and socialism, the life and work of the people, are defended arms in hand, by equipping the army and the people with up-to-date means, training them continually so that they know how to use these means perfectly and with the greatest effectiveness. The Fatherland belongs to the whole people, therefore it is defended not only by the regular uniformed army, but by the entire people, armed, organized, and militarily trained.

Guided by Lenin's instruction to make "*every citizen a soldier*

and every soldier a citizen", we strive to have everyone work, learn, and prepare for defence at the same time. The whole country is a huge construction site, a great school of communist education, and an impregnable military fortress.

The Party and the government have always devoted the greatest attention to the increase, education, and tempering of the armed forces. Our people's army is prepared, at any time and in any situation, however difficult it may be, to perform with honour its lofty duty of the defence of the socialist Fatherland.

Ours is an army of a new type, an army of the people, an army of the revolution. Strongly preserving the glorious traditions of the partisan army, it is qualitatively different from the armies of the bourgeois and revisionist countries. It is not an army of the barracks, a closed caste that stands apart from the people and over the people, but an army merged into a whole with the entire armed people. Reactionary bourgeois and revisionist viewpoints about the army, manifestations of arrogance, haughtiness, commandism, standing apart from the rank-and-file, etc., are alien to its cadres who are sons of the people.

On the road of the further revolutionization of the army, the measures taken by the Party for purging it of many organizational forms and structures, of many foreign regulations, inappropriate to an army like ours, have made it truly an army of the dictatorship of the proletariat, capable of performing its mission with honour in conformity with the conditions and tasks of national defence.

During the whole existence of the army we have consistently adhered to the principle of the priority of ideological and political work over military work, of the priority of man as the decisive factor in relation to weapons. It is the political work that, by raising the consciousness of men, gives the army life and makes it capable in all the other work it does. Political work makes the army stand as a faithful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the vigilant protector of the people's victories.

The Party has devoted all its care, and it will continue to do so, without permitting any sort of vulgar stand, to sound military training, a profound assimilation of the military art of people's war, the perfect mastering of modern arms and equipment by the fighters, the strengthening of proletarian military discipline and

order.

The Party has been and remains the spirit of the army, the brain guiding it on the right road, the life-giving force which makes it invincible. In our army, at the head of our defence, the Party is in command.

In every action they carry out, in every problem they solve the party committees and organizations in the field should never forget their duties concerning the strengthening of the defence of the Fatherland. They should carry out intensive ideological and political work for the education of all the working people in the spirit of vigilance, a high level of preparedness and the greatest seriousness in military training, bearing in mind in a most realistic way the conditions and exigencies of the war of today.

The party organs in the army and the military commands, on their part, must improve their style of work to raise the political training and fighting readiness of the armed forces. They must especially strengthen and perfect the forms and methods of education and military training of the whole people in compliance with the present-day organizational structure of the army.

Inasmuch as the problems of defence, of the army and military training are the problems of everybody, it is necessary to promote and further improve the collaboration and coordination of the work between the party organizations and commands in the army, and the party organizations and state and economic organs in the field.

Under the constant care of the Party, the organs of state security, the people's police and the border guards have been developed and strengthened. In all their activity they have always relied on the active help and support of the working masses. They have carried out the teachings of the Party to the letter, have courageously fought to defend the socialist legality and the interests of the state and of the people.

The further strengthening of the organs of state security, people's police and the border guards requires the raising of the ideological, political and professional work to a higher level, increased revolutionary vigilance and conscious discipline for the strict application of the norms laid down, and the further extension of links with the masses. The continuous enforcement

of the leading and controlling role of the Party in their entire activity is an indispensable condition and a sound guarantee that these beloved organs of the Party and the people will perform their mission with honour.

In strengthening and perfecting the dictatorship of the proletariat a very important role is played by our revolutionary legislation. In accordance with the directives of the 5th Congress, with the active participation of the masses, a big job has been done in re-examining the whole body of state legislation, in simplifying it, to adapt it to present-day conditions. This, along with the reorganization of the organs of justice, drawing them closer to and placing them more under the control of the masses, has had an obvious influence on the revolutionization of their work. The continuous improvement of the legislation, the acquaintance with the laws on the part of the masses of the people, in order to make them as conscientious as possible in their implementation, the further strengthening of the ties of the organs of justice with the working people and reliance on them for the defence of the laws, is a great party task.

Comrades,

Twenty-seven years have elapsed from the time when our people, under the firm Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party of Labour, in armed struggle overthrew the hated power of foreign imperialists and of the local reactionary exploiting classes, and, for the first time in their long history, established the people's power in Albania. After the first free, general democratic elections in December 1945, from which emerged the Constituent Assembly, the true representative of the aspirations and interests of the people, the fundamental law of the new state — the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania was approved.

At that time our country had just emerged from the great National Liberation War and was taking the first steps on the road of socialist construction. In those circumstances, the approval of the Constitution was a notable historic event and another great political victory of the people. Its importance consisted in the fact that it legalized that profound and radical overthrow which was carried out in the life of our society as a

result of the triumph of the people's revolution. It sanctioned from the juridical viewpoint all those great political, economic and social gains that the people had attained through their heroic struggle, and opened clear prospects for other revolutionary transformations in all the fields of life on socialist foundations.

The Constitution became the backbone and source of all the legislation of our new people's democratic state which expressed the will of the people and defended their interests. It played a great role, not only in the defence and consolidation of the state power and of all the other gains of revolution, but also in the all-round development of the social-economic order on the road of socialism.

From that time a quarter of a century has elapsed. This is the period of the great revolutionary transformations to lay and consolidate the foundations of the new order in all fields. The great ideas of Marxism-Leninism about the new society, free from any sort of oppression and exploitation, and the program of our Party for building the foundations of socialism became a reality. The people's power, born from the partisan rifle, was consolidated as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the undivided leadership of the Party of Labour. The means of production, which were formerly in the hands of the local capitalists and foreign imperialists, became common property of the people. The capitalist sector of the economy was completely liquidated. A radical revolution was carried out in the countryside, the collectivization of agriculture transformed the very foundations of the small peasant production and placed it on a socialist footing. The place of the multiform economy was occupied by the single system of the socialist economy. Together with private property the exploiting classes were liquidated too, along with all the other antagonisms between town and country, between mental and manual work, which arise on the basis of capitalist exploitation. Entirely new relations, of the alliance based on socialism, of mutual support and aid, have been established between the working class, the labouring peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. The differences between them are being continually reduced. On this basis the social, economic, and ideological-political unity of the people has become more and more steel-like.

With the building of the economic base of socialism, which is the second greatest victory after the establishment of the people's power, our country entered a new historic stage — that of the complete construction of socialist society. In struggle for the implementation of the tasks of this stage, new great victories have been achieved. This struggle was raised to a higher level following the 5th Congress of the Party. The great process of the revolutionization of the whole life of the country, which aroused the entire people, has led to the consolidation and further development of the profound economic, social, political and ideological transformations, to the strengthening and improvement of the economic base and of the entire superstructure of society. New experience of great value has been accumulated concerning how to bar the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, how to ensure the march of the revolution constantly forward until its complete and final victory.

Viewed through the prism of these deep revolutionary changes, the Constitution in force, in spite of later amendments and additions, has become outdated in many fundamental aspects and no longer reflects the socialist reality in Albania today. Therefore, the Central Committee of the Party proposes the drafting of a new Constitution appropriate to the present stage of the country's development, to the new reality, so that, as a component part of the political superstructure, it may serve the economic base, the whole socialist development of society, better.

The reframing of the Constitution will be a step of great theoretical and practical importance for the strengthening and further improvement of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The new Constitution will serve as a juridical basis for the state organization and legislation required by the present stage of our socialist construction. It must be a juridical, political, and ideological document which completely reflects the line of the Party embodied in our revolutionary practice, and inspires the working people in the struggle for the complete construction of socialist society.

The drafting of the new Constitution is a job of great responsibility. It will be the Constitution of socialist Albania, of a country which stands loyal to the principles of scientific

socialism and which implements and develops them in a creative manner. In drafting it we must take into account both our own rich revolutionary experience, and the experience of world socialism. This Constitution must present the true features of socialism distinguishing it from all the distortions and deformations of it by the modern revisionists. It will be the reflection of a whole glorious road and experience, under the wise leadership of the Party of Labour, which will inspire us, fill us with optimism, and spur us on to new battles and victories.

IV

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND THE EDUCATION OF THE NEW MAN

The development of the revolution in the field of ideology and culture has been characterized by a frontal class struggle against all forms of alien ideology, beginning with the old hangovers from distant centuries and ending with the present-day influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The basic aim of this struggle is the revolutionization of the minds and consciousness of people, of their entire spiritual world, to affirm the Marxist-Leninist ideology, proletarian morality and socialist culture. This is a broad mass struggle, which is being carried out with the active participation of all strata of the population, and is being realized in practice through revolutionary movements and actions, through broad popular discussions and open public criticism and debate, in which the old reactionary thoughts and customs are confronted with the new revolutionary ideas and morality.

The struggle for deepening the ideological and cultural revolution, as a component part of the process of the all-round revolutionization of national life, was prepared by the entire 30-year struggle of our Party. On the basis of the results achieved, our Party fights for the uninterrupted advance of the work for the formation of the new man of the new socialist society, equipped with deep Marxist-Leninist convictions, with lofty revolutionary communist moral qualities, with broad cultural horizons and a rich spiritual world.

Further strengthen the socialist consciousness of the working masses in struggle with all the remnants and influences of alien ideologies

Though our revolution overthrew the old relations of production and thus liquidated that material basis which gives birth to, keeps alive and nurtures the various forms of ideology of the exploiting classes, we still encounter many traces and

influences of them. The new socialist society and its further development can no longer reconcile itself with these alien hangovers. They not only hinder the forward march of revolution, but contain in themselves the danger of turning back. The bitter experience of the appearance of revisionism in the Soviet Union and other countries has confirmed that to fail to undertake the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution with all our might, would mean to abandon the socialist revolution half way, to endanger its achievements in the economic and political fields, and to pave the way to bourgeois degeneration in all fields.

The intensification of the ideological class struggle is dictated also by the need for the all-round emancipation of the physical, mental, and spiritual energies of all the working people, especially of women and youth, to liberate them from the heavy burden of old prejudices, make it possible for their revolutionary drive to burst out with incontainable force in all fields of life. The ideal of socialism is to liberate the working people, not only from the social and economic yoke, but also from spiritual enslavement to alien ideologies. Socialism is the only social order which creates all the conditions and is able to achieve this all-round emancipation of man.

The struggle which our Party is carrying out for the education of the new man is broad and complex. This education is done not only through propaganda work and agitation, it is not confined to the struggle against old ideas and concepts on the academic plane. It is realized also through the creation of such economic, social and political conditions that cultivate socialist concepts and norms among the people. It is realized in the process of the practical activity of men and women, in their struggle and work for the building of socialism. During recent years, our Party has been fighting with rare courage to work out Marxist-Leninist guidelines in all these fields and to throw the masses into revolutionary actions. In the process of the deepening of the socialist revolution our Party has now accumulated valuable theoretical and practical experience.

An unprecedented attack is being launched, especially against the most antiquated forms of the ideology of the exploiting classes, patriarchalism and conservatism, religion and backward

customs, which for the known reasons of the profound backwardness inherited from the past still have roots and have not been absolutely wiped out.

One action with great results is the fight to smash the influence of religion. Within a very short period, this struggle succeeded in definitely stripping of their functions all the institutions and preachers of religion, who spread and kept alive the most profoundly obscurantist and anachronistic mysticism and idealism. Albania became a country without churches and mosques, without Christian or Muslim priests.

Of course this does not mean that the complete liberation of the working people from the influence of religious opium has been achieved; on the contrary, a long process of education and re-education is needed for this. However, this was a decisive blow and a victory which creates a new and powerful premise for the further emancipation of people's consciousness, for their complete liberation from religious beliefs and prejudices.

This victory did not come of itself, nor was it achieved by administrative measures. For this all the conditions were brought to maturity and the working people of their own free will decided the fate of the religious institutions, which have always maintained an anti-national stance, have served the bourgeoisie and foreign occupationists, irrespective of the fact that there have been patriotic clergymen of all beliefs who have fought for the freedom and independence of Albania. This anti-national and anti-popular stand of religion and its institutions had long been in opposition to the patriotic and freedom-loving feelings of the Albanian people. The National Liberation War deepened this contradiction still more. The great socialist transformations in the entire life of the country, and the all-round and uninterrupted propaganda work done by our Party, made the masses still more conscious of the futility of religious beliefs and of the incompatibility of the new socialist reality with the religious institutions and preachers of religion.

Our Party has never permitted the feelings of the people to be trifled with. But as a Marxist-Leninist party, it is quite clear that during its triumphant march, when all the objective and subjective conditions have matured, the socialist revolution must not fail to cut and root out all those threads which keep the

masses bound to the old world and hinder their march ahead.

Look what is happening in the countries where the revisionists are in power! Against the general background of bourgeois degeneration, for the sake of internal and external political conjunctures, and even using the church for social-imperialist aims, religious propaganda is being extended, churches and clergymen are being increased, the reactionary and obscurantist rubbish of medieval times is being activated.

At the present stage of the revolution, life has forcefully raised the very acute problem of the complete emancipation of women. Of all the forces of our society women and girls more than any others have been oppressed by the laws of religion and by the norms, canons and customs of patriarchalism.

With the establishment of the people's power and the creation of the economic base of socialism the Albanian woman, side by side with all the working people, escaped from capitalist exploitation, won political freedoms and rights equal with man, possibilities were created for her to throw herself with all her strength onto the great front of the country's socialist construction. In our country today there is no activity in which women do not militate. There is no new project in which their physical and mental work is not embodied. They constitute about 45 percent of all the people employed in town and countryside.

In this country, where women and girls were once the most backward masses, despised by society and by men, today hundreds of thousands of them manage the affairs of the state at all levels up to the People's Assembly, carry out important functions in mass and party organizations, direct production and other sectors of national life. The Party and all the people feel real joy and pride in our heroic women and girls, who, though they still have conditions more difficult than men, work and fight with wisdom and courage no less than their husbands and brothers. Despite the results achieved in the struggle for the emancipation of women, the problem of securing a full and true equality of the woman with the man in social and family life remains a matter of concern. The main obstacle has been the backward, feudal, and patriarchal concepts on the estimation of the woman as an inferior being, and to some degree these still

exist. Without breaking these concepts which oppressed and distorted the personality and energies of the woman, without surmounting this wall, her progress and that of our entire society on the road of socialism could not be ensured.

That is why our Party spearheaded its struggle for the complete emancipation of the woman mainly on the ideological front, in the struggle against conservatism, against the enslaving norms and customs, the disparaging and offensive concepts about women.

The successes are great. But the complete emancipation of the woman still remains for the future one of the most important tasks of our Party. The emancipation of the woman means not only a liberated woman, but an entire society finally liberated from prejudices and alien concepts about the woman. This emancipation also implies the creation of all the material and spiritual conditions for the establishment of an effective and full equality between the man and the woman in all fields of life. Therefore, while a great deal of persistent work should be done for the ideological uplift, and for raising the cultural, educational and technical-professional level of the women themselves, so that they can have an equal development with their male comrades and have their say on all problems and with competence, just as persistent work should be done to have society in general, the other members of the family, and the men in particular create equal conditions of development for them so that they will be given the possibility to learn and create. Their social work and activity must not be interrupted by the daily wearying tasks of household drudgery, which they usually cope with alone. Today we have the possibility to socialize much of the household work, step by step, and this we shall continually increase.

Here we are faced with another very important question: the creation of a truly democratic life within the family. The struggle for the extension and deepening of socialist democracy in our social life has also penetrated into the family, where the manifestations of inequality are stronger. Before our eyes the foundations of patriarchal life are being shaken and destroyed, and the principles of communist morality, the spirit of socialist ideology, are penetrating ever more widely into the family. New democratic and socialist motives have now begun to operate in

matrimonial ties and in family relations. But these new motives have not yet become dominant. It is a recognized fact that the family lags relatively behind the general development of society. Therefore we should fight to diminish this backwardness day by day, so that life in the family too can keep pace with the times, parallel with the great changes that are taking place in the life of the country. The Albanian family as a hearth of education has cultivated valuable patriotic and moral qualities. But many traditions of its educational work cannot fulfil our requirements, and in some directions they are even opposed to the present-day reality. There should be more active work to revolutionize life in the family, so that it is gradually stripped of conservative remnants and the patriarchal mentality and becomes a hearth for the education of the people in the spirit of the ideology of the Party.

Our society cannot remain indifferent to family problems, regarding them as personal and private. On the contrary, it will always seek appropriate forms to influence them while at the same time condemning as alien, vulgar and tactless, unnecessary interference in intimate family affairs.

Our Party has carried out a continuous struggle also against petty-bourgeois mentality and psychology. But now the time has come to sharpen the edge of our attack on them. Petty-bourgeois ideology has deep roots in the consciousness of the people. This is linked with the fact that in the past small peasant property and artisan private enterprise prevailed, and it was on this basis that all the types of relations between people were built and their views were formed. There is no doubt that the great economic-social transformations and the all-round work for the education of the masses have dealt powerful blows also at petty-bourgeois ideology, have narrowed the sphere of its action in the work and life of our people.

But we must look facts right in the eye. Petty-bourgeois concepts and inclinations are still preserved and kept alive. They manifest themselves not only in the countryside, but also in the city, to this or that extent, in all strata of the population. Petty-bourgeois vestiges are interwoven with all forms of the ideology of the exploiting classes, with backward and patriarchal customs, as well as with bourgeois and revisionist influences.

As Comrade Mao Tsetung says, "*petty-bourgeois ideology has a conservative character, its influence serves as one of the main sources of opportunism and adventurism in the working class movement*". It is a fact that the petty-bourgeois wave combined with bureaucracy and the all-round pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology was one of the main factors that made possible the process of capitalist degeneration in the Soviet Union.

From this it emerges with even greater clarity that the struggle against petty-bourgeois ideology and its manifestations is one of the most important tasks of the Party's all-sided work, and especially of its ideological work.

In the first place, we should fight to strengthen proletarian discipline at work, against being satisfied with little, and against the peasant and handicraft mentality, to increase the requirements of productivity in every social work. But this is not merely a problem of education. It is a complex social and economic problem. Only on the basis of the definition of correct socialist criteria in the field of organization, setting of standards, rewards, and check-up on the work, on its quantity and quality, can educational work be carried out successfully for implanting the socialist qualities essential to carrying out any social work conscientiously, in the proper time and with high productivity.

A resolute struggle should be waged against petty-bourgeois individualism, which is expressed in the narrowest of narrow views on things, in running after personal interests, which are opposed to the common interests of society, in shutting oneself within a small mean world, which diverts one from the great ideals of the time, develops indifference and apathy to anything not directly related to narrow personal and family interests, and which make man chase after material interest and personal ease.

The running after narrow personal interest is an expression not only of the petty-bourgeois ideology, but also of all the ideologies of the exploiting classes, which stem from the very private property on which these ideologies are based. This tendency, which is manifested in most varied forms, is one of the most serious evils we have inherited from the past and one of the greatest dangers for the fate of socialism. Therefore we must consider the struggle against any manifestation of putting

personal interest above public interest as a fundamental question in all the ideological work of the Party.

In the struggle against petty-bourgeois ideology we should have in mind that its manifestations are interwoven with various conservative and liberal stands and they nurture lack of principle and wavering from one extreme to another. They have a wide range of action in the attitude towards work and social property, and especially in the way of life, in various habits and customs, in the family in particular.

The continuous enhancing and tempering of the socialist consciousness of our people is brought about not only by combating the remnants of the old patriarchal, conservative and petty-bourgeois ideologies, but also by waging a continuous and irreconcilable struggle against the influences of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist ideological trends. Our country does not live isolated from the surrounding capitalist and revisionist world, which, as Lenin teaches us, in the process of its decomposition spreads all sorts of lethal germs in the air.

As revolutionaries and Marxists we understand the danger of the replacement of an old enslaving ideology with a new enslaving ideology, of an old poison with a new one, which, no matter how much of a sugar coating it may have, or what disguise of "modernization" and "liberalism", is always lethal. In the present conditions this is a great danger. While smashing the influences of alien ideology from the far-back centuries, while liquidating the old social and ideological wounds inherited from the old feudal-bourgeois society, our Party fights to prevent the creation of new social and ideological wounds, which are characteristic of the present capitalist and revisionist world.

The whole of our struggle of recent years, the whole process of the revolutionization of our country's life are, at the same time, powerful blows at bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Their aim is to form an active barrier to the penetration of this ideology. But it would be inexcusable if it were thought that in the future we are guaranteed against any influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, that our people are now immune. One of the main directions of the hostile imperialist and revisionist strategy against our country is precisely the ideological pressure which they can exert by exploiting today's numerous information

channels and especially their cultural influence, which assumes all sorts of forms. Therefore, it is a task of first importance that in the future, too, we should organize a continuous struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, always keeping our ideological vigilance and revolutionary militant spirit at a high level.

The struggle on the ideological front, as our Party has always emphasized, is a very important component part of the class struggle, which continues uninterruptedly in all the fields — political, economic, ideological and cultural. The successful development of the revolution, the defence and consolidation of its victories depends on this struggle. Life has already fully confirmed that any deviation from the class struggle, any weakening of this struggle, any misconception and distortion of it, is fraught with very serious consequences. Here we should seek and recognize one of the most important causes of what happened in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, the very essence of the revisionist treachery.

It is important that we should not only accept the class struggle, but that we should also have a correct and broad understanding of it, as a struggle which continues during the whole historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, as a struggle which develops not only against foreign and internal enemies, but also within the ranks of the people and the Party, as a struggle that must be waged continuously, everywhere, and by everybody.

So long as the class struggle continues, and this is not instigated artificially, but exists objectively as a struggle between the two roads of development — the socialist and the capitalist roads, there is no room for any spirit of placidity, self-satisfaction, or liberalism, because we have allegedly done away with all evils and have escaped any danger. On the contrary, the edge of the class struggle should always be kept keen, because it is our powerful weapon, which defends us from the enemies, cleanses us of evils, and tempers us as proletarian revolutionaries. We must wage this struggle consistently, while always making clear the character of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions and relying firmly on the masses.

In our country political power is in the hands of the working

class, which, through the Party and the proletarian state, leads the whole life of the country. Its leading and controlling role is decisive. Without it there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, no socialism. For this reason our Party has devoted and devotes its full attention to the all-round education of the working class, to the enhancement of its political consciousness and to increasing its capability, to make it fully capable not only of understanding its mission as a leading class in power, but also of realizing it in practice.

Over the past years there have been important successes in this direction, which are clearly apparent in the growth of the militant spirit of the working class, in the marvellous results at work, in the outburst of revolutionary initiatives and creativeness, in the strengthening and extension of direct workers' control, in the raising of the ideological, cultural and technical-professional level, in the fact that, by its example and its work, the working class is more and more setting the tone for the whole life of the country. These results are a sound basis for carrying the education of the working class continually forward. In this work the first place, as always, should be occupied by ideological and political education, the arming of the working class with Marxist-Leninist theory and with the teachings of the Party, closely linked with everyday life and struggle. No less important is the work for its professional and cultural education.

These two sides of the communist education of the working class and of all the working people are closely linked with each other. But our Party has given and will give priority to ideological, political and moral education because we do not regard the working class as the bourgeois and the revisionists do, merely as a productive force, which should just work and produce, while the bureaucrats and the technocrats rule, make the law, suppress and exploit the working class, in the interest of the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois technocratic theories which try to deny the necessity for the socialist revolution of the proletariat and replace it with the technical-scientific revolution, which aim at rejecting the consistently revolutionary character and historic mission of the working class are absolutely alien to us. The technical and scientific revolution cannot change the nature of

either capitalism or socialism, nor the objective laws of the development of society. In our country the technical and scientific revolution develops under the leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bureaucrats and the technocrats cannot be and will never be in power, but the working class and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat will rule until the withering away of the state, until the complete victory of communism.

In our country the specialists, the technicians, the intellectuals who, in general, have emerged from the ranks of the working class and the working masses, educated by the Party in the spirit of socialism, have a well-earned place and play a great role in all fields of activity, as the auxiliaries to the working class, as servants of the people. While fighting bureaucratic, technocratic and intellectualist concepts, our Party fights at the same time against vulgar concepts that deny and disparage the work and the role of the intelligentsia. The aim of our Party is to keep the intelligentsia pure and revolutionary, to link it closely with the workers and peasants, to make it able to cope itself with foreign bourgeois and revisionist influences, so that it can fight resolutely, as it has fought until now, for the great cause of the working class and the people.

The Party has done fruitful work in the struggle for the education of the new man, especially for the communist education of our youth. Our youth are closely linked with the Party, politically clear and morally pure, correctly orientated and secure in life, bold and courageous fighters, who pour out their precious energies for the benefit of the socialist revolution and the all-round progress of the people.

We see quite another picture in the capitalist and revisionist world. There, the problem of the youth today is one of the most disturbing problems. The youth feel the crisis of this rotten society and seek a way out. Time after time they throw themselves into various revolutionary actions in this struggle. But they are benumbed, fed with the feeling of spiritual emptiness and futility, led on to the road of dissipation and degeneration, their energies consumed in a life devoid of ideals or prospects. The bourgeoisie uses all its means, from children's toys to the press and literature, from the school to the church, to

corrupt the masses of the youth and the people, to give this corruption the appearance of an alleged "free" and "modern" life, to divert the youth from politics, from the struggle for the future, from revolution.

The bourgeoisie and its propaganda machine consider honour, the life of modesty and dignity, lofty and pure morality, loyalty to the working people and the Fatherland, all the fine revolutionary virtues of the people, anachronistic and archaic. They are combated directly and obliquely, demagogically distorted and adapted to the interests of the bourgeoisie and to the detriment of the working people, to quell revolutionary revolt, to cope with the influence of Marxism-Leninism, which is the defender of this great spiritual wealth of the people.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists try to convince the youth and the masses that it is useless to fight and seek a way out from the deep contradictions eroding their society. The only alternative they offer is to plunge into pessimism and corruption. Herein lies the source of the unscrupulous incitement, with disastrous social consequences, to alcoholism, narcotics, sexuality, and many low and beastly instincts which have become the fashion in the capitalist and revisionist world.

In absolute contrast to this situation, the younger generation, rallied in our country around its own militant organization, the Albanian Labour Youth Union, under the leadership of the Party, has come out in the arena of ideological class struggle as a courageous initiator and unyielding fighter, as a revolutionizing shock force, driving ahead in the field of social, ideological and cultural transformations. Our heroic youth, guarding itself against the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, has at the same time marched and is marching boldly in the front ranks of the struggle against all those traditions of the old world, which have become outdated, against everything alien that hinders our advance. In this struggle the personality of the youth has increased and is increasing every day, its courage and revolutionary initiative are growing, its experience is being enriched.

But we should always see and understand our youth in its impetuous development. This development is accompanied with difficulties of growth and with contradictions. A great obstacle

which our youth always encounters at work and everywhere is the manifestations of conservatism, which curb the revolutionary impetus of the youth, underestimate its energies and creative capacities, keep it restricted, especially in the field of social, ethical relations, in the family, and to a considerable degree, at school as well. Besides this, our youth is influenced by liberalism and a certain indifference of social opinion and, in some cases, of the family, too. We should not forget that the bourgeois and revisionist ideology is spearheaded in the first place against the youth, which, from lack of experience, may become more vulnerable. Therefore our Party will fight, in the future, too, to throw the youth into struggle against any influence of alien ideology, to nurture it consistently with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideals, to widen the scope and horizons for its inexhaustible energies in every field, to encourage its initiative and self-action on a large scale.

This demands the all-round enlivenment of the life of the youth, extension of its sphere of interests and activity, recognition of its requirements and wishes, and that its possibilities and its forces should be properly evaluated. In this direction better qualified work should be done, fighting any manifestations of formalism and bureaucracy, of dictate and tutelage, which do not take account of the interests and the requirements of the youth, which ignore the psychological peculiarities of their age, etc. Such manifestations can be seen on many occasions, not only among parents and teachers, but also among party organizations, and even the cadres who work with the youth. The old conservative and bureaucratic traditions become an obstacle especially to the further democratization of school life and the creation of the possibilities for the youth to take an active part in the all-round revolutionization of this life.

Our task is to enable the youth itself to organize its own life in a vivid and dynamic way, to be skilful in helping it on this road. For this the Albanian Labour Youth Union organization must play a special role, it should enliven its activities, taking into account the impetuous changes caused by the development of the life of the country and of the youth itself, adapting its forms of work to these changes, as well as to the new needs and demands

to which they give rise among the youth.

Our society is in a period of impetuous ascent. Centuries-old traditions, norms and customs are being overturned, the ideologies of all the classes whose star has waned are being attacked, new norms and customs, which liberate the minds and consciousness of the working people are coming into being, the ideology of the victorious proletariat is triumphing. The all-round revolutionization of the country's life and the sharp ideological struggle waged during recent years have created a new and more compatible relationship between the demands of socialism and the consciousness of man. But naturally, it would be a mistake to think that all forms and manifestations of the old ideologies have been smashed completely, that all contradictions in this field have been solved. No matter how strong our attack may be, it cannot be, and in fact it is not, all over. The positions won by the socialist ideology need to be further consolidated and deepened, until they are dominant everywhere, throughout our whole society.

While fighting persistently for the all-round revolutionization of our social superstructure, while strongly emphasizing the need for the intensification of the ideological struggle, we always have in mind that the decisive factor which determines our advance is the uninterrupted increase of socialist production and the all-out impetuous transformation of our society. On this basis alone can the revolutionization of the mind and consciousness of man be achieved. Therefore, our ideological struggle can be developed successfully by carrying socialist production forward and by combining the revolutionization of the mechanisms of social, economic and political life with the communist education of the working masses, with throwing them into continuous revolutionary actions and movements.

The ideological struggle as one of the most complicated and sharpest forms of class struggle is a life-and-death struggle between our ideology and hostile alien ideology, between the new and the old, between the revolutionary and the reactionary.

In this struggle, to the old, which we negate and want to smash, we always counterpose the new which is arising and asserting itself. To the bourgeois and revisionist concepts and ideas we counterpose our Marxist-Leninist views. To the old petty-

bourgeois psychology we counterpose the new socialist psychology. To the manifestations of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois individualism and indifference we counterpose socialist collectivism and solidarity. To bourgeois liberalism and patriarchal conservatism, we counterpose our sound progressive spirit. To the trends of personal ease and arrogance we counterpose the spirit of sacrifice and action, the practical spirit, modesty, and demands upon oneself.

In the deepening of the ideological class struggle, the formation of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook assumes first-rate importance. Now, new objective and subjective conditions have been created, which enable us to raise the whole work for a creative mastering of Marxism-Leninism by the communists and the working masses, for putting the struggle against idealist and metaphysical concepts on a still more scientific basis, for achieving the mastering of the Marxist-Leninist theory in still closer connection with revolutionary practice, to a higher level. Great work has been done in recent years for studying the history of our Party and its main documents. In this study attention has been concentrated on the fundamental thing, on the principles from which it has proceeded and on the method and ways which our Party has used for solving various problems in the concrete conditions of our country, and efforts are being made to learn from this, to solve the current problems in new historical conditions. The development of numerous revolutionary actions and movements also, especially of ideological ones, is being associated with the study of Marxism-Leninism and the theoretical elaboration of the respective problems. In this field, the work of the press and other means of propaganda work and mass culture has also been enlivened.

These results are a sound basis for working more persistently and in a more qualified way, so that all the communists and the working people master Marxist-Leninist theory. This requires deep and continuous study of the ever-relevant works of our great classic teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and our party documents and materials, in which the experience of the international communist movement is generalized. This study is not and cannot be an aim in itself, but is closely linked with the present revolutionary practice and should serve this practice. We

should not study anything that comes to hand, but we should have a definite aim, selecting the respective literature for this purpose. The study of Marxist-Leninist theory should help us to gain a deep knowledge of the Party's policy in every field of activity and to carry it out correctly, to understand and successfully wage the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, to know the laws of class struggle, of the relations between the conditions of material life and the consciousness of man, of the economy and politics, to understand and solve correctly the contradictions and problems to which the development of the life of our country gives rise.

This cannot be achieved by simply learning some formulae and theses by heart, but only when the fundamental principles, the Marxist-Leninist methodology, are mastered; when the dialectical materialist method of interpretation of phenomena and the solution of questions is assimilated, when both dogmatic attitudes and subjective views are combated.

Marxism-Leninism is a theory which is revolutionary to the end. Throwing light on the new problems emerging from life, it is developed in struggle with the views of its ideological opponents. Only in the process of this struggle can it be thoroughly mastered, can the living Marxist-Leninist ideas be implanted and transformed into conscious militant conviction. The confrontation of views and debate should be used on a broad scale within the Party and the whole of society, in struggle against any manifestation of conformism, against tendencies to cover up contradictions. Only in this way can we lay the basis of an active immunity to alien ideology, can we achieve a truly revolutionary education.

But in our methods of education there are routine and old forms of work, which hinder the achievement of these aims. In our press and publications, on the radio, in various lectures and conferences that are held, there is still a great deal of formalism and officialdom. The spirit of the confrontation of ideas is not felt as it should be and the method of debate is not used widely. Outworn, standardized methods are used there, and there is little creative work. Such methods hinder the fruitful propagation and creative mastering of Marxism-Leninism and the policy of our Party. Therefore our struggle against them should be much more

determined. We should not lack the courage to give up all those outdated forms of work, which no longer respond to the present political, ideological and cultural development of our people, with the requirements that have arisen on the basis of this level, with the need to raise it higher and higher.

Education, culture and art must be made to serve socialism and the people ever better

During the recent period, a tremendous job has been done to further revolutionize education and culture, literature and the arts, to put them ever better in the service of the cause of socialism and the people.

The further revolutionization of the school is one of the biggest actions undertaken by the Party. The broad popular discussion which was held on this question made a great contribution to combating bourgeois and revisionist concepts and influences and to the elaboration of Marxist-Leninist concepts on the school. Now a frontal struggle is being waged to carry out the Party's instructions in this field, and life itself is confirming their correctness day by day. The new educational programs are being implemented successfully. A major job, in which thousands of teachers have been activated, is being done in drafting the new school textbooks. Likewise, work is going on to revolutionize teaching and educational structures, methods, and forms. The aim of these measures is to achieve the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis in the whole teaching-educational work of the school, in the application in unity of its main components — teaching, productive work and physical and military education — in its close and all-round connection with revolutionary practice.

The measures for the further revolutionization of our school touch the very essence of the whole of its life. Besides the further development of education in breadth, the Party's attention has been drawn particularly to its development in depth, to the all-round strengthening of the socialist content of our school. Of course, in the future, we shall have further extensions still of the school in various ways, and it will have an increasingly mass character, especially of secondary and higher education. But, questions of the content always remain the fundamental ones.

Therefore, the full carrying out, at the highest rates possible, of the tasks we have laid down, the further theoretical working out, on the basis of practical experience, of ideological, scientific and pedagogical questions, of the content of the teaching and educational work, especially of the school programs and textbooks, constitutes our main concern.

Now that the extension of the eight-grade school has been completed throughout the country, the need for its all-round qualitative consolidation and strengthening becomes still more acute. This is a fundamental premise for achieving a higher level and quality of work in all categories of school. Our school today is faced with the important task of the scientific-pedagogical modernization of the whole teaching process, of its content and method. This cannot be realized without current processes and trends of the technical and scientific revolution being reflected properly in the teaching, without going deeply into the study of science and modern technique, without using modern pedagogical methods. For this, important and more rapid changes are required, not only in programs and textbooks, but especially in the teaching and didactical basis, in the gradual introduction of modern technique in teaching, in the qualification of the teachers, in the securing of literature for the pupils and teachers, in the raising of what is required from them. A problem of great importance is the use of active methods which stimulate the independent work of the pupils and students, and the development of their capacities, inclinations, and talents.

In our socialist school the elevation of the scientific level of teaching is being achieved also as a close linking of theory with practice and productive work. Despite the complicated organizational and pedagogical problems, the participation of the school youth and students in productive work in the factories and cooperatives, in local and national actions, is being carried out successfully. But still there are many difficulties that result from the misunderstandings and obstacles which emerge in its practical organization and application by the directors of the schools and of the economic enterprises.

Special attention should be paid also to the application of the programs of the military training of the youth as another very important component part of our new school. This training

should be done in all seriousness, in conformity with age, combating any manifestation of underestimation of this duty, which has to do with the strengthening of the defence of the freedom and independence of our Fatherland.

It is clear that the struggle for the revolutionization of our school requires the raising of the whole work to a more scientific level. Unless we undertake serious studies, unless we develop the pedagogical sciences, the tasks that face our school cannot be carried out successfully.

The new programs on physical and military education in schools, which are being put into effect successfully, have caused a further enlivening of physical culture and sport. However, this is still a backward sector of our work. The principles laid down, according to which the fundamental thing is the mass movement for physical culture, general physical culture and the basic sports through which it is attained, are not being applied consistently, and there is much one-sidedness in practice. The physical culture movement of the youth and the masses is limited and is not in the centre of the attention of the organs of the Party and state, of education and physical culture, of the youth and trade unions. Material obstacles and shortages are not the main thing here, though there are such and they must be solved. The fundamental thing is to fight the distorted concepts that are expressed in the underestimation of the mass physical culture movement and basic sports. For us who want a strong, healthy, and tempered youth and people it is necessary to make a radical turn in this field, too, and to put it forward as an important party duty.

We should take more care also for the life of the youth and the working people, for their all-round culture, for their rest and recreation, for games, for sports grounds and equipment, for the publication of books, for the artistic movement, etc. The better harmonization of the work at school with the whole system of out-of-school education and mass culture, as well as the formation of a correct concept on the broadness of the content and means of cultural work, are very important and current problems. The publication and the wider distribution of books, the extension of cultural and artistic centres throughout the country, the great increase of the amateur artistic movement, the setting up of the television service recently, as well as the

revolutionization of the content of all this work, are important indices of a quantitative and qualitative leap forward. In this field we are engaged in an intensive struggle to accentuate the socialist features of our culture and to smash alien and obsolete influences. But the ever-growing demands of the masses for culture are very great, and the fulfilment of these demands is not proceeding at the proper rate. The numerous means of mass culture have still not penetrated as they should into the family and have not yet been put into everyday use on a large scale by the individual at work and during leisure time. Therefore, in many cases, the knowledge acquired at school is not supplemented, developed, or consolidated. Our task is to take measures to prevent the further deepening of this contradiction.

Our socialist life is and should be cultured. This means that parallel with the school, the book, artistic activity, etc, the whole of life, production, the way of living and behaviour, the creation of environments in the plants, schools or the countryside, the way we build and arrange our villages and towns, our architecture and town planning, road maintenance, even the way of serving the people, all this, everything in our country, should serve the cultural formation of the new man. It happens that there are narrow understandings or underestimations of one or another field of culture. Less attention is shown especially for the culture of life. All attention is concentrated upon questions of production, and this is understandable, but more attention should be paid also to the conditions of work, the rest and the leisure time of the working people, to the rational exploitation on their part of all the means of socialist information and communication, to their all-round cultural development.

In struggle to overcome these weaknesses, it is necessary to increase the all-round state and social interest in educational and cultural work, in the perfection of the method of this work, in the full and rational utilization of the existing means, as well as in the creation of the possibilities and ensuring the necessary material means.

Considerable results of great educational value have been achieved in recent years also in the development of literature and art. The heroic struggle waged by our Party and people against the imperialist and revisionist blockade, the all-out revo-

lutionization of the country's life, the demands of the Party for a militant culture with a relevant and national revolutionary spirit, as well as the more correct understanding of and attitude towards publications and repertoires from foreign literature and art, gave a powerful impulse to the development of our literature and art. They acquired greater ideological maturity and a higher artistic level. The artistic creative work has increased as never before and all genres of art and literature, prose and poetry, music and fine arts, theatre, cinematography etc. have developed successfully. New talents have been and are being added to the recognized talents day by day. Besides the qualitative rise of professional creative work, there has been an unprecedented flowering of the people's creative work and of the amateur artistic movement. Our socialist art is thus marching powerfully on both feet. Consistently following the principles of socialist realism, our revolutionary literature and art will certainly see new and greater developments in the future.

Our Party, at the head of the masses, fights persistently to affirm that which is socialist and to remove any obstacle that restricts our advance. It discloses contradictions with courage and fights to overcome them, criticizes shortcomings, and never loses its perspective. Day by day it carries out the well-known process of the building of the new and the destruction of the old, transforms the life of the people, and forms the new man. These aims should always be kept in mind by our literature and art. This is the brand they, too, should bear. The reflection of the new socialist reality in its revolutionary development, with the contradictions of the time, which give literature and art the necessary drama and conflict — herein lies the new content that gives force to our literature and art of socialist realism. And such a content will certainly lead to seeking and finding new forms. All this, as well as firm reliance on the national soil, on the progressive cultural creative work and heritage of our people, give our socialist literature and art that originality and innovation which distinguishes it from others, not only as the creative work of a certain people and nation, but also because of the features which this creative work acquires from the conditions of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, and for the revolutionization of the whole life of the

country.

It is precisely the militant revolutionary character of literature and art that the revisionists deny. After proclaiming that socialist realism is "restrictive", or rejecting it as a creative method, as well as the principle of proletarian partisanship, they opened the door to the most varied reactionary and decadent trends, which led to the degeneration of their literature and art, turning them into vanguard tools of capitalist restoration. When art is the vehicle for the ideas and aims of the counter-revolution, when it becomes the mouthpiece of bureaucratized and bourgeoisified elements and is opposed to the aspirations and the struggle of the masses, it can never be true art.

The further flourishing of the arts of socialist realism will be achieved by consolidating the positions won in struggle against any alien influence which is incompatible with our socialist ideology, against both modernist trends and conservatism, by reflecting still more deeply from the ideo-artistic point of view, the all-round life and struggle of the people for the construction of socialism, by centring the creative work on the heroes of our time, by strengthening the proletarian partisanship and the popular character of our arts, in struggle against any influence of bourgeois objectivism and abstract humanism, by continually increasing the educational role of literature and art.

Extend scientific work, raise the level of its organization and direction

Time has come to pay much more attention than has been paid up to now to the extension and development of scientific research work and activity, to their organization and direction. This necessity is dictated by the great importance of science at the present epoch, as well as by the objective conditions and tasks of the development of our country at the present stage. Today science has become a very important factor in the development of production and all the other sectors of social activity. It has been transformed into a direct productive force, on the results of which the increase of the country's economic power depends to a considerable degree. The progress of present-day science is colossal and any negligence in this field would be reflected negatively in the overall rate of the country's construction. The

ever more intensive development of the national economy and culture can be stepped up further only by relying on modern science and technology, by promoting the technical and scientific revolution. At the present stage of our country, there is no field in which we can advance rapidly unless profound immediate and prospective scientific studies are made, which clarify the objectives we want to achieve and the ways through which they can be realized. This demand for raising the management of all work to a still higher scientific level can be carried out successfully if we base ourselves firmly on science and utilize its achievements intensively.

We put forward the new tasks in the field of science relying on our possibilities and achievements. The material and technical base of the national economy is being constantly improved and modernized. The educational and cultural level of the masses is rising unceasingly. A system of higher schools and several special institutes has already been set up, and organized scientific work is being carried out in them. In recent years, a broad movement for mass scientific experimental work has developed. As a result, the efforts of the scientific workers and of all the creative intelligentsia have been united with those of the masses. Many problems which are important and vital to the country, its economy and culture, have been solved on this basis. Our task is to consolidate these successes and to carry this work forward uninterruptedly.

To achieve this aim it is necessary to reject all those vulgar and primitive concepts which underestimate the role of science, of scientific institutions and workers, and which draw their source from the lack of necessary experience in this field and from the lack of a deep understanding of the great role which science in general plays today. At the same time, we should intensify the struggle that is being waged against all intellectualist concepts, the aim of which is to hermetically seal scientific work, to give it an academic character detached from the revolutionary productive practice of the working masses, to underestimate the role of the masses in the development of scientific experiments and of science in general.

Proceeding from correct concepts, we shall be able to overcome that relative backwardness which is apparent today in

the field of scientific studies and research as compared with the aims and objectives set for a rapid and intensive development of our socialist economy and culture. In this way we shall be better able to acquaint ourselves with, to master and apply the advanced achievements of international science and technology in production and in scientific research. In this way, the rate of the struggle to pass from narrow handicraft concepts and methods of the organization and direction of production to modern industrial concepts and methods, will be sped up.

It is essential that in the future we give priority and pay more attention, allocate more means and forces, to those branches of science that are most decisive in the all-round progress of our country today and in the future, and which precede this progress. In this respect, in the general organization of scientific work, the various technical and agricultural sciences which are directly linked with the intensive development of the main branches of the economy, should have precedence. The building of a modern agriculture in particular requires organized and complex studies, not only by the specialists in agriculture, but also by the workers in biological, chemical, physical, mechanical, and other sciences.

At the same time, research work will advance also in the field of economic and social sciences. Studies for perfecting the socialist relations of production, and for other problems of the development of the national economy require special attention. In recent years, studies on the ways of development of our revolution and its experience in various fields as well as on numerous sociological problems, have assumed a mass character, and these have enlivened, enriched our Marxist-Leninist theoretical ideas and have created premises for a sounder organization of the whole of this activity. In the sciences that deal with the study of the history of our people, their material and spiritual culture, the already created traditions have been consolidated and new horizons have been opened to the intensification of these studies, to go more deeply into the most cardinal problems of the past and into the most acute present-day problems.

These tasks that are laid before us in the field of science require a radical improvement of the organization and direction of the

entire scientific work at all levels and in all fields, beginning with the planning of development and ending with the organized application in practice of its results and recommendations. While working to strengthen the study centres at the basic level, of technical, technological and designing bureaus, of experimental plots, various laboratories, scientific circles and commissions, as important means for giving scientific work more of a mass character, we should at the same time gradually go ahead more rapidly in the extension and strengthening of the existing special scientific institutions, as well as in the creation of the necessary new institutions, at the same time taking measures for a more coordinated and concentrated organization and direction of the scientific work and life on a national scale, in compliance with the present possibilities and future tasks.

It is evident that such a development of science also requires a gradual extension of the necessary material basis for this work. Still more urgent is the problem of the training and specialization of cadres. This specialization should be all-round and of every sort. It should begin partly at the higher school, it should be deepened at work, and realized through post-graduate studies, through the solution of various scientific tasks, and when necessary, it could even be done abroad. Delays and negligence in solving this problem will have negative results in the future.

The organs of the Party, the state and the economy, should support and rely more actively on the scientific thought of our specialists and the working people. They should assess every positive experience and encourage every useful proposal by courageously opening the way to the new, by giving up routine and the old manner of work, by opening the path to the impetuous creative energies and spirit of innovation of our people.

V

**WE MUST CEASELESSLY STRENGTHEN AND
REVOLUTIONIZE THE PARTY**

Conscious of its historic mission as leader of the struggle of the whole people for socialism, at its 5th Congress the Party laid down important tasks for the further revolutionization of its life and activity. For this purpose the Central Committee has taken a series of concrete measures for the political and ideological education and tempering of the communists and cadres, for the correct understanding and revolutionary implementation of party principles and norms, for the strengthening of the proletarian character of its ranks and leading organs, for the further deepening of the mass line in the activity of the Party.

The Party comes to this Congress stronger than ever before, with a steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity of its ranks, linked as close as flesh to bone with the working class and working masses, ready to undertake still greater tasks, and determined to carry them out honourably as it has always done.

Without a revolutionary party of the working class, a party loyal to Marxism-Leninism, organized and capable of leading and mobilizing the working masses, neither the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, nor the successful construction of socialism can be thought of. Precisely because we have always kept this principle in mind and remained loyal to it, the retrogressive process that occurred in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, where the emergence of revisionism and the re-establishment of capitalism began with the degeneration of the party, with the alteration of its class character, with the loss of its revolutionary qualities and spirit, did not take place with us. Precisely because we have followed the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the party consistently, and fought relentlessly for its uninterrupted tempering and revolutionization, in our country the dictatorship of the proletariat stands steel-strong and invincible, socialism marches ahead, ever triumphant.

The Party of Labour of Albania is a strong, organized party

tested in battle, a party ideologically and politically pure, determined and able to carry the cause of the working class forward successfully. We are proud of our heroic Party, of its struggle and successes, of its courage, clearheadedness and vitality. But we should never forget that the class struggle continues, both inside and outside the country; that the pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology exists. We should devote our full attention, efforts and abilities to the work for the continuous strengthening of the Party, for its revolutionary education, for the enhancement of its leading role in the whole life of the country.

And this becomes all the more necessary if we keep in mind the majestic and very important tasks this Congress is putting before the Party and the whole people. The successful realization of these tasks, the impetuous development of our whole economy, the transformations in the entire life of the country, demand the total engagement of the mental and physical energies of all the communists and cadres, and the raising of the party work to a higher level.

The leading role of the Party is ensured through the activity of all the communists and their vanguard example

Our Party upholds the Marxist-Leninist principle that with the development and consolidation of socialism, far from being weakened, the leading role of the party becomes ever more strengthened and perfected. This is dictated by the fact that the process of socialist construction becomes more and more extensive and complex. In this process the leading role of the working class is continually enhanced. On the other hand the participation of the masses in the socialist construction of the country, in the entire social, economic and state life, becomes more and more active. All these factors make it indispensable to raise to a higher level the leading, educative, organizing and mobilizing role of the Party, which, relying on its ideology, makes the objectives clear and illuminates the road to their attainment.

In our country the leading role of the Party in every aspect of life has been and is indisputable. All the historic victories our people have achieved during these 30 years, the liberation of the

country, the establishment of the people's power, the construction of the new socialist society are indissolubly linked with the Party and its wise and farsighted leadership.

The strengthening and perfecting of the leading role of the Party is a permanent and vital task. A profound understanding of this principle, and especially, the correct implementation of it in practice, is especially important.

The leading role of the Party as the guiding force of the entire life of the country extends to every field: ideology, politics, organization, the economy, education, military affairs and so on. These sectors of the life of the country, which together make up a whole, are led by the Party through all its members, wherever they work, be it in the party or state apparatuses, in the mass organizations, in production, or in the scientific and cultural institutions.

The work of the communists in each sector has its own special characteristics, but it also has one thing in common: every communist, wherever he works, should fight to carry out the line of the Party and ensure its leading role. The roots of many of the shortcomings and weaknesses observed in our work lie in confusion of what is specific with what is common.

The communist in the party organs should be conversant with economic problems, the problems of industry and agriculture, of education, culture and the army, independently of the fact that the comrades who work in the respective branches of the state apparatus are directly involved with them. The comrades of the leading party organs should have a good knowledge of all the problems, of course without going into details, because without this they cannot give proper guidance to the state and economic organs in the performance of their tasks, or to the party organizations in mobilizing the masses.

When we say that party organs and apparatuses should be acquainted with and take up all the problems of the country's life, we mean that they should view these problems from the angle of specific party work, without going into the technical or material details of day-to-day issues and without duplicating the work of the state and economic organs. Fundamental in their work is the education and mobilization of the communists and the masses working in different sectors to carry out the tasks they have been

charged with to the letter, putting the party organizations and, through them, all the other state, economic or social organizations onto militant positions for the consistent carrying out of the policy of the Party everywhere.

The communists and cadres appointed by the Party to work in state and economic organs, be they politicians or specialists, are first and foremost political people. While engaged in the management of state affairs, in the organization of production, in taking technical and economic measures for the fulfilment of the plan, which is their main duty, they do not and should not see these tasks with the eyes of a technocrat. As communists, responsible to the Party for the implementation of its line in their respective sectors, they should strive tirelessly to develop a political and ideological understanding of these tasks among the working people, to organize and mobilize them fully.

This is how the leading role of the Party in the whole life of the country is realized, this is how the Party as a whole gives guidance, in an organized and centralized manner.

The leading role of the Party is not achieved through decrees, nor is it imposed through administrative measures. It is won through its correct line, which expresses and defends the vital interests of the working class and the masses as a whole and through its resolute struggle to carry this line out in actual life. This role is ensured through the revolutionary activity of every communist who, by his personal example and activity, inspires, educates and mobilizes the masses in the struggle for socialism. The Party is made up of its members, and the vanguard role of the Party is meaningless and cannot be carried out without every communist playing his vanguard role.

But are all the communists in the vanguard position of the Party? Each party member should ask himself this question. This question should concern every party organization. It is a fact that although they are not many, within our ranks there are a few unenterprising party members lacking in initiative who harbour backward concepts on work and life, and who, far from setting a personal example and standing in the vanguard, frequently trail behind the masses just as there are also some who have been left behind by the impetuous development of our life.

Such people sound a discordant note amongst the

overwhelming majority of the members of our glorious Party, amongst those who have carried and are carrying heavy burdens on their shoulders, who have performed and are performing mighty deeds, who have fought and are fighting with heroism and self-sacrifice for the all-round progress of our socialist Fatherland, who deservedly stand at the head of the masses and enjoy their boundless respect and confidence.

The Party should do its utmost to educate these communists who have lagged behind, to put them in a militant position, to have them march in step with the times and the revolution, so that they may be worthy of and keep the title of a member of our heroic Party.

In our country the whole atmosphere is such as to impel our people forward. Here everything is moving, developing. Our life is active, dynamic, it does not tolerate the passivity and routine that keep people marking time. One of the most important tasks of our party organizations is to find ways, methods, and that revolutionary style of work so that all the communists will be put on vanguard positions, to throw them into battle, actions, into which by their example they draw all the working masses after them.

The fundamental and decisive link that ensures the leading role of the Party in every aspect of our life is the basic organization. Through the basic party organization, all the instructions and directives of the Party are analyzed, explained, and put into practice, the direct connections of the Party with the masses are ensured and the masses mobilized for the achievement of definite objectives, and check-up is exercised on the activity of every communist, irrespective of where he works or the position he holds.

If they are to play their leading, inspiring and organizing role in the sectors where they work, the basic party organizations should go deeply into the main problems and not let themselves be swamped by day-to-day details. They must arouse all the organizations and put them into motion, not allowing themselves to be transformed into mere levers of the economic and state organs, not concerning themselves only with the figures of the plan, but, first and foremost, with carrying out the policy of the Party in every field. They should fight against bureaucracy,

indifference and any other alien manifestation, and especially step up their work with the people, because it is the people who turn the party directives and state plans into reality.

The proletarian composition of the Party and the quality of the communists — a fundamental prerequisite for the Party to remain always revolutionary

The Party, as a living political organism, which grows and is strengthened in struggle and revolution, reflects in its ranks the changes that take place in the social-economic sphere, in the class structure and in the spiritual life of society.

This is an uninterrupted process but by no means spontaneous. It is consciously organized and directed by the Party itself in conformity with the stages of the revolution and the problems it has to solve, relying always upon the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

During these last five years, thanks to the great all-round political, ideological, and organizational work for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country and of the Party itself, important quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in the Party.

The considerable growth of the Party membership and, especially, the further improvement of the class composition of its ranks, testifies to this. On October 1, 1971 there were 86,985 communists in the ranks of the Party, including 18,127 candidate members, compared with 66,327 communists at the time of the 5th Party Congress. Thus, during this period 20,658 communists have been added to the Party.

It is a great joy and victory for the Party and all the people that now, for the first time in the history of our Party, the worker communists occupy the first place in party membership. At present they make up 36.41 percent of all the communists.

This fact testifies to the deep love of the working class for their Marxist-Leninist Party and their boundless confidence in it. It testifies to the correct organizational line consistently and resolutely followed by the Party, which has resolutely upheld the principle that a party of the working class must be proletarian not only in regard to its ideology but also in regard to the class composition of its ranks.

The working class has sent its finest sons and daughters to the Party, those who have distinguished and tempered themselves in revolutionary battles and actions. This new blood has brought the determination and iron will, the discipline and revolutionary impetus of the working class into the Party.

In order to preserve and continuously strengthen its proletarian class character the Party has devoted special attention to the improvement of the composition of its leading organs with workers. Today 55 percent of the members of the plenums of the party committees in the districts, 85.2 percent of the members of the bureaus of the basic organizations in the economic enterprises and 86.3 percent of their secretaries, are workers by origin, background, or present position. It is a very positive and significant fact that now taking part in the leading organs of our Party, there are many workers who, even after being elected to these organs, continue their jobs as workers in production. This is of great principled importance. The evil turn that occurred in many communist parties which degenerated to revisionism stemmed from the fact that while there were many workers in their ranks, their leading organs were deproletarianized, filled with specialist technocrats, bureaucratic intellectuals and officials.

By opening the way for workers to enter the Party, to take an active part in its leading organs, our Party has put its roots deep into the heart of the most revolutionary and progressive class in society, the class to which belongs the historic mission of being in the vanguard of the struggle for socialism and communism.

In the future, too, we must fight to increase the ranks of our Party with workers who should have priority over all those from the other classes and strata. Real possibilities for this exist now, because the working class is rapidly growing and developing, parallel with the development of the economy and especially of industry. Special attention should be paid to this question in some districts where, although there is a relatively developed working class, the number of workers in the Party is still below the average for the Republic. Another shortcoming is that there is not a correct ratio between the number of communists who work in the more important and mechanized sectors and those who are engaged in auxiliary sectors.

The admissions of the young workers to the Party should be made especially from the most important branches of the economy, in mineral extraction and processing, in the metallurgical, engineering and chemical industries, on the big projects and in new branches of industry, everywhere the need is felt both for the present and the future.

Along with the admission of more workers to the Party, the Central Committee has devoted particular attention to the extension of the Party to all the sectors of the economy and culture. The new admissions and the extension of the Party have been done according to the existing needs, taking carefully into account the size of the territory, the importance of the ideopolitical and economic problems to be solved, the matters that require direction and organization from the Party.

The growth of the Party in the agricultural cooperatives, from the 5th Congress onward, has gone normally in conformity with the tasks arising from the socialist construction in the countryside. Communists from the agricultural cooperatives make up 29.70 percent of the party membership. Today there is no village without communists, and we have organized basic party organizations in all the sectors of the agricultural cooperatives. But there are still brigades without party groups and even some without a single communist.

The great tasks facing agriculture for increasing production and modernization, the major role it plays in our economy as a whole, as well as the fact that the greater part of our population lives in the countryside, demand the admission of more cooperativists to the Party, with the aim of further strengthening the Party in the countryside and improving its leadership in the agricultural cooperatives, by bringing the Party as close as possible to the basic unit of production, the brigade.

The great revolutionary struggle that has been developed, especially in recent years, for the complete emancipation of the woman, for setting free her inexhaustible creative energies, has been successfully reflected in the composition of the Party. The fact that women comprise 22.05 percent of the total party membership as against 12.47 at the time of the 5th Congress, cannot but arouse our enthusiasm.

Women are a colossal force and play a very important role in the all-round development of the country. Great numbers of women have now graduated from the eight-year schools, have been educated in the party spirit and tempered on the anvil of mass actions and various revolutionary movements. Today a correct and healthy opinion about the role of the woman in society is being formed in our country. All this creates the possibility and dictates the need that in the future, too, we should forge ahead boldly and rapidly in admitting women to party membership.

For our Party, as its entire history proves, the quality of its members, their political and moral characteristics, their ideological formation and revolutionary tempering, their determination to defend and carry out the line of the Party always and under any circumstances, are of decisive importance. Big numbers do not always show the strength of a party. But when numbers are accompanied with high quality, when more and more conscious elements who are ready to carry out the tasks which the Party puts before them enter its ranks, people who at all times put the general interest above everything, then it is transformed into a colossal force. Such people make the Party invincible, keep it always revolutionary, a vanguard and leading force of the entire society.

The demands the Party makes on the communists are continually increasing, parallel with the development of socialism and the emergence of new, more difficult and complex, problems and tasks. Each stage of the revolution demands new qualities and virtues from all the working people, qualities and virtues which should be embodied, first of all, in the communists. Besides their political loyalty and devotion to the cause of the Party, besides their untiring work for the good of the people, besides their internationalist convictions and hatred of the enemy, today it is more than ever necessary for the communists to be advanced people, with new concepts about work, life, family, society, people who love knowledge and culture, who have a thorough understanding of their profession and support technical and scientific progress with all their might, who do not tolerate routine and ignorance, who wage a courageous struggle against anything that becomes an obstacle

hindering the impetuous march of socialist society.

The sound composition and the good qualities of those who are admitted to the Party are not everything. In order to have a strong revolutionary Party capable of playing its vanguard role, it is indispensable that all its members should be educated constantly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the policy and teachings of the Party, uninterruptedly tempered in the fire of revolutionary struggle and work. This is a vital necessity if the communists are not to become sclerosed, bureaucratized, and degenerate as in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, but are to remain always resolute and consistent fighters for the cause of communism.

Everyone needs this education and tempering, not only the young communists but also those with a long period in the Party, not only the men of production, but also those of mental work, not only those of a relatively low ideopolitical and educational level, but also those who have graduated from schools. Although they are selected from the most revolutionary and progressive section of society, the communists are not divested of the hangovers from alien ideologies, just as they are not guaranteed immunity from the danger of bourgeois and revisionist infection.

The educative work of the Party should aim not only at arming the communists with the laws of development of society, at equipping them with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, but also at tempering their consciousness, keeping the revolutionary spirit, the moral figure of the party member high so that thought and action constitute an indissoluble unity, so that the communists think, live, and act everywhere and always as revolutionaries. It should make them capable of rapidly and correctly finding their bearings in any situation, of clearly grasping the reality in which they live, of achieving a profound knowledge of the problems which emerge from the internal development of our country or from the international situation and of responding as they should to the tasks facing them and the masses of the people.

Since the 5th Congress, the work for the education of the communists has been enlivened, has been more closely linked with the problems and tasks facing the country and the Party. A wider range of more effective forms has been used, the initiative

of party committees and basic party organizations which have taken these matters in hand better. has been further developed. Theoretical education has been associated in a more organic way with the mobilization of the communists in mass actions and revolutionary movements.

The education of the communists has not been and is not an aim and a question in itself. The Party has never considered it as detached from the education of the masses, as the education of an elite, but, on the contrary, as the education of a vanguard to make it capable of educating the masses. Any severance of the education of the Party from the education of the masses, as the bitter experience of the Soviet Union shows, leads to the cultivation of intellectualist concepts in the Party and to indifference towards political and ideological questions among the working people. In the final analysis, it leads to the weakening and undermining of the Party's links with the people.

Great work is being done in the Party for the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and the documents of our Party. This work should be continued and improved to help the communist not only to correctly understand but also to carry out the party directives and state laws, the norms of our socialist society. Marxist knowledge should not remain an intellectual adornment, but it should guide the communists in every step of their lives. And we can perform this work still better, because our possibilities are now greater, the Party has gained rich experience and trained a large army of cadres who are able to carry on qualified work for the education of the communists and the working people.

The Party should show special concern for the education of its candidate members who now make up one-fifth of the party membership. They are young communists, energetic and full of drive, people who have emerged from the waves of the struggle for the revolutionization of the country's life, especially girls and women, who need to be educated and formed as militants, to gain Marxist knowledge and the qualities of a member of our heroic Party.

Appreciable changes have taken place also in raising the educational and cultural level of the Party. At present about 70 percent of the communists have eight-year, secondary, or higher

schooling. This is a very good indication of the persistent efforts of the communists to acquire culture and become ever more capable. But these efforts should be continuous, because there is no end to knowledge. Despite the successes the fact should be noted that 30 percent of the communists have only elementary or uncompleted eight-year schooling. Included in this are many elderly communists and those living in remote mountain areas to which eight-year schooling has been extended only these last few years. By encouraging these communists to raise their cultural level now that eight-year schooling has become compulsory throughout the country, it is possible that in the future the Party should make it a rule to admit only people with a minimum of eight-year schooling.

Incorporate the internal life and raise the initiative and self-action of party organizations

The enhancement of the leading role and the uninterrupted revolutionization of the Party cannot be conceived, much less achieved, without invigorating the internal life of the organizations of the Party, without the initiative and the active participation of all the communists in the struggle for the working out and implementation of its line.

The Party of Labour of Albania was born, grew up and developed in the tide of revolutionary actions of the working class and the masses. In stern class struggle against the internal and external enemies, in bold actions and profoundly revolutionary movements that transformed the material and spiritual world of man, every communist and basic organization, every leading party organ has been constantly revolutionized.

During the period we are reporting on, initiative and self-action, the spirit of innovation and the revolutionary drive to forge ahead have assumed a broad development and a new content in all sectors, in the economy and culture, in science and technology. All this has brought about a new and more flexible style, more original forms of work in conformity with the tasks of the time. Today a high spirit of militancy, of mobilization and responsibility, pervades the life of the party organizations and the communists.

We must keep this revolutionary spirit alive and incessantly

strengthen it so as to make the party organizations ever better self-acting organisms which, with full initiative and responsibility, must analyze and explain, carry out and check up on the directives and decisions of the Party, skilfully grasping and finding ways to tackle the new problems presented by life.

Initiative and self-action are revolutionary concepts of thinking and acting. They are not born of themselves, nor are they provided ready-made by others, but come about as a result of profound knowledge of and penetration into the ideopolitical essence of party directives, as a result of the study and correct assessment of the reality, of the opinion and experience of the masses, of the courage to take complete responsibility for the action carried out.

In order to develop the initiative and independent action of party organizations it is necessary to fight with determination against routine and obsolete forms of work, against administrative methods and bureaucratic tutelage which, despite the improvements made, can still be seen in the work of the Party. There are leading party cadres and organs who not infrequently tend to intervene and decide everything, or who, under the pretext of keeping close contacts with or "covering" all the party basic organizations, establish an impermissible tutelage through their instructors, forgetting that in this way they restrict the initiative of the organizations and communists and make them wait for everything from above. This is one of the manifestations of bureaucracy in the Party. Initiative and independent action are limited also when the leading organs load the basic organizations with a multitude of orientations, directives and decisions which are often lengthy, complicated, and vague. This means that the basic organizations are unable to understand, analyze and carry them out, so they are constantly obliged to ask for explanations and interpretations from the higher bodies. Here, we have to deal with another manifestation of bureaucracy and intellectualism.

All forms of organization and work should serve to set the basic party organizations and communists in motion, to arouse their initiative, to strengthen their individual and collective responsibility. This should be well understood, especially by the leading party cadres and organs. But it is essential that the basic

organizations themselves fight for this. They should be faster to move and more daring, not waiting for ready-made solutions from above for the problems which concern them, and not acting in a mechanical way, without taking into account the character of the directive and the situation in their enterprise, cooperative, or institution. Creative thinking and initiative do not require a big fuss — they should burst out in close connection with the actual concrete tasks and serve their solution.

Initiative and self-action have to do not only with the organization as a forum, but following its example, every party member or candidate should act in this spirit, day by day in everything. Without revolutionary communists there can be no revolutionary party organizations. In this sense display of initiative is not limited to the active participation of each communist in studying problems within the party organization. The basic party organization is not only its meeting, but the whole activity of all its members taken individually and jointly, before, during, and after meetings, to work out and carry out the line and decisions of the Party everywhere they live and work.

The tasks of the construction of socialism and the problems raised by life are so numerous that there is no practical possibility of having all of them discussed in the party organization. Therefore it is required that every communist have a profound and detailed knowledge of the party directives and decisions, and, according to the conditions of the place where he works, carry them out with initiative, working as an agitator, propagandist and organizer, but always playing a vanguard role. Communists should be neither mechanical appliers nor conformists, but should take complete responsibility for the creative analysis and explanation and fulfilment of directives and orientations, speaking up courageously when the various decisions, orders and directions run counter to the correct policy of the Party, or do not respond to particular actual conditions.

Initiative and self-action as distinctive features of communists are formed and tempered in struggle and work, in daily practical social activity. Through mass actions and movements the revolutionary drive of the communists is merged into a single whole with the creativeness of the masses, thus dealing a powerful blow at bureaucratic and technocratic methods,

laziness and formalism. It is the duty of all the communists, party organizations and committees to extend the method of mass actions to all the fields of life, for in this way party work will be enlivened and will respond better to the drive and enthusiasm of the working class and all the working people.

Of special importance for the strengthening of the Party is a profound ideological understanding and persistent implementation of the norms which regulate its internal life. It is these norms that make the Party steel-like, strengthen its unity of thought and action, ensure the vitality and success of its activity.

Any misinterpretation, any merely formal implementation of these norms has serious consequences, withers the inner life of the Party, stifles the revolutionary drive of the communists, paves the way to the development of bureaucracy in and degeneration of the Party. Herein lies one of the main sources of the great tragedy that befell the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In that country today, although the party norms still bear the label "communist", they are used as levers for the subjection of the party and to carry out the will of the revisionist clique in power. Democratic centralism has been turned into bureaucratic centralism through which the dictate of the ruling group of the new Soviet bourgeoisie is imposed upon the party. Criticism and self-criticism have been transformed into weapons to attack and discriminate against the opponents of the revisionist line, conscious discipline has been replaced with blind submission to bureaucratic authorities. The communist ethics of the party member has yielded its place to the bourgeois morality of the careerists, the servile, and the hypocrites.

Throughout its life our Party has fought unceasingly to keep the party norms unblemished and have them become an integral part of the daily life of the organizations and the communists. This has made our Party invincible, able to face its various enemies and to lead the Albanian people successfully on the brilliant road of socialism.

Having in mind both the positive experience of our Party and the negative experience of the revisionist parties, we should give full attention to this great vital question, and must resolutely fight any manifestation of formalism in the interpretation and implementation of the Leninist norms in party life.

These norms are not an end in themselves nor are they administrative rules. Thus internal democracy, as a very important norm in party life, is not reduced simply to democratic procedure in holding meetings, to taking decisions by majority vote, etc. Democracy in the Party has a profound ideological and practical meaning and content. The essence of it is that every communist should take an active part in formulating and implementing the party line, freely express his ideas about the work and the people, openly criticize shortcomings, and make self-criticism of his own weaknesses. Understood and implemented in this way, democracy serves the strengthening of the Party, the education and tempering of the communists, the enlivenment of the organizations and the solidarity of the party ranks on the basis of the fundamental principle of its structure and functioning — democratic centralism.

Democracy is strengthened through debates, the clash of opinions and viewpoints, the putting forward and overcoming of contradictions. The struggle of opinions along correct lines is not an expression of the lack of unity but, on the contrary, an effective means for strengthening it. Where there is a lack of debate, where there is "peace" and "harmony", there is stagnation, and the democracy and unity have a formal character. Fear of debate is not a characteristic of the communists but a feature of the petty bourgeoisie and bureaucrats who want no troubles or worries.

But democracy would still remain formal, were it limited only to discussions and debates. It becomes effective and serves the strengthening of the Party when the communists consistently carry the decisions taken through to the end, when they act like a single body and have a common will. This is how the unity of thought and action is realized in practice.

The great importance of principle of the Leninist stipulation that, to be a party member, one must accept the party constitution and program, belong to a party organization, and regularly pay membership dues, is well known. But this remains formal if the communist is not an active fighter for the implementation of the party line, if he does not embody in his life and work the communist qualities defined in the constitution, if he is not a vanguard fighter and does not lead the masses in the

struggle for socialism. The Albanian communists are not members just to cast their votes, such as the revisionist parties want them to be, but front-rank fighters, people who concern themselves night and day about party affairs and the fate of the people.

The Party cannot stand in the forefront of the struggle and forge ahead without mobilizing the masses, without relying upon them, because the work of the Party is broad, boundless, and it can never be done by a limited number of communists. Its links with the masses is another important norm and principle of the Party.

The problems of the Party are problems that concern the masses, therefore we must seek and find them among the masses, discuss and solve them together with the masses, because it is precisely the broad popular masses that create, build, and transform the world and society. The implementation of this great Marxist-Leninist principle comprises that link in the chain which should be seized to carry all our work ahead. The mass line multiplies the forces of the Party a hundred fold, further deepens democracy in its internal life, and strengthens the ties of the Party with the people.

The successes in this direction are obvious, but we still encounter formalist and sectarian concepts. There are occasions when the masses are consulted only perfunctorily, when, even if their opinion is solicited about some question, the correct suggestions and proposals of the masses are not properly reflected in the decisions. And when only a few people are consulted, and this is called listening to the voice of the masses. This too, is formalism. Likewise it is not rare for the people to be called together, under the slogan of the line of the masses, unnecessarily and over quite unimportant matters.

On the other hand, some basic organizations are finding it difficult to break out of the narrow framework of work without perspective in which they have shut themselves away. What harm is there, if over any important problem taken up for discussion in the basic party organizations or forums, not only is the opinion of the masses solicited, but also, after each party meeting, the working people are informed about the questions they are interested in, and, together with them, the most appropriate

forms and means are sought for their solution? What organizational rules are violated if the basic organization comes before the collective time after time to report on how the decisions have been carried out, how the communists, the bureau members, right up to the district plenum members, have worked, or open meetings of basic organizations are held, even when communists' mistakes are discussed. This violates no norm, no organizational principle but it smashes bureaucratic concepts that underrate the opinion and check-up of the masses, whereas it deepens the democracy in the internal life of the Party and norms of the Party in a revolutionary way.

Placing the entire activity of the party organizations and communists under the control of the working class and the working masses is a question of great principled importance to prevent the separation of the Party from the class and the masses, if we want it to remain to the end a revolutionary Party loyally serving the interests of the people. The lack of these reports, departure from the mass line, turning party work into something closed, beyond the control of the class and the working people, made it possible for the revisionists to take the masses by surprise and face them with an accomplished fact.

We should always have this bitter lesson in mind and further deepen the rich experience of our Party on the great road towards the further democratization of party life, the implementation of its norms in a revolutionary spirit, the strengthening of the links of the Party with the masses. In this way the Party will always be as strong as steel, invincible, capable of finding its bearings in any situation and of successfully solving any problem.

The deepening of the mass line cannot be understood without further improving the work of the Party with the organizations of the masses, and its leadership in these organizations. The role of the Trade Union, Youth and Women's organizations, as well as that of the Democratic Front, is of great importance in strengthening the links of the Party with the masses, in the revolutionary education and mobilization of the working people in struggle to carry out the tasks of socialist construction. They transmit the party line to the masses and put before the Party and the state the problems that are worrying the masses, they not only

educate the working people, but also organize them to take an active part in running state and social affairs and in exercising their direct control over everyone as the all-powerful masters of the country.

The Party has always had a high appreciation of the great role the organizations of the masses play in the system of proletarian dictatorship, therefore it has devoted and continues to devote full attention to them. This attention should in no way be diminished in the future, either. On the contrary, it should be increased, combating any manifestation of underestimation of the organization of the masses which is still to be found among some party organizations, cadres, or communists.

The leadership of the Party in the organizations of the masses is the prerequisite that ensures a correct political, ideological, and organizational orientation for the unity of the popular forces in struggle for the lofty ideals of socialism. Our Party opposes both the viewpoints of the modern revisionists who preach the independence of the mass organizations from the revolutionary party of the working class so as to make them dependent on the bourgeois parties, and the bureaucratic concepts according to which the mass organizations should be mere appendages of the state apparatus, thus denying them any initiative and self-action, with the aim that everything should be dictated to them from above.

The leadership of the Party is a political and ideological leadership, which means that the activity of the mass organizations is based on the ideology and general political line of the Party, that its directives and decisions are the only source that inspires and guides them in all their activity. From this stems the duty of the party committees and organizations to explain this line and these directives to the organizations of the masses in conformity with the specific nature and functions of the latter, at the same time allowing them full freedom of initiative to think and act for themselves in the analysis and explanation, and carrying out of the line and directives.

In this sense the practice of insisting that before the mass organizations can act on anything the party organizations must first have a look at it, which is by no means rare, is absolutely alien and harmful.

These bureaucratic practices, which are often excused with the "need for concrete assistance" to the organizations of the masses, with their "lack of experience", in fact show only that some party organizations still have not divested themselves of certain obsolete forms and methods of work.

In the conditions when the ideopolitical, cultural and educational level of the masses has been raised and when their organizations have gained rich experience, it is also necessary to improve the forms and methods of party leadership, which should aim, not at stifling, but at all-round development of the initiative and self-action of the mass organizations, just as they themselves should further improve their style and method, finding more independent, more flexible, and more varied forms of work.

Particularly careful work has been done for the education of the activists of the mass organizations who constitute a great force and an inexhaustible reserve for increasing the party ranks and for cadres for all sectors. This army of activists does not consist only of the functionaries, or those who have been elected to the forums of the mass organizations, but also of tens of thousands of social activists who work with a high sense of duty as propagandists, agitators and organizers of the masses. The Party and the mass organizations themselves should devote great care to the work of increasing, training and tempering these activists.

Some questions about the policy in regard to cadres, their method and style of work

By its careful work over the years the Party has created an army of loyal and able cadres who, tempered in struggle against difficulties and obstacles, enlightened by the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, work as revolutionaries in all sectors.

The important measures the Party has taken for their further revolutionization, from the circulation of cadres, their work in production, down to the improvement of the social composition of the forums of the Party, and the mass organizations, and of all the apparatus, have resulted in the further tempering of the cadres, irrespective of their age and length of service, as party militants and devoted sons and daughters of the people.

Today about 44 percent of all categories of cadres are under 30 years of age, while over 50 percent range from 30 to 50 years of age. These indices are very positive. They testify to the fact that the Party has pursued a correct policy in the advancement of cadres, harmoniously combining the old cadres with the young ones, preparing and training a new generation of cadres for the purpose of gradually and continuously renewing the leading organs of the Party, the state, the economy and culture.

The Party will continue to follow this correct policy in the future, too. The renewal and replacement of cadres is a vital necessity, therefore this question should become a continuous preoccupation. Serious and timely thought must be given to it.

Cadres, especially leading cadres, are not trained easily, in one day or one year. It takes time to develop and form them. Appointments are quickly made, but the transmission of experience cannot be done by waving a magic wand. This is a continuous process which is carefully guided by the Party. In the joint work of old and young cadres, valuable experience is inherited and enriched, the young are developed and the old refreshed, and the complete harmonization of the different experiences and cadres is realized.

The Party should fight courageously to overcome obstacles that emerge in the way of the advancement of young cadres, especially against conservative and sectarian concepts which are an expression of lack of faith in the creative abilities of the masses, of professional egotism and intellectualism. These are manifested in varying forms, degrees and in different persons, as well as in different categories of working people.

Now there is a sound basis and all the conditions have been created to advance new cadres more courageously in all fields. As such there are thousands and thousands of them, in the ranks of our working class, our cooperativist peasantry, our wonderful youth. Our young people have a high educational and cultural level. Since their childhood they have been continuously educated by the Party, they have been tempered day by day in our revolutionary life. They are fully capable and worthy of being entrusted with any task. Failure to recognize this reality means to lag behind life, to harm the work of the Party, to hinder the development of the country.

Young cadres need careful help and guidance, but no tutelage, they are not to be kept in the role of assistant or apprentice. Cadres with a long period of service, with a high sense of responsibility for the present and the future of the country must see this as a party duty, giving their young comrades wholehearted assistance, encouraging and teaching them, but also learning from them and sincerely believing that there is much they have to learn from them. They should never forget that at one time they were young themselves, and nevertheless the Party charged them with heavy responsibilities, raised them, educated them and taught them how to fight and win, always standing nearby and assisting them to march ahead.

Respect on a revolutionary basis, and not on a sentimental one, for the old cadres who have made a mighty contribution to the struggle for liberation and the construction of socialism, who have shouldered difficult tasks, is a necessary thing, because this is respect for what they have done and their experience, about which they are and always should be modest. The task of the Party is to work so that all the cadres, irrespective of their age and seniority, correctly understand their place and role, the dialectic of the development of life, to have them march in step with the times and make their full valuable contribution, for the good of the Party and the people.

Cadres should always be dedicated revolutionaries and in the service of the working people. Therefore it is indispensable that we go even deeper into the work for their continuous tempering and revolutionization, that we encourage and strengthen the connections of the cadres with the masses, that we seek and find new forms and methods for the education of the cadres of the Party, the state and all the other sectors.

The improvement of the method and style of work of cadres is another problem of first-rate importance if they are to carry out their great and responsible tasks successfully.

With the new five-year plan we are faced with big tasks in industry, agriculture, construction, culture and other fields. They are very complicated tasks. They have their political, economic, technical, and organizational sides. Therefore the measures to carry them out, also, must be many-sided, the cadres should delve deep into the whole of this complex, tackle and

solve the problems, viewing them in their unity and in their reciprocal connection and interdependence. They should harmonize and combine the explanatory and educative work intelligently with the economic, technical and organizational activity.

It is only on this basis that the practical revolutionary activity of the masses can be successfully developed, their mobilization raised to a higher level, and greater results achieved both in the production of material goods and in the tempering of the people's consciousness.

In the work of the Party today, just as in all the other sectors, a higher level of direction on a scientific basis is required. Now our cadres are required to reflect more deeply on the political and ideological content of directives, to make better theoretical generalizations of the experience of the masses and the Party, grasp the fundamental issues, and know how to open broad perspectives to the work in all sectors. For this it is absolutely indispensable that our cadres, of all instances, should study the revolutionary science of the Party, assimilate the dialectical materialist world-outlook, in close connection with practice, with the problems to be solved. They should wage a resolute struggle against any manifestation of subjectivism, empiricism, or practicalism, against anything that cultivates routine, that ties people down to day-to-day detail, that fosters in them the spirit of commandism and diverts them from the recognition of reality.

Style and method of work are not fixed once and for all. They change, are developed and enriched, in conformity with the new conditions and tasks. Everything should be subject to verification in practice. For this it is important that the cadres see and thoroughly understand the reality in its revolutionary transformation, the new that emerges and develops, achieve a deep knowledge of the demands of the time. For it is only in this way that they will be able to fight most effectively against any manifestation of conservatism, any tendency to stick to obsolete forms and methods which have been outstripped by life.

Our Party is a party of progress, a party of the future. It is irreconcilable with anything obsolete, conservative or retrogressive. It fights to eliminate all obstacles, to open the wide road of the new, of the emancipation and the development of the

creative energies of the masses, for the all-round progress of our socialist society.

VI

MARXISM-LENINISM, AN EVER YOUNG AND SCIENTIFIC DOCTRINE

The struggle against the most dangerous anti-Marxist trend, Soviet-led modern revisionism, has been continually in the centre of attention of the Party. Conscious of the historic necessity of this struggle, our Party has exposed the anti-Marxist viewpoints and theses and the counter-revolutionary activity, the demagoguery and deceitful tactics of the Khrushchevite revisionists. It has fought resolutely to tear off their masks one after another, to reveal their traitorous and social-imperialist features.

From the very beginning of the great polemics with the modern revisionists, the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China, and the genuine Marxist-Leninists had warned that the departure from the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism would lead them into the camp of the bourgeoisie and capitalism, to the barricade of counter-revolution. Life fully confirmed this forecast.

As a logical result of the development of the betrayal, revisionism, which was born as an opportunist and anti-Marxist trend in the ranks of the communist movement, has now been transformed into a bourgeois trend in the labour movement, a trend similar to social-democracy. The countries where the revisionists came to power have been turned into bourgeois states which oppress and exploit the working people in the same way as the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries. The head of revisionism, the Soviet Union, has been transformed into an imperialist power which follows an expansionist and aggressive policy, which fights for hegemony and world domination.

Driven to the wall as a result of the exposure by the Marxist-Leninist forces, shocked by the failures and defeats they are continually suffering, gripped by contradictions and the deep crisis in which they have landed themselves, the modern revisionists are trying to manoeuvre, to use various tactics to deceive the communists and the peoples, and to prolong their

rule.

Although these efforts and manoeuvres, which were reaffirmed once again at the 24th Congress of the CPSU have by now become stale, they should not be underestimated. The revisionists continue to keep broad sections of the working people deceived and under their influence, especially in the countries where they are in power. They continue to bring great damage to the cause of communism. To the Marxist-Leninists, to the consistent revolutionaries, revisionism remains a great enemy, no less dangerous than the imperialist bourgeoisie. No illusions whatever should be entertained on this issue. The fight against modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leaders must be continued, intensified, and carried right through to the end. Nothing can correct them, except the revolution, and it will wipe them from the face of the earth.

The Party of Labour of Albania will fight with all its strength against the revisionist betrayal, as it has done until now, convinced that in this way it performs its duty towards its own people and to international communism. We regard the ideological struggle against modern revisionism as an inseparable part of the struggle for the defence and building of socialism in Albania, for the victory of the freedom of the peoples and the revolution everywhere in the world.

The present situation makes the need for the intensification of this struggle of historic importance even more imperative. We are living in a period of the mounting of the revolutionary upsurge. The struggle against imperialism and reaction is assuming ever larger proportions. All the continents are seething with revolutionary movements which are shaking the old world of oppression and exploitation to its very foundations. This is the clearest expression of the sharpening of all the contradictions — the class and national, internal and external contradictions of the world capitalist system — of the further deepening of its general crisis.

Today the development of the world revolutionary process has taken a wide variety of forms. The various detachments of the world revolutionary movement are not all fighting and acting under the same conditions, they are at differing stages of social development, are facing different tasks, and engage in historical

practice appropriate to the situation. The social class basis of the world revolution is being extended too. Besides the working class, broad social sections such as the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie of the cities, the intelligentsia and students, youth and women are taking part ever more actively in the various revolutionary movements, bringing the movement all the ideological trappings of the strata they represent, with their good and bad aspects.

But, while there is a powerful upsurge of the masses and peoples in struggle and revolution, the weakness of the revolutionary movement in many countries and areas consists precisely in the lack of scientific strategy and tactics to open the revolutionary perspective to the masses, and to guide them on to the right road for the attainment of their objectives. The situation is such that the practical movement of the masses has marched and is marching ahead, whereas the subjective factor, consciousness, their organization and direction in many countries has lagged behind, and does not respond to the tasks of the times. In this, a direct role of undermining and sabotage is being played by the modern revisionists, who, having abandoned the revolutionary ideals, have turned themselves into scabs and firemen to quell the revolution, and with their opportunist and anti-Marxist viewpoints and activity strive to disarm the working class and to sow ideological and political confusion in the ranks of revolution. This is the greatest service they render to the bourgeoisie and reaction, and the greatest harm to the cause of the liberation of the peoples and socialism.

With its theses of the dying out of the class struggle and class collaboration under the mask of peaceful co-existence, with its illusions about the change in the nature of imperialism and about a world without weapons and wars, with its fear of atomic weapons and thermo-nuclear war, with its sermons about peaceful transition to socialism, etc., etc., Khrushchevite revisionism embraced social-democracy and was transformed into a single counter-revolutionary trend in the service of the bourgeoisie.

This opportunist and reformist platform which was put forward at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and which was developed and supplemented later at the other congresses that

followed, was presented by the revisionists as a platform allegedly defending Leninism from the so-called Stalinist distortions. In fact, it was very soon proved that the trend which appeared with the slogans of anti-Stalinism was an alien trend, irreconcilable with Marxism-Leninism and in struggle against it.

The Khrushchevite revisionists trumpeted and continue to trumpet noisily that with their theoretical viewpoints and theses the "foundations" were laid for the struggle and the "right" road to socialism. In reality this was a road and a struggle to extinguish the struggle for socialism, to turn the masses from the road of revolution, to perpetuate the capitalist order and to undermine the gains of socialism everywhere.

The counter-revolutionary theories and practices of the revisionists serve as nourishment for the most diverse hostile ideological trends, ranging from the most reactionary bourgeois trends to the Trotskyite and petty-bourgeois ones. The bourgeois ideologists deliberately try to present the revisionist betrayal as a failure of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as if communism is unable to provide a positive alternative for the solution of the problems of the world today. Justifying the capitalist order, they claim that today it has become capable of overcoming its social contradictions and conflicts, of creating a society of "general well-being", that allegedly the present-day technical-scientific revolution is replacing the social revolution, is bringing capitalism nearer to socialism and that it is allegedly merging them into a new and single "industrial" or "post-industrial" society. This is the most reactionary wing, the openly anti-communist wing, in the present-day ideological struggle.

The various anti-Marxist trends of the Trotskyites and anarchists have been activated as never before. Infiltrating into various mass movements, especially of youth and intellectuals, they are trying to fish in troubled waters, with a view to diverting the masses from the right road and throwing them into dangerous adventures which lead to heavy defeats and disillusionment. Although they frequently come out with ultra-revolutionary and anti-revisionist slogans, in fact they are playing the revisionists' game, and they are undermining the cause of revolution together with them.

There are also some petty-bourgeois ideologists and people of

sincere revolutionary inclinations who, being disillusioned by the revisionist betrayal, question the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and try to create new theories or to revive old ones. They preach that Marxism-Leninism is incomplete and inaccurate, that allegedly it no longer responds to the new historical conditions of various countries or continents.

In this situation when the ideological confusion which the modern revisionists caused and are seeking to keep alive, has become more pronounced, the great importance of the struggle of all the Marxist-Leninists for the liberation of the working class and labouring masses from all the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and of the various petty-bourgeois trends, the arming of them with the only scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism, emerges very clearly.

*"One of the indispensable conditions for the preparation of the proletariat for its victory", Lenin has said, "is the protracted, resolute, and merciless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism, and the influences of bourgeois trends of this kind, which are inevitable as long as the proletariat acts under the conditions of capitalism. Without this struggle, without first winning complete victory over opportunism within the labour movement, there can be no talk of a dictatorship of the proletariat." **

The ideological struggle which is being waged in the world today is very broad and complex. But the most fundamental problems being discussed are those about hegemony in the revolutionary movement, about the essence and the roads of development of revolution, and about the concept and structure of socialist society.

The leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, a fundamental condition for the defeat of the bourgeoisie and imperialism

The ideological opponents of Marxism-Leninism, from the bourgeois and revisionist down to the radical petty-bourgeois ones, are seeking, in words and deeds, to deny the world historic mission of the working class, its role and hegemony in

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 40, p. 24 (Russ. ed.)

revolution. All of them together, in this way or that, are trying to prove that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism on this issue have become obsolete.

By speculating on the new phenomena of present-day capitalism, especially on the consequences of the development of state monopoly capitalism and the technical-scientific revolution, bourgeois ideologists, like Marcuse and company, are trying to prove with their technocratic theories that allegedly capitalist society is being deproletarianized, that the working class is being transformed into "co-owner and co-manager" of the capitalist enterprises, that it is no longer interested in the revolutionary transformation of society, inasmuch as it has been "integrated" into the capitalist system. Even when one of them sees a revolutionary force, he finds it in the strata on the "class fringes", in the lumpen proletarians, in the ghettos of the large cities, among the immigrants or students and intellectuals.

On the other hand, overrating the objective urge toward socialism which comes about from the development of the new productive forces and which is strengthened by the influence of the new ratio of forces on the international arena in favour of socialism, the revisionists propagate the view that the struggle for socialism can be led by other social classes and forces, non-proletarian ones, ranging from the national bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie down to the progressive patriotic intelligentsia.

These viewpoints cause great harm to the revolutionary movement, create confusion among some immature militants and different strata of the population, especially among the student youth and the young intellectuals, who try to present themselves as independent and the main force of the revolution, who feel no need for the hegemony of the working class and of the political leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party.

The question of hegemony in the revolution is of great principled importance, for it is on who is at the head of it, who is leading it, that its direction, its consistent development and its very fate depend. The attitude toward the working class and its leading role is a touchstone for all revolutionaries. Rejection of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement today, as Lenin emphasized, is the most vulgar

expression of reformism.

The conditions that make the working class the decisive force in contemporary social development, the leading force in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world, have not changed in the least.

Despite all the changes that have taken place in the contemporary capitalist world, the working class is stripped of any kind of ownership over the means of production, of its management, organization and aims. The so-called "consumer" society is created not to meet the needs of the working people, but to intensify their exploitation and to multiply the profits of the capitalists. The fact is that the profits of the monopolies, trusts, and concerns, have reached astronomical figures, just as it is a fact that in recent years, and precisely in the most advanced capitalist countries, fierce clashes of unprecedented proportions have broken out between the working class and the bourgeoisie. It is not from choice that the workers of France, Italy, Britain, and America are coming out on strike, demonstrating in the streets, and occupying the factories, but because their life is very hard, because the capitalist machine oppresses them, turns them into mere tools, dehumanizes them.

Contrary to the sermons of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, capitalist society is not being deproletarianized, but, on the contrary, it is being proletarianized continuously, the weight and the role of the working class in production is becoming more and more decisive, it remains the main productive force of society. Life shows that the working class only needs move, stop work even for a single day, for the entire bourgeoisie to be shaken and all its institutions put in a state of alarm. The working class is a class with rich traditions of struggle and organization, it has its party and its scientific theory which guides it in the class struggle.

All the revolutionary forces that fight for the overthrow of the bourgeois order can achieve victory only if they merge their efforts with the struggle of the working class, if they acknowledge and accept its leading role and that of the proletarian Marxist-Leninist party. This is objectively indispensable. Any alternative leads to adventurism and defeat. It is precisely this great unity of all the Left revolutionary forces with the working class that

frightens the bourgeoisie and the revisionists more than anything else.

On this question, the role played by social-democracy and the modern revisionists is particularly harmful, because, by enrolling the working class in their reformist trade unions, they try to restrain its revolutionary impetus, to paralyze its fighting spirit, to turn it into a servile class, obedient and in submission to the capitalist employers. Under these conditions, the awakening of the working class and its emergence in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle cannot be achieved without waging a resolute fight within the ranks of the reformist trade unions against the line and attitudes of their bourgeois chieftains, so as to expose and isolate them from the mass of the workers.

In the contemporary revolutionary movement, the youth, the students and the various strata of the intelligentsia occupy an important place. In many countries, such as France and Italy, the USA and Japan, Spain and Latin America, they have shown themselves very active and have given proof of their courage, selflessness, and revolutionary spirit. But it must be admitted that in the Leftist movement of the intellectuals and students great ideological and political confusion exists. The character of their programmes and slogans, which are frequently utopian, the lack of patience and spontaneous outbursts, have their source in the influence of alien ideologies and the heterogeneous class composition of these movements.

The Marxist-Leninists give full attention to the Leftist movements of the youth and intellectuals and, without ignoring the weaknesses of these movements, strive to draw them onto correct revolutionary positions, to liberate them from the influences of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, and revisionist ideology.

Despite the increased weight of the intelligentsia in contemporary society, despite the changes that are taking place in the position, character, role of its work, and the class composition of this stratum, it is not a class in itself. The intelligentsia is a stratum that stands between the different classes of society and comes from different classes. By its very nature, it is characterized by various political and ideological vacillations. And these vacillations become more and more

pronounced for the reason that the bourgeoisie tries by all ways and means to corrupt the intelligentsia and enrol it in its service.

The intelligentsia, as Lenin demonstrated and life itself has proven, never has been, and can never be, an independent social and political force. Its role and place in society depends on its class origin and social-economic status, the alliance of its various detachments with this or that class. Therefore, the intelligentsia can never replace the working class as the leading class in the revolution.

The youth, the students, and the progressive section of the intelligentsia are close allies of the working class, but not the only ones. The hegemony of the working class extends over other strata of the population which are also interested in the revolution, especially the peasantry, which, in the overwhelming majority of the countries and areas of the world, represents its main, most powerful and resolute ally.

The modern revisionists strive to negate the great importance of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry under the pretext that the latter does not play any separate role, especially in advanced capitalist countries, and instead bring to the forefront the alliance of the working class with the intelligentsia. In some other countries, the revisionists replace the alliance of the working class and the peasantry with the alliance between the working class and the other petty-bourgeois strata of the city and its surroundings. By means of such theories and practices they aim to detach from the working class its closest and most resolute ally in struggle. The Leninist thesis that the alliance of the working class with the peasantry is the social force capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and of building socialism is completely valid in our time, too.

Just as the fate of the revolution in each particular country depends on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, so on the international arena the fate of the world revolution depends on the same condition, and, in this case, is expressed as an alliance of the socialist countries and the workers' movement of the advanced capitalist countries with the anti-colonial, liberation, and democratic movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Any stand disregarding or denigrating the struggle of the peoples of these continents, which

contain the overwhelming majority of the population of the world and where imperialism is being dealt the heaviest and most direct blows, is in essence another aspect of the negation of the role of the peasantry, which inflicts very great harm on the cause of the revolution.

The basis for alliances becomes even further extended when it is a question of the democratic anti-imperialist revolutions, in which, besides the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie of the cities, the national bourgeoisie can take part as well. But whatever their weight in any revolution, they cannot play the role of hegemony and leadership which is played only by the working class. The national bourgeoisie, closely linked with capitalist exploitation, is characterized by vacillations and its tendency to compromise with foreign imperialism and internal reaction. As such, it is incapable of carrying the national liberation war and the democratic revolution consistently through to the end. The representatives of the peasantry, and the other petty-bourgeois strata also, have only limited demands, are under the influence of bourgeois ideology, and often waver from Left to Right, sliding now into opportunism and now into adventurism.

Therefore, the working class as the most revolutionary class of society, can and should come to the forefront and take the lead not only of the struggle for socialism but also of the struggle for democracy and national independence. Lenin proved this thesis with scientific arguments more than half a century ago. It is even more true today when the working class has increased, is tempered, educated, and organized to a higher degree, and when the democratic and socialist tasks have become even more closely interwoven. Under present conditions, the working class is the most interested of all classes in carrying the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution right through to the end.

The small number of the working class in some countries is no argument to negate its leading role, because the strength and the leading role of a class does not depend on its numbers. The working class plays its leading role through its party, which, as the example of our country demonstrates, can be founded and emerge in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle even when the working class is small in number and unorganized.

Today the various theories which preach spontaneity in the revolutionary movement, which disparage the role of the conscious factor, which negate the role of theory and of the party of the proletariat, are being activated. The degeneration of the revisionist parties, their transformation into reformist parties, harmless to the bourgeoisie, and the anti-Marxist theses of the Soviet, Yugoslav, Italian and other modern revisionists that "capitalism is integrating into socialism, consciously or unconsciously, gradually or radically", that "even non-proletarian parties and organizations may become bearers of the ideals of socialism and leaders of the struggle for their realization", that "some countries where the new national bourgeoisie is in power are going towards socialism, too", etc., have become a basis for the spread of the most extreme views that completely negate the role of theory and the need for a party of the working class. There are also those who pose as pure revolutionaries, who go so far as to declare that in "Marx's theory about the revolution there is neither a place nor the need for a party", that "the vanguard of socialist revolution cannot be equated with the Marxist-Leninist party", that the role of the party can be played "by the active minority" which emerges as a "ferment" in the spontaneous movement, that "the consciousness of the revolutionary organization 'emerges from the revolutionary action itself'".

All these "theories" cause incalculable harm to the revolutionary movement, for they befuddle the minds of the working class and leave it disarmed before the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, which, on its part, has reached the acme of perfection in its propaganda methods and means and the organization of the struggle against the revolution and communism.

It is now historically proven that without its party the working class, under whatever conditions it may live or work, cannot achieve consciousness on its own. What turns the working class from a "class by itself" to a "class for itself" is its party. Of course, struggle and action temper and test the classes, the masses and the revolutionaries, and teach them many things. But if they lack a political party with a clear-cut program and scientifically based strategy and tactics, the struggle will either stop halfway or fail

altogether. And the experience of the present-day revolutionary movement and numerous struggles of the peoples of various continents teaches us this.

Even when some of the various revisionists and opportunists admit the need for the existence of a party, they badly distort its role and the organizational principles on which it is built. They proclaim Lenin's ideas on this matter to be obsolete and left behind. In particular they assail the principle that the party is not only the conscious vanguard of the class but also the highest form of its organization, characterized by a unity of thought and action, and to which belongs the leading role in all revolutionary activity in whatever field it may take place. Some of them reduce the party's role to that of an organization of political and ideological guidance and education, or of a centre coordinating information. Others identify it with the guerilla unit or favour equal "partnership" of the Marxist-Leninist party with the other parties and organizations of the working class and the labouring masses.

The leading role of the party of the working class, in the struggle for socialism under conditions of the existence of one party or many parties, is an objective law. The revolutionary transformation of capitalist society along socialist lines is a broad and very complicated struggle waged in many forms and in all the fields — economic, political, ideological and military. In this struggle, the working class enters into alliances with various social and political forces. All the forms of struggle and organization, all the detachments of the revolutionary movement, should serve one aim. Hence the necessity for the party as a single centre of direction, leadership and organization.

The struggle for socialism has as its theoretical foundation the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, which is the scientific doctrine that provides the only correct conception of socialism and of the ways to attain it. No other party can uphold, work out, and implement this theory, except the Communist Party of the proletariat, the party of that class to which the socialist and communist future belongs, which defends the fundamental interests of the workers and all the progressive forces of society and fights for them, the party of the class which, as Marx said, cannot liberate itself without liberating all

mankind. If the fate of the revolution is left to a centre of general guidance, to a simple coordinating or guerilla organization, it will turn into a blind alley and suffer defeat.

The objective substance of all the "theories" which negate the need for the leading role of the working class and its party, is, in fact, the negation of the revolution, of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. These concepts only bring grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution. Therefore, the unmasking of them and the determined defence of the Leninist teachings on the hegemony of the working class, on the leading role of the party of the proletariat and the principles on which it is built and organized today, constitute a very important current task to clear up the confusion and disintegration which the revisionists have created in this field, in order to promote the revolution and carry ahead the struggle for socialism and communism.

The revolution — the road to the liberation of mankind

The idea of revolution as the sole means of transforming the world, the only road to escape the yoke of national and social bondage, has gripped the minds of millions of people in all the continents. Now everybody speaks of revolution. But the concepts about the content, the motive forces, and the ways and forms of carrying it out, are most diverse. All these things are the subject of great ideological struggle and polemics.

In this matter of vital importance, too, the Soviet-led modern revisionists have come out in defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie and in their service. They are trying to sow confusion in the revolutionary ranks and to undermine the revolution. Although they pose as supporters of the revolution, with their views and deeds, the revisionists are trying to strangle it at birth or sabotage it when it has burst out. They have reduced the entire theory and practice of revolution to reforms within the capitalist order, and are trying to persuade the workers that in our days the boundary between revolution and reform has allegedly been wiped out altogether. They loudly propagate that the working class has the possibility of bringing about radical transformations in the economic basis of capitalism, of occupying important positions, of seizing all power and realizing

socialism without violent revolution, without smashing the bourgeois state machine and without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their practice, the revisionists take up only day-to-day demands. They have concentrated all their efforts on broadening the bourgeois democracy, on improving its institutions, sacrificing their final aims for the sake of these things. The best demonstration of this is provided by the entire activity of the Italian, French and other revisionists, who have turned themselves into appendages of the bourgeoisie, into defenders of its order, have betrayed the vital interests of the working class, even going so far as to fiercely denounce any revolutionary action of the masses which affects the domination of the bourgeoisie. While they come out against the revolutionary violence of the masses and justify the violence of the bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists themselves resort to counter-revolutionary violence where they are in power, as in the case of Czechoslovakia and Poland, where they suppressed the Czechoslovak people and the revolt of the Polish working class with fire and sword. It is here that their betrayal and complete degeneration are most evident.

The failure of the peaceful evolutionist theories of the modern revisionists is confirmed also by the present development of events in the world. The anti-imperialist and liberation wars that have broken out in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the revolts of the workers and labouring masses in the advanced capitalist countries themselves, prove that the revisionist reformist alternative does not respond to reality, to the aspirations of the masses. As a matter of fact, the present revolutionary activity is taking place without the revisionists and against their wishes. Nevertheless, the danger and harm done by the revisionist theories and practices should not be underrated. Many persons, including some sincere revolutionaries, while rejecting the reformist path of the revisionists and criticizing it, have adopted some other erroneous concepts on the revolution and the ways to develop it. This is connected with their petty-bourgeois class position, their lack of Marxist-Leninist ideological development, and with the influence that anarchist, Trotskyite and putschist views exert on them. Some of them imagine the revolution as a

military coup, as the deed of a few "heroes". They overrate and absolutize the role of "subjective activity" and think that the revolutionary situation, as a condition for the outbreak of the revolution, can be created artificially by the "active operations" of a militant group, which serves as a "starter motor" that sets in motion the "main motor" of the masses. According to them, the revolutionary potential of the masses in capitalist society is ever ready to erupt provided it receives an impulse from outside, enough that a guerilla hotbed is created and the masses will follow it automatically.

The armed struggle of a group of professional revolutionaries can exert an influence on the upsurge of the masses only when it is coordinated with other objective political, social, and psychological factors which determine the birth of the revolutionary situation, when it is based on the broad masses of the people and enjoys their active sympathy and support. Otherwise, as the tragic practice of certain Latin American countries indicates, the activity of the armed minority, be it ever so heroic and self-sacrificing, comes up against the misunderstanding of the masses, is isolated from the masses, and suffers defeat.

Revolutions are matured by the situation itself, while their triumph or failure depends on the state and role of the subjective factor. A group of persons alone, no matter how conscious they may be of the need for revolution, cannot represent this factor. The revolution is the deed of the masses. Without their conviction, training, mobilization, and organization, no revolution can triumph. The subjective factor is not prepared by the actions of the guerilla "hotbed" or by propaganda and agitation alone. For this, as Lenin and life itself teach us, it is essential that the masses are convinced through their own practical experience.

The concept of the decisive role of the armed minority is associated also with the view of conducting the struggle only in the countryside or only in the cities, that we should rely only on the armed struggle and only on illegal work. The Trotskyite thesis, too, which views the revolution as a sudden act and the general political strike as the only form of carrying it out, is also very widespread. To be orientated towards the armed struggle

does not at all mean to give up every other form of struggle. It does not mean that you must concentrate only on the countryside and abandon the struggle in the cities, or vice-versa, concentrate only on the final objective — the seizure of power — and neglect the “minor struggle” for the urgent economic, political and social demands of the workers. It does not mean to concentrate only on the organization of the armed forces and to disregard the work with the masses and in their organizations, to work and fight only in illegality and to give up utilizing the legal and semi-legal opportunities, and so on. Preparing for a revolution is not a question of one day, but an all-round and complex job. For this, it is necessary to work and fight in all directions and in all forms, combining them correctly and changing them when situations change, but subjecting them to the attainment of the final goal.

The revolution is not carried out by the working class alone and, even less, by its vanguard party alone. In order to effect it, the working class, according to the nature and stages of the revolution, enters into alliances with other social forces having common basic interests, sets up broad popular fronts with definite political programs, in which the party of the working class joins, but without merging itself and losing its organizational and political independence. Narrow and sectarian elements consider all these as erroneous tactics which allegedly open the door to the peaceful reformist road. According to them, programs, fronts and alliances are only artificial machinations intended to distract attention and hinder the armed struggle. These views echo the familiar theses of the Trotskyites who consider every alliance as class conciliation, who negate the stages of revolution, and are for a “pure” and direct proletarian revolution.

Revolution has its own laws, which are universal and indispensable for any country. The denial of these laws leads to revisionism. Speculating with the changes that are taking place in the world and with the specific national conditions, the revisionists have replaced the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with their own anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary theses and conclusions. But no less harmful are the dogmatic concepts of those who disregard the national-specific features, abstain from the analysis of the real situation, build up

schemes into which they try to introduce the reality of various countries, absolutize the experience of one country and present it as universal, speak of a continental revolution and deny the possibility of the victory of revolution in one or in several individual countries.

In our days, when the tide of the revolution is mounting, when the revolution is on the agenda in many countries and regions, the correct understanding of its content, of the ways and forms of its development, is decisive. The struggle against Rightist and Leftist, revisionist and anti-Marxist concepts, the struggle for a creative application of the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism on this question, is a component part of the class struggle, an indispensable condition for the victory of revolution.

Socialism can be built only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory

The triumph of the October Revolution in Russia marked the beginning of the great epoch in the history of mankind, that of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Since that time socialism has been transformed from a scientific theory into a living reality, which, despite the revisionist betrayal, has fully demonstrated its indisputable superiority over the capitalist order in all fields. All the victories of socialism have been achieved on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Being a new social order, built in conditions of a fierce class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on a national and international scale, socialism cannot develop smoothly, without difficulties and contradictions. The struggle between the two roads of development, the socialist and the capitalist roads, is a protracted struggle, and, so long as it continues, there always exists the danger of the restoration of capitalism. But this restoration is not inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to present it. It is quite avoidable, if the Communist Party remains loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, resolutely and consistently develops the class struggle against the influences and pressures of the old world, if it is able to solve the difficulties and contradictions that arise successfully, if it closes all the loopholes to the possibility of bourgeois

degeneration.

The turning back of the Soviet Union and some other countries is linked precisely with the fact that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism were abandoned there and the fundamental principles of socialist construction rejected. The victories of the revolution there were smashed and the road was opened to the restoration of capitalism. But this is not the only great damage that the revisionists brought to socialism. To pave the way to their treachery, they frenziedly attacked the revolutionary line pursued by the Bolshevik Communist Party headed by Stalin and the whole historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they raised doubts about the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist science for the solution of the present-day problems, about the ability of the working class to bring about the revolutionary transformation of the society, and about the leading role of the Communist Party. With all this the Khrushchevite revisionists provided a powerful weapon for the bourgeois ideologists for their anti-communist propaganda. They became a source of all types of anti-Marxist concepts about socialism.

The confusion is made even worse because the Khrushchevite revisionists try to sell the line that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere is socialism. This demagoguery misleads many honest people, who, while they rightly criticize many negative phenomena in the life of the Soviet Union and of other revisionist countries, identify the order there with socialism and attribute the consequences of the restoration of capitalism to socialism. The other revisionist trends, which have contradictions with the Soviet leadership, criticize the "Soviet model of socialism" as "bureaucratic and totalitarian", and propagate their own so-called "democratic and humanitarian" model, which is nothing but another variant of capitalism. The Trotskyite elements and groups also try to exploit the bourgeois degeneration of socialism in the countries where the revisionists are in power to spread their slanders against socialism, which the revisionists themselves have encouraged with their anti-Marxist theories and practices.

In these conditions, the defence of the theory and practice of scientific socialism from the attacks and distortions of the

modern revisionists of different colours and odours and of the other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends, is one of the most important tasks in the ideological struggle today. First of all the socialist disguise in which the ruling revisionists, especially the Soviet chiefs, have decked themselves out, must be torn to pieces.

In the Soviet Union the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party of the proletariat have been liquidated. It is no longer the working class in power, but the new revisionist bourgeoisie. The state and the Party have been turned into tools in the hands of the revisionists to defend and consolidate their political and economic domination. The socialist and communist disguises in which they garb their state and party are merely to deceive the people, because the character of the state and the party is not defined by the labels they bear nor by their social content alone, but first and foremost by the policy pursued, whom does it serve and for whose benefit it is.

The change in the character of the party and state, the counter-revolutionary transformation in the field of the political and ideological superstructure, could not fail to lead to the changing of the economic base of socialism as well. The economic reforms undertaken by the Khrushchevites in conformity with their anti-Marxist ideological concepts, led to a radical change in the relations of production. They introduced a system of organization and management into the Soviet economy in which the aim of production became the extraction of capitalist profit. The present Soviet state, as a collective capitalist, administers the means of production on behalf, and in the interests, of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. The system of common socialist property has been transformed into a state capitalism of a new type.

Having taken the reins of the state and the economy into its hands the new Soviet bourgeoisie, composed of bureaucrats and technocrats, uses them to ensure privileges and huge incomes for itself. The gulf between this bourgeoisie and the working class and the working masses is becoming ever deeper. Payment according to work done has been replaced by an entire system of the distribution of incomes, which enables the bourgeoisie to appropriate the toil and sweat of the working masses, to ensure in the most varied ways incomes many times larger than those of the workers and peasants.

In the Soviet Union a deep process of disintegration, decadence, and degeneration, is taking place in all the fields of ideology, morality, education, and culture. All the moral and spiritual values of socialism are being broken up. Bourgeois ideology, with all its consequences, is becoming the dominant ideology. The norms of communist morality for serving the cause of the people with devotion are being replaced with running after personal interests, with individualism and careerism. The bourgeois way of life has assumed large proportions. The revolutionary spirit and proletarian partisanship in art and culture have been abandoned. The Soviet school cultivates technocracy and intellectualism, trains new contingents for the revisionists.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union could not fail to lead to radical changes in its external policy. The present Soviet leaders have replaced proletarian internationalism with national egoism and big state chauvinism. The Soviet Union today has become an imperialist power which pursues an aggressive policy. The Soviet Union has been transformed from a base of the world revolution into a base of counter-revolution.

All this shows that the present-day Soviet Union can no longer be called a socialist country, but a capitalist state and an imperialist power. The evils of its internal and external policy are not the evils of socialism, as presented by the bourgeois propaganda and those who have fallen victims to it or echo it. They are precisely evils of the capitalist system, which has been restored in the Soviet Union. They cannot be corrected by partial repairs. Any illusion about this would be very dangerous. They will be liquidated only when the revisionists have been overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat re-established.

In the situation created by the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and the anti-communist propaganda of the bourgeoisie, the Yugoslav "system of self-administration" in particular is being loudly advertised as the best road for the building of socialism. In particular many revisionists in the Western capitalist countries are partisans of this road. It has its sympathizers in the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe as well. The theoreticians of "self-administrative socialism" claim

that they express and carry out the authentic ideas of Marx and Lenin about socialism, allegedly distorted in practice to date by "Stalinism". In reality they have revived and come out in defence of the old anarcho-syndicalist and Bukharinist theories criticized by Marx and Lenin respectively. Their theoretical arguments are quite baseless, while the present-day Yugoslav reality is the clearest proof of the failure of the "system of self-administration".

The basis of the theories of the Yugoslav revisionists is the Bukharinist idea about the integration of capitalism into socialism. In the international arena, according to them, post-Second World War capitalism, parallel with its stabilization and evolution into state capitalism, is being gradually transformed into a "state type socialism", thus wiping out the demarcation lines between the two systems and paving the way to a broad and all-round collaboration between them, in fact, to undermine true socialism.

Within the country, the Yugoslav revisionists, just like the Gomulka variety, abandoned the collectivization of the countryside, left the kulaks free to exploit and accumulate, pretending that, in this way they would be integrated into socialism and, with the capital supplied by them, the industrialization of the country would be carried out. On the other hand, the Yugoslav revisionists cut up the state property of the whole people, and, by transforming it allegedly into the property of the group, paved the way to the birth of a new bourgeoisie, which took the reins of the country in its hands and now rules the working class and the peoples of Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, the revisionists bluffed, by presenting this line as a proletarianization of the regime, as a struggle against "bureaucratic state forms of socialism", as a "new road" for the construction of the true socialist society. But all this has been unmasked and life has proved how rotten it is.

To get out of their serious situation of great economic, political and social difficulties and contradictions, the offspring of the capitalist restoration, and having been unable to "build socialism" with the aid of the internal bourgeoisie and its capital, the Yugoslav revisionists stretched a begging hand to U.S. imperialists and capitalists of other countries. Thus, they

invented a new type of "socialism" which could be build with the aid of credits and investments from the international bourgeoisie and, first of all, from U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of communism. It is a fact that in present-day Yugoslavia the flood of capital and the direct investments from foreign capitalist states and firms is resulting in the key points of the national economy falling into foreign hands. A similar process is taking place in other revisionist countries, too.

Another manifestation of this course in Yugoslavia is the mass phenomenon of the emigration of the living, creative forces, of hundreds of thousands of workers, technicians, and specialists, who are compelled to abandon their families and homeland and to sell the strength of their muscles and minds to the German, Belgian, French, and other capitalists. This selling of the workers, this trade in human beings to secure a bit of currency is one of the ugliest aspects of the present-day Yugoslav reality.

In Yugoslavia there is no question of any integration of capitalism into socialism. What has happened there, and what is happening in the other countries where the revisionists are in power, is the integration of socialism into capitalism, the liquidation of the socialist victories and return to the capitalist road.

The Yugoslav revisionists claim that their system affirms the role of the workers and of the working class as a whole, which allegedly self-administers the means of production, manages the economy and conducts the distribution of the social product. In fact, quite the contrary happens there. The breaking up of the state property and the negation of the leading role of the socialist state mean the division of the working class and the negation of its leading role in the life of society. The Yugoslav practice leads to the counterposing of the interests of various sections of the working class, to competition and to struggle between the workers' collectives. Here, the narrow, immediate interests of the enterprise, commune, or of the individual republic, come to the fore and are opposed to the general interests of the society.

Under these conditions, the working class cannot act as a class at all, cannot express and defend its general interests as a class in power. In Yugoslavia, the working class has long since lost its hegemonic role. It has been transformed from a leading class in

power into a class which is led, oppressed and exploited by the new bourgeoisie which has all power in its own hands. The Communist Party of the working class in Yugoslavia has completely degenerated, has become a haven for the anti-proletarian strata which represent and defend the capitalist course.

Present-day Yugoslavia has all the features of a bourgeois country and suffers from the same grave chronic ills typical of capitalism, such as the deep economic crises, unemployment, competition, anarchy and inflation, severe social-political conflicts and national squabbles. This situation has led to the creation and strengthening of bourgeois nationalist groupings and tendencies, to the aggravation of the struggle for hegemony among themselves as well as between them and the republics. On the present-day Yugoslav political stage, the "great-Serbian" and "great-Croatian" clans are dominant. The former are labelled as supporters of the Cominform, but, in fact, they have been and are the most rabid enemies of the Cominform, just as much as the Yugoslav leaders themselves and Soviet Khrushchevite leaders.

The Yugoslav revisionists have placed the peoples and the working class of Yugoslavia in the grip of a powerful pincers, the pincers of the internal bourgeoisie and of foreign capitalism, which is becoming master of the house in Yugoslavia. Nothing can save them from this plight, neither the economic and political reforms acclaimed by the revisionists, nor their hopes and illusions about this or that nationalist grouping. The evil is deep-rooted and can be eradicated only when the peoples of Yugoslavia, on a Marxist-Leninist road, smash the pincers which has gripped them.

Today, there is some talk of socialism in certain countries freed from the old colonial rule of imperialism. A different content in the idea of "socialism", or "socialist society" is introduced in different countries. In these theories there are many obscure, confused, eclectic points, a mixture of the principles of socialism with those of capitalism, of socialist ideology with bourgeois, nationalist, and religious ideology.

The Soviet and other revisionists also echo these non-scientific theories. They have even discovered a new road, the so-called "non-capitalist road of development", which allegedly leads to

socialism without the leading role of the working class and of the communist party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory, without the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. By these sermons the Khrushchevite and other revisionists try to disorientate the genuine socialist trends in these countries, add to the ideological confusion and paralyze the struggle of the progressive forces for socialism. Pretending that these countries have allegedly entered the socialist road of development, the Soviet revisionists give them some alms in order to keep them in their service, to extend their imperialist influence and to draw them after their cart.

The Marxist-Leninists welcome and support any sincere inclinations and tendencies towards socialism, but at the same time, they stress that in any country socialism has won or can triumph only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the working class and of its party armed with the proletarian world outlook.

In our time, the problem does not arise of copying the revisionist pseudo-socialist theories, or of inventing new socialist theories. Socialism exists and develops both as a theory and as a practice. It has accumulated rich historical experience, summed up in the Marxist-Leninist theory, the vitality of which has been confirmed in life. By relying on this scientific theory and applying it in the conditions of each country, the revolutionary forces will find the correct road to socialism.

The proper understanding of socialism is a great question of principle because it assists in the correct orientation of the aspirations and the struggle of the peoples for socialism so that they are aimed at a clear target. Therefore, the establishment of a clear-cut demarcation line between the real socialist countries and those bearing only the name socialist, is of special importance to the revolutionaries, just as the distinction between the real Marxist-Leninist parties and forces fighting for socialism and those parties which merely wear the communist label is important. Thus the revolutionaries will know better on whom they can rely and whom they should support. In this way the real unity of the revolutionary forces is strengthened and the struggle for socialism is merged into a single trend, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

* * *

In the struggle for the great cause of the liberation of the working class and the peoples, the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist forces are growing and becoming strong. Today, almost everywhere the old communist parties degenerated into revisionist ones new Marxist-Leninist movements and parties have been formed which have taken up the banner of revolution and socialism abandoned by the modern revisionists.

The participation in our Congress of such a large number of delegates representing the genuine revolutionary communists from the countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania, is a living testimony to the vigorous development of the Marxist-Leninist movement, an eloquent expression of its international character and unity.

The growth of the Marxist-Leninist movement has aroused the furious hatred of reaction, and especially of the modern revisionists, who see it as a dangerous enemy. They try to denigrate it and attach all sorts of labels to it. But all this campaign of attacks and calumnies simply testifies that the Marxist-Leninist movement is on the right road.

The Marxist-Leninist movement is developing in the conditions of a fierce class struggle on a national and world scale. The new parties and groups are faced with numerous enemies, with bourgeois reaction, revisionist betrayal, social-democratic reformism, petty-bourgeois adventurism. But they are coping with these pressures, intrigues, and provocations, with vigilance, ideological clarity, and revolutionary determination.

In this struggle, what is important and constitutes the general tendency of development, is that the Marxist-Leninist forces are growing, becoming tempered, organized and asserting themselves more strongly from day to day, as revolutionary political forces in the life of their countries.

By throwing themselves into the great political struggle, into the concrete actions and revolutionary movements of the working people, they are strengthening their ties with the masses and enriching their experience. In the fire of new class battles they are perfecting the forms of the Leninist organization of the party and of its whole activity, they are forging the unity of

thought and action, and strengthening the solidarity of their ranks.

On behalf of the delegates to the Congress and of all the Albanian communists, we express to the Marxist-Leninists, to all the genuine revolutionaries, wherever they are, ardent greetings and best wishes for ever greater victories for the good of our great common cause. We assure them that the Party of Labour of Albania will support and back up the Marxist-Leninist movement, all those who fight against imperialism and revisionism, with all its strength and possibilities for the victory of revolution and socialism. We consider this as a prime internationalist duty, just as we appraise the solidarity and support which the revolutionary parties and forces give our Party and country as a very important factor for the cause of socialism in Albania.

Comrade delegates,

In this report the Central Committee of the Party has presented to you a general picture of that great activity of the Party, and of that heroic and selfless work of our people, carried out during the past five years on all the fronts of socialist construction. The victories achieved fill our hearts with joy and inspire us, give us new strength to march ever forward, proud and sure on the correct and brilliant road along which the Party leads us.

The tasks and problems we have to solve are numerous and difficult, but they are as noble as they are glorious. Their aim is to strengthen the cause of socialism in Albania even more, to raise the economy, construction, culture, and all the other sectors to a higher level and to give them a new, powerful impulse, to make the life of our people still more beautiful, to guarantee the peaceful work of the people, the freedom and independence of our Fatherland.

We are full of enthusiasm and optimistic that we shall achieve and exceed the planned targets. We find this assurance and conviction in our wonderful people, in their profound wisdom, in the revolutionary spirit and skilful hands of our working class, in the patriotism of our cooperative peasantry, in the devotion of the people's intelligentsia, in the irresistible creative vigour of our

youth, in the inexhaustible energies of the women of our country. We find this assurance and conviction in our heroic Party, in its correct Marxist-Leninist line, in the determination of the Albanian communists who, for the cause of the people and of socialism, are ready, as always, to overcome every difficulty and obstacle, to make any sacrifice.

Forward, comrades, towards new victories for the happiness and prosperity of our people and of our socialist Fatherland.

**LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC, VALIANT, AND
INDUSTRIOUS PEOPLE!**

**LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, THE
TRIED AND TRUSTED LEADER AND ARCHITECT OF
ALL THE VICTORIES OF OUR PEOPLE!**

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

*The "Naim Frashëri"
Publishing House,
Tirana, 1971*

**SPEECH DELIVERED ON BEHALF OF THE
REPRESENTATION AT THE 6th CONGRESS OF
THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA IN THE
SESSION TO PRESENT THE LIST OF
CANDIDATES TO THE LEADING
ORGANS OF THE PARTY**

November 6, 1971

Comrades!

You have assigned to us of the representation the task of drawing up the plan of candidates for the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, and for the Central Control and Audit Commission which the 6th Party Congress will elect.

This was a very important and delicate task, and therefore we worked with a sense of responsibility in order to present the Congress with a seriously prepared plan, based on the correct Marxist-Leninist orientations of the Party on the composition of its leading organs, as well as its general orientations on the cadre policy.

Thanks to the careful work done by the whole Party, a large number of cadres have been prepared, and they are continually being prepared everywhere. It is precisely from the ranks of this great army of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries that we tried to select some of the most suitable for the Central Committee. The party leadership had already been assisted in this work by the opinions of the comrades of the Plenum of the party Central Committee, and of the leading cadres of the Party in the districts. We have also based ourselves on all the work of the party organizations and organs which the leadership has observed throughout the Party's existence and during the period between the two congresses. Consequently, major preliminary work has been done and this greatly helped the representation in drawing up the list of candidates which I will submit to you today for your

examination and approval.

The representation finds it appropriate to propose to the Congress that the coming Plenum of the party Central Committee should consist of 110 people, including 71 members and 39 candidate members compared with the 97 it has had up to now (61 members and 36 candidates).

In all our congresses, the candidates for the Central Committee have made up about 36 percent of the membership of the Plenum. We are of the opinion that this ratio should be maintained in the future.

The figures on the increase in the number of members of the Plenum have always been calculated scientifically, on the basis of the growth of party membership, the number of cadres, the expansion of the various sectors of the economy, culture, services, the army, etc. Studying all the data from the 1st Congress to the present, the representation reached the conclusion that the growth of the Plenum, including the suggestions I made for the Plenum to be elected by this Congress, is normal and fully justified.

That is all I have to say about numbers.

Now allow me to report to you about the criteria which the representation has used in drawing up the list it has charged me to submit to you.

Firstly, as always, the most important criterion by which we have been guided in our work, in conformity with the teachings of the Party, is the political and ideological loyalty of each candidate to Marxism-Leninism, to our glorious Party, and to the great cause of the people. The militant path of our Party and its cadres has tempered them, subjected them to many tests, and matured and developed them politically and ideologically.

Secondly, we have borne in mind the teachings of the Party on continually improving the social composition of its leading organs. This is a matter of major principled importance for a party of the working class like ours. From the report and the discussions it emerges that we have scored great success in this, in all the party organs from the base to the centre. This success does not lie only in the high percentage of workers in the leading organs of the Party, but also in the fact that these cadres have strengthened our leading organs; success also lies in the fact that

deep ideological convictions about the necessity of this have been created in our Party, among all our cadres, old and young.

According to the draft I will submit to you, the number of cadres promoted from the ranks of workers (of worker origin or status, those who themselves have earlier been workers) increases. It is envisaged that the new makeup of the Plenum will include 16 new comrades with this background, which is equivalent to 61.5 percent of all the new candidates proposed for election to the Plenum of the party Central Committee.

Thirdly, taking into account that the number of women has increased both in the effective membership of the Party and in the ranks of cadres, we have envisaged that in the coming Plenum of the Central Committee the number of women should be increased from the present 11.34 percent to 15.4 percent. Women are about 30.8 percent of the number of new candidates proposed for election to the Plenum. Despite all this, we have not yet reached the stage we are aiming at, and therefore the Party should do more and better work in the future in order to have more women in its ranks, in its leading organs of all bodies, and to show constant attention to preparing and tempering them to posts of responsibility.

Fourthly, in connection with the major tasks which we must accomplish in the future, the commission also took into account certain requirements and needs which are dictated to us in certain sectors. For this purpose we saw to the distribution of the members of the Plenum of the Central Committee as far as possible according to their sectors of work and specializations. Thus, we tried to fill certain gaps which still exist in certain sectors of the work of the Party and state power, with members of the leadership. This, as I said, is connected with the major tasks lying before us in this five-year plan which has just been approved by the Congress, and in the more distant future. This is necessary, for we have to train new devoted cadres for the Party in due time, to exercise leadership in all sectors, keeping in mind that the leadership is not elected to function only during the period between two congresses.

I will speak more concretely. The representation has envisaged that in the coming Plenum of the Central Committee, the number of members should be increased somewhat more with

comrades working in the sector of agriculture, and that the necessary number of qualified cadres from certain important sectors, which are at present inadequately represented, should be elected. It took care that no technocratic elements should come to the Plenum, but party men with specific qualifications who can grasp and solve correctly the numerous and varied problems which face the Party and its leadership. Today we have an abundance of such party cadres, outstanding social activists who militate in the district party organizations as well as in various sectors.

In drawing up the list, we took into account the evaluation of the work of the comrades elected by the 5th Party Congress, as well as a large number of new candidates.

The representation, as was the case during the proceedings of the Congress, positively assessed the activity of the Party Central Committee from the 5th to the 6th Congress. This was another very glorious, militant period of activity for our Party, filled with marvellous achievements in all spheres of life, with a rich and positive balance in all respects. In all this great work our people have done under the guidance of the Party, the Central Committee has made its contribution. In general, the Central Committee elected by the 5th Congress of the Party, both as a whole, as well as each individual member of the Plenum, has exerted all its efforts in carrying out the tasks set by the Congress, as well as the new tasks that have arisen time and again during its work. The Central Committee and every one of its members have striven as revolutionaries to guide the work of the Party in all sectors. Inspired by the Party and the people, it has fought and achieved success in preserving and tempering the steel-like unity between Party and people in a revolutionary way, faithfully upholding the great political, ideological and organizational line of our Party, which is the pillar of all successes and which ensures the future of our homeland.

During the period from the 5th Congress, not the least sign of hostile work or of inconstancy in the application of the line has appeared either in the Party as a whole or within the ranks of the Central Committee. None of the comrades elected by the last Congress showed the least sign of wavering in the interpretation and application of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

This is one of the great achievements which makes our Party like steel which, as the Congress showed, it will always be. This is due to the clarity of the line and the struggle the Party has waged and continues to wage for the consistent application of the norms of its life.

As was pointed out in the reports and discussions at this Congress, we have had a number of weaknesses in our work, in the sense that if we had been better mobilized, if we had all worked better, if we had made greater efforts to understand problems better and more profoundly, if we had had more initiative in management and application, we would certainly have come to the Congress with still greater successes. Regardless of the faults and shortcomings observed in some, in general the work of the Party and the achievements attained are brilliant in all fields.

Starting from this assessment, the representation found no political fault, no mistake in the line, in any member of the present Plenum. But within the ranks of the Plenum there are comrades who for various reasons, the state of their health, their limited ability and so on, have not shown themselves to be at the height of their task. At bottom they have been and continue to be, in general, good comrades, resolved and faithful to the last to the cause of the Party, and will remain such, whether or not they are elected to the new Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party.

As the 5th and preceding Congresses have charged us, and as was stressed at this Congress too, we should keep our Party always resourceful, revolutionary and full of initiative. In order to be like this, it should always be young, in the sense that the experience of older cadres should be incorporated with the vigour and drive, at work and in struggle, of the new blood which continuously emerges from the ranks of the people and enters the Party, where it shows extraordinary maturity and determination. Our Party has followed this revolutionary course throughout the 30 years of its existence, and we can now report to the Congress that the overwhelming majority of the new cadres elected to the Plenum of the Central Committee have developed further. The very fact that the representation decided to propose to the Congress that the great majority of the new members of the Central Committee should be promoted from the ranks of the

candidates we have today, constitutes a success. This is a normal procedure for, as we know, the members of the plenums, as a rule, should be elected from the ranks of the candidates, both in the centre and in the districts. There is no sense in candidates remaining always candidates.

It should be pointed out that during the period between the two congresses, a very large contingent of members of worker origin and social status, and of those who were formerly workers themselves, have been admitted to the Party. Many new cadres of this social status have also been promoted to the party leadership, to the basic organizations, and to the committees; as we said in the report, at present they constitute the majority of the members of the leading organs of the Party in the districts. Young comrades, who are ideologically and politically developed and full of vigour have also come into the leadership.

Therefore, as in the past, the representation tried to have this new situation of the composition of the Party reflected in the Plenum of the Central Committee which will be elected by the 6th Congress. This is an imperative demand, because the Party, as the leader of the country, should think of the present, and of the near and distant future; therefore, it is essential to promote young comrades to the leadership, so that they may be tempered and educated, and the leadership is not to be left to grow old, just as we do not let the Party grow old, and the Plenum should also reflect this.

As we have said, the Plenum is being enlarged on the basis of certain definite criteria. However, there is a certain limit to this enlargement, there are certain proportions beyond which we cannot go. This, and the need to bring new blood into the leadership, make it necessary for certain comrades of the present Plenum, who although they have made no political or ideological mistake but, on the contrary, are pure and devoted from this standpoint, but who have not been very outstanding in their activity, to be left outside the Plenum of the Central Committee. Of course, this is not something new which is being done at this Congress, since it is a familiar practice followed at all the congresses of our Party.

Comrades, these were, in summarized form, the criteria and considerations on which the representation based itself in

drawing up the list of possible candidates for the coming Plenum of the Central Committee.

At the same time, on behalf of the representation, I propose that the Central Control and Audit Commission of the Party should be made up of 21 members instead of the 17 which it has today. The reasons for this increase are the same as those which I mentioned for the Plenum of the Central Committee, and will help to speed up the examination of the appeals of the communists, as well as in raising more problems from the life of the Party on the basis of the competences accorded by the Constitution to this party organ.

After having submitted the list of candidates to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and to the Central Control and Audit Commission, Comrade Enver Hoxha continued:

On the basis of the rules of internal democracy of the Party stipulated in the Constitution, let us now discuss one by one the candidates on the list I have just submitted. For each of the comrades proposed, we have here the necessary information. Thus, the comrade delegates can pass better and more correct judgement on the list of candidates submitted to them.

Now I will reread the names one by one, together with the necessary information about each. The comrades should express their remarks and opinions freely.

Speeches, 1971-1973

*The "8 Nëntori"
Publishing House,
Tirana, 1974*

**WAGE AN ALL-OUT BATTLE IN EVERY
DIRECTION AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS
OF PETTY-BOURGEOIS PSYCHOLOGY**

*Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Secretariat of
the CC of the PLA*

January 27, 1972

I want to say to the young people we have invited to this meeting that the question of fighting petty-bourgeois psychology has been well grasped by our youth. This is a problem of great and vital importance for our whole country, for our Party, our working class, our youth, our women, in short, for all the people of our People's Republic. This problem has also been referred to in the fourth chapter of the Report to the 6th Congress, which speaks of the formation of our new man, his Marxist-Leninist education, the improvement of his moral features, etc. Our battle in this direction should be concentrated against all petty-bourgeois manifestations and survivals, in order to strengthen and implant in our people the best qualities, and our proletarian norms and morality.

The question under discussion is a major problem, and we should fight for its solution not only with slogans but much more broadly. The slogan our youth has chosen for the campaign against petty-bourgeois psychology is correct, but we also have other slogans which seem of a more general nature but which contain in themselves the objectives which the Party has in mind for the education of our working people. One of these is, for instance, "think, work and live like revolutionaries" which is and should be a great slogan for all, because if we analyze it and go deeply into its all-round content, it includes all questions.

The initiative taken by the youth organization in connection with the campaign against petty-bourgeois psychology should not be interpreted as a specific part of its job. It is primarily the

specific task of the Party, of the working class. I am certain that you too view it in this way, and the Party itself should also view it in this way. You call the struggle you are waging against petty-bourgeois psychology a movement, and I think you are not wrong in calling it that, but keep in mind that it should not be a flash in the pan, but a huge, continually growing avalanche. It should never be extinguished because it is connected with the struggle waged by the Party for the formation of the new man.

The Party, in particular, should not consider movements of this kind as the typical job of our youth. Nor should the working class think this way about the matter. There should not exist the view that we party members and the working class have other deeper problems of a higher political and ideological nature to solve, and that therefore movements like the one we are discussing should be taken up by our youth. If the Party treats these major social problems in this way, and reduces them to initiatives which the youth take for their own development, it makes a mistake, a gross mistake, because in fact they are important for the tempering of all, and not only of the youth.

If the Party does not become the initiator of these movements our youth undertake, it means that it has a major shortcoming in its work which it should recognize and take immediate steps to correct. It is not a question of the Party merely recognizing this shortcoming and thinking it sufficient to encourage the powerful youth organization to forge ahead in the struggle it has begun against petty-bourgeois survivals and psychology, or against alien capitalist and revisionist influences, etc.; but it should itself join and lead this broad movement which our youth are undertaking.

The Party should reflect and work out whether this form of work being implemented on a national level against petty-bourgeois survivals is adequate or not. Is the method of work used by the Party itself to explain the political and ideological significance of the concrete activities and movements which our youth are undertaking, adequate? Is the political and ideological work of the basic organizations or party committees to inculcate the political and ideological principles set by the Congress, not only in the party members but also in all the members of the organizations of the masses, adequate? Or is the solving of the

political and ideological problems of our Party going on in a routine manner without being linked as it should be with practical life?

When the youth organization calls meetings at which particular problems are discussed which have been raised by its most outstanding elements, such as, for instance, that of its proletarian discipline in schools, work sites, etc., then the party organization should send one of the most theoretically enlightened comrades, recommending that after the debates have been held and all the most outstanding and active members of the youth organization have spoken at length, this party member, who should be theoretically well prepared, should also take the floor and discuss from the theoretical viewpoint what proletarian discipline means, not only as far as observing the work timetable is concerned but also drawing profound conclusions on this problem.

But why should this party comrade draw such conclusions about this preoccupying problem at these very important meetings of our youth? First of all, so that the Party can launch this army, this great force of our youth into conscious struggle outside the "walls" of their organization, outside the school, work site, cooperative and everywhere else, against breaches of discipline which often meet with a muted reaction.

The fight against petty-bourgeois survivals should be carried on in an organized way at the meeting of the youth organization. When the theoretical aspect of proletarian discipline, let us say, at the foreign language school (I take this as an example since we have the youth secretary of this institution here), is spoken of in an organized way, we will have implanted in the heads of the young people of this organization the knowledge of how to understand and fight for this cause against whoever is concerned. When a young person who takes part in this movement and is educated in the revolutionary spirit in the organization notices that someone is malingering, is lagging behind in work, in the enterprise, the cooperative, etc., he reacts and takes a stand. An alien attitude towards work is contrary to what he has learned; therefore being well aware that in matters concerning the Party, the people and socialism there should be no favouritism, he fearlessly calls on the malingerer not to lie, but to go to work at

once, because there is nothing wrong with him. The members of the youth organization, educated with the teachings of the Party, should fight on all sides, in the family, at school, at work, wherever they are present, at meetings of the Front organizations, of the trade unions, etc., wherever a thousand and one economic and non-economic problems are under discussion.

Among our people we also notice certain manifestations which are alien to our socialist society. There are types who tell lies, who pretend to be sick, who bear grudges against one another, who gossip, who show favouritism, hide goods under the counter, etc. An all-out battle should be waged against them. The positive thing in this battle which our youth are waging is that in striking at alien petty-bourgeois manifestations, they temper and train themselves, just as the army does when it trains a soldier to become capable of successfully attacking the enemy, from whatever direction he may come. Our youth act in the same way. Now they have launched an attack, let us say, to implement proletarian discipline; later, when progress has been made in this direction, they will take the initiative to fight fraud or indifference, and still later, tackle another problem and so on in turn. In this way they learn how to fight in an organized way.

In daily life, wherever the need arises, not only in the family but also at school, at the factory, in short, wherever people live, work, discuss and act, and where alien manifestations and wrong, harmful attitudes appear which are irreconcilable with the line of the Party, the young man or the young woman, even if he or she happens to be alone in certain cases, should not give in, but should take a stand, intervene, explain and insist that the right course should be followed. Here lies all the force and meaning of these movements; this is the objective of the struggle we are waging for the formation of our new man. When a member of the youth organization sees that even his closest comrade is not acting in the right way, he should tell him his opinion openly and in a comradely way, precisely because he is a friend of long standing, and not cover up any mistake or shortcoming he observes in him, at the same time showing him how to correct that mistake for the common good and for his own benefit. If the one who has made the mistake, in spite of the comradely advice, fails to correct this mistake, then the question

should be raised fearlessly before everybody, at the meeting of the collective, the department, the brigade, etc.

Our revolutionary young people who have taken such initiatives and who are prepared to take others like them are in the vanguard and make up a great auxiliary force of the Party. Together with the communists, wherever meetings are held, at work or in society, they are like the head of a sledge hammer which strikes forcefully at alien manifestations and weaknesses which appear. In every case the youth should take an active part, speak out and fearlessly attack every negative manifestation. This is what the Party requires of them.

In their criticism, our young people should confine themselves to speaking in general about principles, but they should also struggle concretely, fearlessly, but of course wisely, against anyone who violates the directives of the Party, and should not confine themselves only to the question of the fulfilment of the plan. The Party should always think about how to introduce a leaven, a revolutionary ferment, wherever the work goes wrong, so that its example, the example of every communist, is followed by the members of the youth and women's organizations, not to speak of the working class which should be the spearhead.

In no case should the Party show a lack of interest or give purely patriarchal approval, from a paternalistic position, expressing only satisfaction or dissatisfaction over an initiative or any other good thing that our youth undertake. It is quite insufficient for the Party to tell our youth that they have acted well or badly in undertaking a mass action or initiative, for this would be a paternal gesture, it should itself join in this initiative, and not only that, but it should use these initiatives as an enlivening ferment.

The Party has continually raised the problem of introducing fresh blood into its ranks, and well-known rules have long been established on this vital question. But this is only one side of the problem. In addition to the admission of new elements, new, pure, militant and revolutionary views should also enter the Party, because here and there in its basic organizations or in the party committees there still exist old views which must be fought with determination in order to wipe them out. Then by the time we have waited for an active young person with revolutionary

views like the young comrade from Gjergjevica who addressed us here to be admitted to the Party according to the established regulations, we will be pushing up daisies. It may happen that a certain party basic organization maintains a very sectarian attitude towards admission to membership, hindering young people from entering the Party, but in order to introduce new revolutionary ideas we can use all methods, taking steps to do away with obstacles. A basic organization may temporarily prevent a young, active and militant person from entering the Party, but when the assembly of the cooperative meets, it cannot prevent him from speaking, because everybody there has the right to express his opinions, and no one can prevent him from doing so. The young people who make up the most active force of the Party, even if they are not party members, in fact belong to the Party, for they belong to the youth organization which is guided and inspired by the Party. They take part everywhere in bold mass actions, completing 300 to 400 work days at the cooperative, and so on. In broad meetings, wherever they are held, they have the full right to speak and unsheath the dagger of criticism against all the old survivals at work, in life, in society and in the family, whoever may manifest them, party members not excluded.

Comrades of our youth organization, your initiatives are of great importance and contribute to the improvement of the moral image and the education of our new man. These revolutionary initiatives you have taken are praiseworthy, but do not forget that you and we together are the trees of this great forest, and therefore, the main purpose of all this work is to educate not only the youth but all the people of our society.

The important initiatives you have begun are a continuation of all the work the Party and your youth organization have taught you to do. In these matters you have also been inspired by the teachings of the Party Congress. Consider these major movements further, and develop them in all their diverse forms, with the primary aim of tempering yourselves ideologically and politically, because ideological and political tempering will make you outstanding fighters of the Party, regardless of the fact that you are not party members, and you are clear that it is impossible for all the masses of our youth to be party members.

Great successes have been attained in the ideological and political education of our people, especially of our young people, but a lot has still to be done in this direction. We should strive to raise to a still higher, exemplary level the political, ideological and educational work which the Party has done and continues to do, for the dangers are many, external dangers whose source lies in the pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, but also internal dangers whose source lies in the remnants which still exist in the minds of our people.

Comrades, we should never underestimate these remnants, we should never be satisfied with the results we have achieved in our battle against them, however great these results may be. This compels us to work tirelessly to temper the political and ideological awareness of the people further, because it is true that the majority of them follow the course of the Party, but among the masses there are also elements who are not tempered, not strongly convinced, so that in the slightest difficult situation, they waver. The Party wants no one to waver, so we should work so that even the minority which may be in this position embarks on the right road. Our Party continually advises us to learn from the experience of the vanguard people, to learn especially from the experience of the youth organizations, and combine these, correctly integrate them with the Party's method of work for the political and ideological education of the masses and for economic achievements.

All of us, the comrades of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, agree that such movements should be undertaken by the youth in the future too, they should continue on a broad scale, with powerful support from the Party.

It is very positive to see the correct Marxist-Leninist course our Party and our socialist state have pursued and continue to pursue, in contrast to the tragedy which is occurring today in the revisionist countries. This shows how correct the line of our Party has been and is.

In our country, the youth have correctly grasped the revolutionary movements, and we should therefore intensify this work which we have begun well. Great possibilities for this have been created in our country. We all heard the two girls and the young man from Vashtëmia who spoke today before the

Secretariat of the Central Committee; how freely and with what strong logic they spoke! They really pleased us with their comments, full of youthful revolutionary vigour. To tell the truth, not all of us, when we were their age, could speak as eloquently as they did.

This shows that the Party has educated a marvellous revolutionary youth which is proceeding along the correct path it has indicated. This constitutes a great guarantee for the future of our Homeland.

Speeches, 1971-1973

SOCIALISM IS BUILT BY THE MASSES, THE PARTY MAKES THEM CONSCIOUS

*Speech Delivered at the Plenary Session of
the Mat District Party Committee*

February 26, 1972

Comrades,

Some questions of the Party that I want to bring up here are not unknown to you. There is the question of some manifestations which, although not a line, must be criticized, must be fought against and must be eliminated. The line of our Party is the correct line, the Marxist-Leninist line. However, in the course of its implementation, not only ordinary people but also some cadres who do not understand it properly make mistakes in its implementation. Therefore, we must work to avoid mistakes, whether big or small, or if mistakes are made, we must correct them immediately while they are still small and prevent them from becoming worse. One of the good qualities of our Party is that, when it does make mistakes, it recognizes them and takes measures to rectify them.

First of all, we must understand well who builds socialism. Lenin teaches us that this is a great question of principle which must be clear to young and old in our country. But even this is not enough, it is important to apply it well in practice. Who builds socialism? Lenin asks.

*"Socialism cannot be established by a minority, by the Party. It is established by tens of millions of people, when they learn to do this work themselves. We see our merit in the fact that we are trying to help the masses to get down to this job themselves immediately, and this is something that cannot be learned from books or lectures." **

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 27, p. 141.

This is what Lenin teaches us and its meaning is clear, but we must try to apply it well in practice. Socialism, then, cannot be built by a minority alone, not even by the Party; it is built by the millions-strong masses of the people led by the Party, whose mission is to make them conscious.

Is our Party marching on this road or not? Our Party has marched and continues to march along this road in the full sense of the word. Our Party understood the National Liberation War correctly and therefore did not wage it alone, but with the people. Even after liberation, when the question of the construction of socialism arose, the Communist Party of Albania, by correctly understanding Lenin's theses, did not get down to the work for the construction of socialism only with the communists, but declared that the new society would be built by the Albanian people, therefore it mobilized and led the masses to implement its program.

We see this correct line of our Party in every field of its activity. Take the work done for the implementation of our five-year plans, for example. We all know that one after the other these plans were drafted and discussed by the broad masses of the people, while in every case the leadership of the Party made a synthesis of the great activity of the communists and the people who had got down to this difficult task, achieving successes and overcoming shortcomings for the construction of socialism in the conditions of our country.

Throughout the efforts for the construction of socialism, with each passing year and five-year plan, the leadership and the whole Party have drawn conclusions from all this activity and from all this struggle, have seen where the most advanced experience was, where the mistakes and shortcomings were, where we should concentrate after having completed one five-year plan, where we should concentrate to map out and implement the next five-year plan, and what steps we should take for the five-year plan which we have already begun implementing. In every case, the leadership has given instructions, and this is how it has always acted. These instructions have been discussed with all the masses of the people, analyzing the good and bad aspects, thus educating the masses and encouraging them to make proposals,

suggestions, and express opinions as to what should or should not be done, what should be done first and what later, how much production should be increased or reduced in this or that sector, etc. On the basis of the great work, there have been tens of thousands of proposals, questions and discussions and there have been meetings of workers, agricultural cooperatives, people's councils, executive committees, plenums of the party committees and special meetings of the government and of the Central Committee of the Party. That is how it was in the past, this is how it was during the drafting of the 5th five-year plan and this is how it will be during its implementation. As a result of this extensive work, conclusions were reached which assisted in formulating the theses of the 6th Congress and the draft directives of the new five-year plan, which finally became law after being approved by the People's Assembly.

But the struggle for socialist construction during the new five-year plan is not merely restricted to the front of the economic construction of the country. This is also interwoven with the great work for all-round political, social, educational and cultural development and for consolidation of the defence of the country. And the whole of this activity is carried out on a Leninist basis, with the active, militant participation of all the masses of the people.

The directives of the 6th Party Congress have already been taken up everywhere by the communists and the broad non-party masses. Now the question is to put them into practice in a revolutionary way, with the active participation of the people, the working class, the peasantry and our people's intelligentsia, otherwise they will become meaningless and unable to be realized.

The struggle for the implementation of these directives means, at the same time, testing their correctness in practice. This is of particular importance. We cannot proceed from the principle that the directives of the Party, because they are the result of all-round work done with the broad participation of the masses of the people, are all, without exception, faultless, easily carried out and correct for application. During the efforts for the practical implementation of the directives of the five-year plan we will come up against many kinds of material and non-material

difficulties, because all kinds of difficulties exist, we will come up against various obstacles, because the class struggle still exists, because the new, which always forges ahead, clashes with the old, which tries to impede it, therefore the new and strong strikes at the old until it eliminates it. In this clash the most appropriate forms of work for the complete application of the directive should be found. Therefore, it can by no means be said that, since these directives come from the Party, everything should be implemented blindly, without effort, without struggle. It would be a great mistake to think that no one will impede them; this would be to deny class struggle, to deny contradictions, difficulties, obstacles and everything else which prevents us from advancing. In life, there are and will continue to be various factors and people who will deliberately or unconsciously obstruct our progress. This necessitates the organization of work for supervision of the implementation of the directives.

When we say that the implementation should be supervised, we also imply testing the correctness of the directive itself. In general, the directives of our Party have always been correct, because its general line has always been correct. The guarantee of the correctness of its line rests in the tempering in the past, and in revolutionary struggle at present and in the future, while remaining loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

In the past our Party has experienced a great deal, but on every occasion it has maintained a correct Marxist-Leninist stand, has fought in a revolutionary way, has always triumphed resolutely over the counter-revolutionaries and has worked persistently to overcome every kind of difficulty it has met with. From the outset our Party has been a revolutionary party, comprised of revolutionaries; it will continue to experience only victories. It is a revolutionary party at present and will remain so in the future.

However, in the course of time, in various party and state directives, decisions and ordinances there have been shortcomings and mistakes, as well as things which have not been correct, not in the sense that they have changed the correct general line of the Party, but that a correct solution has not been found for this or that particular question. In such cases, once the mistake is discovered, measures have been taken to correct it.

Therefore, we say that during the control in practice of the party line, which has been worked out to be implemented in this five-year plan, too, the correctness of every directive, as always, should be tested in life.

The issue must be viewed in the light of the relations between the minority and majority, the Party and the people. It is the Party which issues the directives, but it is due to the tireless struggle and work of the people, under the leadership of the Party, that all blessings have been created and the foundations of socialism have been laid in our country. If we say that all these achievements are the work of the Party alone and ignore the people, then we deviate from the correct line and make a mistake. As Lenin teaches us, the minority can do nothing without the majority, not only from the viewpoint that the socialist society cannot be built by the communists alone, but also from the viewpoint that only on the basis of the living experience of the masses can a correct line and a correct leadership in the construction of socialism be worked out and the correctness of the directives be controlled and mistakes avoided. If we say that this control is carried out by the Party and state power alone, we are mistaken, but if we say that it is done by the people, and on some occasion even forget to mention the Party, we are not mistaken, because the active and decisive role of the Party in our society is implicit, for our people are closely connected with the Party and at the same time are the best judge of its work.

But our Party has not made and will not make mistakes in this direction. Nevertheless, there are people who, to hide their mistakes, say and do things which do not comply with the line of the Party. The question of how the Party understands the construction of socialism is of great importance. Socialism is built by the masses of the people, the directives are implemented by the masses of the people, the correctness of the Party is ensured by the participation of the people, and the work to correct mistakes is also carried out with the participation of the people. Nothing can be done without the people. This is one of the great Leninist principles from which we have never deviated and will never deviate. Let the Khrushchevites, the Togliattists and all the revisionist trash prattle, let them criticize the immortal principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the

party and on the vanguard of the working class. These principles stand as firm as Mount Tomor, they do not alter, but stand as firm as a granite rock. The party is in the vanguard, it is the vanguard of the working class, and it is precisely this which the revisionist "theoreticians" try to refute. The Leninist theory on the party does not alter, it cannot be tarnished by the "theories" of the revisionist trash.

We say that the Party is the vanguard of the working class. But what does this mean? We all know and see every day how and where the working class works. It is in constant struggle that it works in mines, in factories, in agriculture, on construction sites, on canals and everywhere; it comes up against many kinds of difficulties and privations and strives to overcome them. But when all this is happening where should its vanguard, the Party, be? It should by all means be in the forefront of struggle and work, in production. This is the place of honour for the communists, otherwise the Party cannot play its vanguard role. Therefore, the Party continually requires that the majority of the communists go into production where they should be in the forefront of work and sacrifice and set their example in every direction. We must never forget this, otherwise we deviate from the Leninist line, we become "bosses" and "commanders". It is the duty of the communists to stand as always in the vanguard of that class which works and clashes with difficulties and hardships. This demands that the leadership of the Party, of the vanguard of the working class, be ensured where the most difficult fronts of struggle and work are.

The question arises: Why is it precisely on these fronts that the leadership of the Party must be ensured? So as to ensure the accurate implementation of its directives in every detail, that is, the realization of the desires, aims and aspirations of the working class and the peasantry. Can this noble aim be attained when the majority of the communists become "officials" or when they are accumulated in offices? By no means! To think and act in this way means to act with the old petty-bourgeois mentality according to which to guarantee the leadership of the Party means that the majority of the communists should occupy the key positions and give orders, that the party members should

command, while the non-party people should be ordered about. No, in this way the leadership is not guaranteed. The party leadership correctly understands the needs of the apparatuses, but this has nothing in common with inflating the apparatuses of the people's power, of the economic organizations, of the mass organizations, with communists. Therefore, we should not understand and act upon this question, as some people do, by accumulating as many communists as possible in offices, as though this would ensure the leadership of the Party and state power. If we bring only communists into the state power or only communists into the mass organizations, and if we act accordingly in the sectors of trade, construction, culture and throughout the various levels of socialist construction, then it is clear that we are not properly abiding by Lenin's teachings on this.

Elsewhere, speaking about this great problem of principle, Lenin says:

*"The workers must enter all state institutions, they must control the entire state apparatus, and this must be done by the non-party workers who elect their own representatives to the non-party workers' and peasants' conference. . . . We must bring as many workers and peasants as possible into this apparatus. . . and thus we will stamp out bureaucracy from our institutions. It is essential that the broad non-party masses control all state affairs and learn to govern by themselves." **

On this question we should bear the future in mind, too, when we reach communism. Then there will be neither party nor state, because the people will govern themselves. To this end, the Party should teach the non-party masses of the people, from whom it has emerged, the working class, the peasantry and all the working people, how to govern themselves, as of now.

Only by seeing the question in this way can we say that we have correctly grasped the idea that it is the majority that builds socialism, that without the majority the minority can do nothing. We must understand this well, just as we must understand that the leadership of the Party is essential, as Lenin teaches us. I dealt with this earlier.

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, pp. 399-400 (Alb. ed.).

How do we stand with this question in our country at present? Do we have a correct ratio everywhere between the communists and the non-party cadres? Is it necessary for almost everyone in our state or administration apparatuses, in the economic or mass organization apparatuses to be communists? Naturally, it is a bit different with the party apparatuses; in general the people employed there are required to be communists. Non-party workers cannot be employed there, except for a limited number. Nevertheless, there are jobs in a party apparatus which can be done by non-party workers, for it is not said that, for instance, the driver, the doorman, the librarian and some other employees should be party members.

But let me answer the question I posed: How does this question stand in our country? In general it is not bad, but we must recognize that it is not as good as it should be. Therefore, it is up to us to re-examine some questions in this direction. This problem does not only concern our Party today. The Party has always instructed the communists to throw themselves into the first ranks of the struggle, and after liberation to work where the difficulties are greatest for the construction of socialism and the defence of the victories achieved. In recent years, especially after the measures adopted for the revolutionization of the cadres, exceptionally great work has been done in this direction, and this constitutes one of the greatest merits of our Party. The Marxist-Leninists, the sister communist parties in various countries, regard the measures currently adopted by our Party to bar the way to the dangerous influence of modern revisionism and Right opportunism as something new to Marxism-Leninism.

Modern revisionism has caused great regression in the international communist movement. What is this regression, who caused it and how should we confront it? The Party of Labour of Albania stood firm on the Marxist-Leninist principles of the party, on the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, when they were attacked by the traitors, the modern revisionists. In the difficult conditions that were created for the world communist movement our Party found roads and forms of opposing the enraged attacks of the enemies not only with propaganda, but also through concrete forms of work. All these powerful revolutionary movements that were undertaken in our

country, including the movement for sending cadres into production, etc., constitute that contribution which is being spoken of and which our Party is making today. Our Party has always regarded and should further regard this problem with caution, because in practice, in life, the Marxist-Leninist teachings are not always and in every case applied as they should be. This will be completely achieved when we have divested ourselves of every petty-bourgeois sentiment, of the vestiges of hostile ideologies, when we think and act always as revolutionaries, as the Party would have us do. The sending of a communist to production at any time is correct and is in the interest of the Party and the people, and when it is seen that he is ready to go and goes without hesitation wherever he is required, in response to the Party's call, then we can say that a communist like this is in the vanguard. If the question is seen like this by every party member, this is very positive and indicates that the Party and the communists who constitute it are on the correct road.

But the Party and its members will be on an even more correct road when the communist who works in the administration, without being told, himself comes up with the proposition to the leadership: "Why keep me here? I cannot stay here where you have appointed me, in the administration! I will go and work in the agricultural cooperative." We should shake this man's hand, because he shows that not only has he correctly understood the principle, but also that he is determined to implement it through his own initiative, without being told by someone from above. An engineer acts well when he addresses the Party in this way: "There are too many people here in our department and the papers are smothering me, comrades; I don't want to stay any longer in this office, I don't want to remain in the administration, my place is at the grass roots, so I will go to the railway construction site or to the hydro-electric power station to work as an engineer or master builder." This is a very positive thing for the person and the Party. Such examples of readiness are not uncommon among us, but it must be recognized that we have much to do in this direction.

In connection with what I have said, I want to give you some figures. Of the total number of cadres in the central apparatuses

of the ministries, the communists make up 45.5 percent, that is, nearly half of the staff. Nevertheless, examining the figures in detail for every department there are differences. For instance, in the Ministry of Health about 56.9 percent of the cadres are communists. Why do we need all these communists there, especially doctors? Wouldn't it be better for the communist doctor to be sent to Macukull, for example, to serve the people, instead of having him sit comfortably at a desk in a ministerial office in Tirana? Other examples: At the apparatus of the State Planning Commission, 50.5 percent of the cadres are communists and in the Ministry of Commerce the communists make up 52.2 percent of the total.

Why on earth are so many communists needed at the apparatus of the Ministry of Commerce? Wouldn't it be better for many of the communists who work here to go without delay to the grass roots, where the practical struggle is being waged to supply the people properly and to serve them better, to eliminate many shortcomings in this sector, or to protect the people's property from abuse, and to replace them in the apparatus of this department with more patriots and non-party people? At the base these communists would indeed be in the forefront of the struggle for socialism, there where the acute problems emerge and demand solution, where the greatest difficulties are encountered and must be overcome.

Thus, when it is not necessary to appoint a communist to a certain post, it is better to send him to work at the grass roots, in production, because work is an honour for all, both for the communists and for all non-party patriots. This being so, let the party member first go where he is needed and where the difficulties are greatest, let only the necessary number of communists, and not more, be brought into the administration apparatuses, and let the other posts be filled by non-party people. Thus, when chiefs are needed in departments, for instance, one in the Ministry of Education, another in the Ministry of Commerce and so on, suitable people, such as non-party patriots, can easily be found.

We communists are not admitted to the Party in order to ensure privileges; on the contrary, by gaining the great honour of joining the ranks of the Party we are charged with heavier and

greater tasks towards the Party and the people on all questions, ranging from demands for the rigorous implementation of the laws of the Party, its norms and so on, to the accurate fulfilment of our tasks as citizens, by setting our example for the non-party working people.

Let us not be afraid that if we act in this way our studies at the centre will be interrupted. We will still carry out studies, but this work can be done quite well, not only by communists, but together with them by non-party working people, such as Naum Stralla (1), who was one of the most learned economists in our country, an honest and able patriot, and this is why he was one of the best advisers of our Party and government. Now we have many such people. Therefore, let us bring more such non-party people and able patriots into the departments, and send more communists to the grass roots where they can still carry out studies. By the way, doesn't the Burrel region too need experienced communist comrades to carry out studies? Of course it does. But how are these studies carried out? Often the ministry asks the respective section of the Executive Committee of the regional People's Council for information which will provide concrete data as a basis for studies. This means that these studies cannot be carried out without the aid of the grass roots. This being so, why shouldn't the person who engages in such studies go and work at the grass roots? In this way the studies will be even better because they will not be bound by red tape, but will be carried out by getting to know the vivid life of the people at close quarters. But there is something still "finer" in the accumulation of communists in the apparatuses and precisely there where the line of the masses is spoken of. The communists make up 55 percent of the total number of cadres in the central apparatuses and in the mass organizations at the centre, while in the apparatuses of the mass organizations in the districts 63.1 percent of the cadres are communists. But there are also differences between the mass organizations. Thus, in the apparatuses of the youth organization at the centre and in the districts, the communists

1. Pensioner, "Hero of Socialist Labour", who died recently, ex-chairman of the prices sector at the apparatus of the Council of Ministers.

make up 51.2 percent, in those of the trade unions 67.2 percent, in those of women 65.8 percent. Thus, in the mass organizations, where day and night we incessantly wear ourselves out speaking and propagating "reliance on the masses, reliance on the masses", precisely in those which we call mass organizations, out of every 100 workers of their apparatuses the majority are party members. Why is it that non-party elements are not brought into them? Is it essential for all these communists to be in these apparatuses? What are they all in these apparatuses for? Why aren't they sent to work elsewhere and replaced by non-party workers?

Let us now consider how the question stands with the people's councils, with the Front councils, and with the people's courts of justice in the districts. Here too communists make up 34.37 percent in the people's councils of districts, while they make up 31.37 percent in the Front councils. Of the judges and assistant judges elected in 24 districts, 51.9 percent are communists. See how many communists we have even in these organs.

The other day I asked for the list of deputies elected to the People's Assembly and saw that a high percentage of them are communists. Why should there be such a high percentage of communists in this organ? Even in the past we have had non-party members in this organ. Furthermore, during the war, people were elected to the General Anti-fascist National Liberation Council who were celebrated patriots, and even though they were not party members, they remained deputies after liberation for many terms of office. It was only last time that some of them were not re-elected, as was the case with some communists too, not for lack of confidence in them but because it was thought that young people should be brought into this high organ of the people's power as well. But it turns out that almost all those elected are party members. In electing a deputy or a councillor from the ranks of the distinguished workers or cooperative members, is it always essential that the person be a party member when we have distinguished workers and cooperative members galore, even heroes of socialist labour who are not in the Party and who are fully entitled to this trust?

The question arises: Why has this happened? It has happened for several reasons. We admit the best people into the Party.

Being among the best, when young communists happen to be carrying out an important function at the time of their admission to the Party, it has been considered proper for them to remain there. Thus, this has happened owing to the aim of raising cadres from the ranks of the best people, and as a criterion, it is only just to select them in this way, but we have been overdoing it in this regard by attempting to have as many communists as possible. Then there is another cause which has led to the creation of this situation. Frequently it is easier for the leading comrades and party organizations to decide on appointing a cadre to an important post from their office. Sometimes they have the list of communist cadres ready at hand, therefore when the need arises, in order to save trouble, they say, "why should I appoint a non-party worker to this post of responsibility when I've got a whole list of party members and know their background, that everywhere they have been they have done their job well, that they are honest," and so on. Thus, he selects one of the communists and takes him, say, from the trading network of Burrel and brings him to the one in Tirana. In this way, many communists have been appointed to posts of responsibility, whereas the others, those who are not in the Party, although there are plenty of good people among them, are not sufficiently known. This too has brought about the appointment of more communists than necessary in the administration apparatuses.

Then there are even such communists, and this is still more dangerous, who try to occupy a cosy corner, who fight to fill some "armchair" position. Such people who think like this and distinguish themselves by such tendencies know who to curry favour with, they try to take advantage of the occasion to put in a good word for themselves to create a favourable opinion of themselves among the comrades in responsible positions, directors, chiefs, etc., in order to obtain the coveted post. This is another reason why we have many communists in our apparatuses. Finally, there is yet another reason why cadres are not drawn from the ranks of the non-party people: lack of confidence in them. This is of major importance in principle. The Party must always be maintained as a revolutionary one, be continually safeguarded as a vanguard party so that it truly puts into practice the Marxist-Leninist principle of getting closer to

the people, a principle which it must not only declare, but must also implement concretely and completely into life.

How should the non-party elements be treated? Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the communists should treat the non-party elements as equals and have confidence in them as in their own brother. If a communist has no confidence in the non-party elements, then neither will the non-party people have confidence in the communist. This is reciprocal.

Lenin advises that relations between party members and non-party elements must be characterized by mutual confidence. The confidence of the communists in the non-party people creates confidence in the communists among the latter. This confidence is created through the mutual aid and control between party members and non-party elements in the course of everyday practical work. Comrades, this is of great importance to us and to every party.

Our Party, in general, has great confidence in the masses of the people and it is precisely owing to this confidence, not in words but in deeds, that it is closely linked with them. The people have seen that the communists have shed their own blood, have made great and innumerable sacrifices, have selflessly fought for the interests of the people, therefore the people have great confidence in the Party and the communists. But it is imperative that we zealously safeguard this great confidence of the masses in the Party, for this is the greatest strength of our Party. Our Party and country have always borne in mind and respected this Leninist principle, therefore both Party and people have developed strong ties of mutual affection and have complete confidence in one another. This is clear to all and beyond doubt. The question now is for the Party to preserve and further develop this great principle which has already triumphed in our country, in everyday relations, in personal relations and relations of work. The confidence of the communists in the non-party people must be evident in concrete deeds. Indeed, you may be a party member and have a party card in your pocket, but in order to be fully entitled to this card, you must have confidence in those who are not party members, who do not have a party card, but who are good people, distinguished workers, honest and endowed with all good qualities. Looking at the issue like this, let us again take

up the question of elections. Why should we have confidence only in the person who is a party member and not in another who is not in the Party, but who is just as loyal to the people and the Party, who, if asked, "go, throw yourself into the fire", is ready to make any sacrifice at any time for the Party. It may be that such a person has not joined the ranks of the Party because he lacks some of the qualities of a communist, but he too is determined, he too loyally implements the line, he is, so to say, "a non-party Bolshevik". A non-party patriot is ready to go anywhere he is asked, to fulfil any task entrusted to him however difficult, not because he communicates with this or that communist, but because he is convinced that this is the line of the Party and that he carries out its instructions due to his love for the Party.

It can happen that someone might say: "I am sorry, but I cannot leave town because my wife is not well." In the case of a non-party person we should turn a blind eye to this and accept his request without losing our confidence in him. But we should act differently towards a communist. When he says, "I cannot leave town for the countryside, because my wife is ill," he should be told: "Come now, get down to your task immediately; in the countryside too there are sick women, there too they give birth to children, there too, as much as anywhere else, there are people suffering from rheumatism or other diseases, and besides, what is the hospital for, when someone is sick he should be sent there. Is it only in Tirana and in other big towns that there are sick people like this? Aren't there such people in the highlands? What do they do?" We should be severe with such excuses in a communist, because the communist, as the Party teaches us, should be the first to make sacrifices and the last to claim favours.

The question is that faith in the masses of the people must be tested and strengthened in life, in practice. This is a great characteristic feature of our Party, and it must be safeguarded, further developed, and efforts made to win over every single person, just as drops of water make up a river. All this great love between the Party and the people has been created due to the blood that has been shed. The communists were shot and sacrificed for the people, who have seen for themselves that they are their own sons and daughters, their best people, therefore this confidence should be mutually safeguarded and developed.

The question then does not consist only in the problem of the number of non-party people elected to the councils at all stages and levels, but also in the way we utilize them and activate them in getting down to the tasks they have been entrusted with by the people. Because, not only do we elect few non-party people to these organs, but even when we do elect them we do not always activate them as much as we should.

I was pleased with the contribution of Comrade Nika Treska, head of the Executive Committee of the People's Council in the town of Burrel, when she spoke of the good contacts there between the councillors and the masses of their electors, in order to solve their problems together with the people. This is precisely the correct road the Party requires us to follow, this is how we must always act. Nevertheless, it is known that we do not activate the deputies, the members of the regional people's councils or the members of the people's councils of the villages as much as we should and in the way we should. And we make a great mistake in not activating them in the affairs of governing the state and controlling the economy. These are hundreds and thousands of the best people, therefore, in the first place, they must learn how to govern the state and the economy and we must teach them to maintain close ties with the masses who have elected them and to bring the voice, remarks and proposals of the masses to the councils, to bring the truth as it exists, without disguising it, without opportunism. Certainly, there are employees of the administration who are honest, but we cannot say that all employees at the administration apparatuses are the same. It is a fact that there are opportunists among them, that there are others who seek to guard their posts, who curry favour with their superiors and when they do not carry out their tasks, try to conceal it. Whereas, when the councillor, in the capacity of one elected by the people, maintains close ties with the masses, he brings the voice of the masses to the council.

But do the councillors have any powers? Yes, they do, and many at that. Then why don't we give them these powers in practice? We have said many times how the councillors should act, but it should be recognized openly that we do not activate them as much as we should; we have more faith in the people of the apparatuses than in the councillors who are elected from the

masses of the people. This has resulted in the apparatuses of the executive committees of the district people's councils being excessively inflated with appointed people, especially at present under the pretext of the extension of powers. Thus, at present, there are from 120-130 people in the apparatuses of the executive committees of the district people's councils, or as many as there were in the ministries at the time when we made the "trimming" at the end of 1965, while in the agricultural section of the executive committee of the district alone there are 15 to 20 people, in that of education about 20 people, the same with the trade sector, etc., etc. The chairman of the executive committee, the chief of the section or even the district party secretary, think: Since we have filled these apparatuses with so many people, what do we need these councillors for? Oh well, since they have been elected, it is enough that they come once every three months to the councils, where we render them some sort of account or other, hold some solemn meeting with them where, if you like, we deliver a report and end the matter with that.

Comrades, are we going on the correct road by acting like this? This is not the first time that the Party has raised the question of activating the elected people. It has emphasized this many times before, and has advised us how to act with them. The councillors are the direct representatives of the people, they are elected by them. The Party, the state power and the people have granted the deputy the right, when, for example, he observes something wrong in the trading network, or when the electors complain to him that there is partiality in that network, etc., even if he is a worker in a factory or plant, to simply pick up the telephone and inform the director of the enterprise where he works that he must, that very day, go personally to control some of the trading units. It is the Party which teaches him to act like this, whereas the director of his enterprise should not raise obstacles, but on the contrary, should allow him to get down to his task as a deputy in the way he should. Similarly, two or three deputies, and here I am not only speaking of the deputies of the People's Assembly, but of those of the district people's councils as well, are quite capable of taking the place of 20-30 employees accumulated in the apparatus of the executive committee. But, where are these deputies actually working? One may be working at a shoemaker's

shop, another at a carpenter's, another at a factory, construction site, etc. All of them are representatives of the people, men of production, men of the class; therefore, if they are activated, they could do much work. We have dwelt at length on control by the class, but it seems to me that this question has been somewhat passed over in silence, has been cooled down. But class control means that the working class should stand up and aid its Party in carrying out the directive issued. The Party cannot live without the class, just as the class cannot ensure victory and forge ahead without the Party. Both of them then collaborate closely with one another.

The working class, when it sees that the Party has inflated its apparatuses, draws its attention to it, tells it that a mistake is being made here, informs it that such apparatuses are not necessary to it, and that therefore they should be cleared out, got rid of because all the people in them are fed at the expense of the class that produces. And the workers' control, after studying the situation, suggests that where, for example, there are 22 employees, it is sufficient for only five of them to remain without impeding the work in the slightest and that two of them be communists and three be non-party persons. It demands of these people that they do their job well, at the same time, the class itself undertakes to control the situation in the same place a bit later on, which means that it will instruct and lead them in the work and if they make mistakes, reprimand them as well. And it must be clear that when the class speaks, bureaucracy cannot speak, and conversely, when the class does not speak, bureaucracy rears its head.

The class control puts the directive of the Party into effect, ensures its correct application. All the improper excuses and pretexts that some people have on the tip of their tongue in order to dodge going from the centre to the districts, from the town to the countryside, because their household would be ruined, because their son or daughter is at school, etc., etc. will be smashed to smithereens in front of this control. And what about the people? What about the Party? What about the work? These petty-bourgeois tendencies must be made the target of workers' control; it seems to me that this has been taken a bit too lightly and is poorly organized in practice.

We should grant the working class the power it is entitled to. This is what the Party teaches us. Who is in power with us? The working class. Therefore Lenin teaches us to bring as many elements of the working class as possible, whether party members or not, into the state power. This too is a form of workers' control. This control has arisen from necessity, from the struggle for the application of the line of the Party. When matters do not go smoothly, for example, in the trade sector, why should we condemn only one ordinary saleswoman? And the director, whom we have placed at the top, what does he do? How much does he organize, how much does he control and how much does he aid his subordinates to perform their tasks well? Or is he one of those people who, when the workers' control team goes to him, says: "At your command, comrade workers, you are quite right in your criticism of us."? No, this is not enough. It is not enough that he accepts in words what the workers tell him; he must also act precisely on what he is told by them who can see the shortcomings and the weaknesses much better, who are vigilant and will not reconcile themselves to shortcomings and bureaucratic attitudes. This director should say, "Thanks very much" to the workers' control, he should carry out its instruction, and after the workers' control, there should be no allowance for another control by the officials, who might make matters look a bit better or arrange matters only amongst themselves, finishing up with some remark on the registration card. On the contrary, everything should be carried out to the letter so that when the workers' control goes back to the trading sector, it does not find the same situation again; every shortcoming should be done away with and the situation should be improved. Otherwise the workers should go to the Party and demand the dismissal of such a director because he is to blame for the fact that measures are not being taken to strengthen the situation in his sector, or he should be reprimanded, transferred to some other job, etc. The word of the workers should be carried out within as short a time as possible, because this is the class control, otherwise there is no class control, except in words.

Rendering account before the popular masses should be continually borne in mind. I spoke to you about how the workers' control stands with us, but now let us see what Lenin

has to say and let us do as he teaches us.

Lenin says:

*"There should be organized regularly not only general meetings for the masses of workers and peasants, but also meetings for the cadres in responsible positions to render account of their work before the masses of workers and peasants. Such meetings should be organized by all means not less than once a month, so that the possibilities are created for the non-party masses or workers and peasants to criticize the Soviet organs and their work. Account should be rendered not only by the communists, but by all cadres as well, at all posts of responsibility, in the first place, at the organs of trade and people's economy." **

But, do we act on the instructions of Lenin? No, we do not act completely in this way! On the contrary, "in order to save time", we have created some forms of work, thinking that these help it along and the work gets done. Thus, the general meeting of the cooperative, when it is all boiled down, is a mere formality and we are satisfied that in its place we have the representative body and the meeting of the assembly. But we must not forget that the representative body could go astray or fall in line with the chairman's opinion, there could even be people appointed to it who curry favour and follow this or that party secretary, among them there could be some three or four persons who get on familiar terms with those in the leadership, etc. Therefore, it is better to render account before all the masses of the cooperative members and to teach them, as Lenin instructs, to open their mouths. The correctness or incorrectness of the leadership is judged by the masses, and the leadership is responsible to the masses for what it does.

The existing forms leave room for those in positions of responsibility to feather their own nests, some even thinking they can get away with it with the district first secretary of the Party knowing about it. This makes it essential that every communist, whether he is responsible for supplies, a salesman, a worker of the municipal services, or whatever, render account for his work, say, once a month, to the masses of the people. Thus this creates

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 43, p. 253 (5th Russ. ed., 1973).

the possibility for the masses to express their opinion on how they are being served, supplied, treated, what they think of this or that person; to judge those in positions of responsibility when they are at fault and even to give their opinion on whether or not they should be kept on in their position and to dismiss them from it when they go on making mistakes and fail to correct themselves. When some employee or director makes a mistake in his relations with the people, he must be criticized and warned not to make that mistake again. If this criticism and warning is practised periodically, then next time he comes to report to the masses about the improvements he has made, you will see for yourself that he has been brought down a peg or two. Therefore we should see to it that the chairman of the cooperative, or the director of the municipal services, enterprises or any other employees in a position of responsibility, report time and again to the masses who are directly interested in their work. The former should speak to these masses and report to them on how they have done their job, because after them, the masses will get up and speak about each particular one of them. When this is done periodically, if it is observed that they have not remedied their mistakes, the masses have the right to tell them: "we advised you once, twice, and now kiss us good-bye." When a person, whatever his position, knows that each month he has to render account to the masses, he will collect himself and try to work better. Then we can say that the workers' control is effectively carried out and yields results.

There are cases when in dealing with some matters, even though we handle them well, some people give us trouble. Here it was mentioned how the people themselves decided on distributing study bursaries. When we act in this way, everything is solved correctly and no one can say anything against us. Nevertheless, some discontented person may appear, who even in such cases says: "partiality is being shown". He believes that the Party does not know how it was done, therefore he thinks he will try to see if he can profit in an unjust way; he thinks, since this is a democratic regime, even if he does not succeed in this he loses nothing. The forms of work you have practised concerning study bursaries are democratic, therefore as many such forms as possible should be found for every problem to prevent them from

being decided on by the administration apparatuses alone, say for example by the chief of the trade section, because the chief could be flattered by someone who is trying to hide his own dirty linen and trying to make the chief keep his mouth shut, perhaps by even sending him some early season tomatoes, some peaches or a basket of grapes; and if the chief accepts them, he has no alternative but to help hide this man's dirty linen. Whereas in front of the people they could not act in this manner; the people would not descend to such tactics and when they see that you are not acting correctly, they would pull your ears.

And what has the Party said about the question of the cadres? The Party has instructed that the masses should be consulted about everyone who is to be appointed. If the need arises to appoint a director, we should first address ourselves to the collective and ask them: "Do you want this director, comrades?" There are cases at present when such questions are posed, but they are frequently formal, for in fact the opinion of the collective is "taken into account" last of all. First, the nominee is asked whether he agrees to the transfer, the question is decided by the organ which has him on the list of nominees, then finally the cadre's office is informed, and only after these procedures, when everything has been decided upon, do we go and talk the matter over with the workers to see whether they want this person for their director or not. But the matter should not be handled like that; the decision should be taken after first having asked the opinion of the workers, after having ensured the workers' consent, and after having urged them to stand up and speak their minds in front of the collective on everything they know about this candidate, to express their opinion on whether he is fit to be a director or not. In a word, during the meeting the question should be debated and the opinions discussed. When it is seen that the overwhelming majority has expressed its opinion on the person, then the decision is voted on. This manner of electing and deciding on the cadre is more democratic. And only after this process should the proposal be considered by the organ which has the list of nominees on the basis of his personal file which is presented to that organ. The personal file of the candidate should reflect all that has been said by the workers. Their words should not be scattered to the wind as happens now, so that his file

contains only the official's words, the words of the chief of the cadre's office. This practice should be changed. A man is better known by those who work and live with him day and night. However able the person in charge of the cadre's office may be, he cannot know everyone from his office.

Someone may appear and say to us: "Hold on, comrades, such things must not be handled in this way. Are there regulations to be observed here or not?" Yes, we should answer this man, we have regulations, but the ones which we are talking about are the best regulations, more revolutionary, more just, more democratic and in no way bureaucratic. Therefore, when nominating a person to some post, the matter is discussed by the collective; the secretary of the party organization of the base, who is present, absolutely must write to the Party on what was said about that person, without keeping anything secret from the committee, so that the personal file reflects the reality and that the decision taken be just and objective.

Even when the question arises of electing a councillor, the masses should debate and discuss the question of the person proposed. In this case, everyone has a right to stand up and propose the candidate he considers most appropriate, listing the strong and weak qualities of the person in front of the whole collective. After him someone else might take the floor to add to the picture of the person's qualities, but he also points out some shortcomings of the person proposed which were not mentioned by the first speaker, stressing that these do not constitute any serious obstacle to the person's election, but they should be recognized and corrected. A third person may think that another candidate is more suitable than the person already discussed. After the participants in the meeting have discussed broadly who should be elected, the candidates are voted on.

This is a correct and democratic procedure from which we gain great benefit, for in this way peoples' qualities are considered in detail and unworthy people are prevented from coming into the leadership. Inasmuch as every citizen of our country enjoys freedom of speech, it might happen that someone proposes an impure element. In this case, it is up to everyone, communist or non-party patriot, when they know the person proposed, to stand up and explain to the meeting who the man is, to point

out the stains of his life, to point out that the one proposed is not an honourable person, etc., and they therefore call on the participants to refuse him as a candidate for councillor, while they address a severe criticism to the one who made the proposal over the fact that it was thoughtless of him to try to bring such a person into the council. This is class struggle, a struggle which does not permit people who are not deemed fit to profit from our genuine democracy, a struggle for the incessant defence of the lofty interests of the people and the Party.

We should understand democracy correctly, both within and outside the Party. In the first place, we should be clear that, above all, it is necessary to strive to convince people politically. Political persuasion does not arise of itself, or fall from the sky, but is an entire process, formed through incessant political work among the people, following the correct line of the Party, and is achieved by explaining everything to them with patience, wisdom, good conduct, Marxist benevolence, by explaining it once, twice, thrice and then, when the other won't listen, with severity. But we should resort to the greatest ruthlessness against the class enemy. The question of political persuasion is closely linked with democracy. If we really seek democracy, we should make efforts to convince people politically, otherwise we will be forced to resort to violence, which the Party does not permit, for it pursues the road of convincing the people, the road of democracy.

In this regard there are some people who try to capitalize on our true democracy and attempt to profit from it for their own narrow interests or in order to satisfy their own personal whims.

Someone, who is a worker even, has written, asking me "to take measures against the team leader" of his workshop, because one day, on coming to work, the team leader did not wish him good morning and on this account he put up a flash poster against the team leader. This worker is not satisfied at this, but complains to me that measures have not been taken against the team leader. It seems that this man is out of his senses. Even if the team leader did not greet him, what's wrong with that? Maybe the team leader had something on his mind at that time, and how could we punish our men for such a trifle? But the fact is that in our ranks there are such people as this worker, with pronounced

petty-bourgeois vestiges in their minds, who go beyond the limit. Instead of addressing himself to the team leader, as a comrade would, such a man as this will take revenge. He should kindly enquire why the other did not greet him, clear up the matter with him, do away with every dissatisfaction and strengthen the ties of friendship with him. Instead, he leaves no stone unturned, even addressing himself to me through a letter. Comrades, this means to abuse the correct democratic forms of our social order.

In this aspect, we should also be very careful in defending our legality, which is a just Marxist-Leninist legality. Naturally, this too should be understood and implemented well. In our country legality has been put on the right road, our laws are in the interest of the people and are drafted with the participation of the people. In the course of the struggle we wage for the implementation of our laws, we strive to educate the people, to protect them from making mistakes, from the evils of the past, from the old vestiges.

Despite this, it is observed that a series of crimes are committed in our country, especially to the detriment of socialist property. Therefore, in this regard great ideopolitical work should be done by the Party, the youth, the parents, etc. Special concern should be shown for the young people, especially in the large towns, where some unpleasant manifestations occur, such as pickpocketing, etc., whereas the matter is somewhat different in the countryside. However, we should exert our efforts everywhere to instil a conscious discipline, especially among our youth, without in any way permitting liberalism and anarchy, which we should fight against.

What I have mentioned should be carried out thus, for, as I said, the apparatuses should not obstruct, but should assist. We should fight against those people in the apparatuses who create bureaucracy, who do not allow people to speak their minds openly, to criticize those who commit mistakes and offences.

Bureaucratism impedes and distorts real information as well. The real information which the leadership needs does not come frequently enough to the Central Committee. What sort of information do we need at the centre? The bureaucratic and formal aspect of the question that tells you nothing? No, we want neither bureaucracy nor formalism; on the contrary, we fight against them, but the evil is that neither does the party committee

receive information from below about those problems worrying the grass-root organizations.

The party committee needs to know and is greatly interested to know for example: what is the response of the party organization at the Shoshaj cooperative to this or that problem; how does it wage its internal struggle; are there discussions, criticism and self-criticism, or not, etc. When a problem is considered, someone over there agrees on a certain question, another may not agree, etc., someone asks why it was done this way, for it would have been better to do it some other more profitable way; someone else says why it was done that way, etc., etc. What does the district party committee get out of all this debate? It is often only formally informed that "the meeting of the party organization at Shoshaj was held at the fixed time, that this and that problem were taken up for consideration and that these results were achieved: one, two, three, four, five. . ." but nothing is mentioned about the proceedings of the meeting, what viewpoints were expressed there, etc. No, comrades, I think the party committee would be greatly interested to know, concretely, how the discussions on the problem considered developed at this meeting of the Shoshaj organization: when one raised this question, another criticized so and so, because he had not acted this or that way; then, two others took the floor to oppose him and pointed out to him that he did not proceed from a correct party position in his criticism, on the contrary, he should have criticized the person for another problem, and not for the one which he stressed. Such information on the procedure of the meeting will show the party committee that this is a really militant organization of the Party, that it is seething with life and agitation and creates the conviction that, in such a party organization, where the problems are correctly discussed, the work will go well. The committee will be informed on how the communists fight and respond there, how able and energetic they are, how they understand Marxism-Leninism, democracy, criticism, etc.

Comrades, this is what the entire struggle of our Party for the preservation of its concrete line entails, and it is on this struggle, waged in the course of its activity, that the organization should rely, when the time comes to hold the elections to the Party, too.

It is this struggle that should decide who the future secretary of the organization will be in the next elections, if the other who held this post up to date has not accomplished his task well; that this person should be the chairman and not that one, etc., etc. These are some important aspects of internal party life, which are also vitally important to the leadership, which in turn is enlivened by the base. Comrades of the grass roots, by acting in this way you enliven the leadership. It is essential for the leadership to be told about precisely these aspects of the internal life of the organization, for it is these that it needs, and not the formal aspect of the question.

But, what happens in fact? Many are afraid of informing the leadership on these important aspects of the internal life of the party organizations, lest it "become concerned" and wonder just what is happening in Shoshaj. No, comrades, informing the party committees on what I said will assist it and help it understand that what is happening at Shoshaj is nothing to worry about; on the contrary, it will know that the party life there is developing vigorously, in the spirit of debates, where the communists finally make decisions and carry them out in unity, like a single body, regardless of the fact that all kinds of opinions were raised and expressed during the discussions. This is only normal; it is to act otherwise that is not normal, is not on the Marxist-Leninist road of the Party. If it was observed that there was no debate at Shoshaj, if it was observed that there was a false silence there for a long time, then the district party committee would really have something to worry about, it would have to think seriously about why it has happened and reach the conclusion that the situation there is not as it should be, therefore, it should pay attention to aiding and enlivening its organization. Whereas some comrades think otherwise and say: since there is silence, this indicates unity, therefore the situation there is normal. No, comrades, the situation in the party organizations is as it should be only when there are debates, criticism and self-criticism to form a correct party position, when opinions are expressed on the work and proposals and suggestions made, etc., in short, when life seethes there, and not when "silence" reigns.

But we should understand correctly what should seethe. Let

everything seethe within the organization. Even if someone comes up in opposition to the line of the Party, let him oppose it, let him express his viewpoints in front of the communists. This is better for the Party, because then it knows who it has to deal with. It is better that a man speaks out what he has on his mind than to keep it inside. In such a case, when someone opposes the line of the Party, the rest, those who are determined to defend this line, will put themselves against him, and explain matters to him or show him his place. This depends on the concrete case. Therefore, the struggle within the Party is vital. We should never forget this, comrades, for it is of extraordinary importance.

Why do I say these things? I mention these because we must make our Party ever more militant, not lethargic, not obedient to some persons, but obedient to the Party's general directives, obedient to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which it should understand, assimilate and fight to the bitter end to have implemented in practice, for they are the foundations of the Party. This means that the Party must be militant, because otherwise, evil may befall it, things may get so much worse that it might come to confront the class.

Listen to what Stalin has to say in connection with this:

"What happens if the Party itself begins in this or that way to confront the class, by infringing upon the basis of the correct relations with the class, by infringing on the basis of mutual confidence?"

"Generally speaking, are such cases possible?"

"Yes, they are."

"They are possible:"

"1. When the Party begins to prop up the prestige it enjoys with the masses not by means of its work and the confidence of the masses, but by means of its "unlimited" rights."

"2. When the policy of the Party is overtly wrong and it does not want to re-examine and correct its mistake."

"3. When the policy of the Party is just on the whole, but the masses are not yet ready to grasp it, and the Party does not want or does not know how to wait, so as to enable the masses to become convinced of the correctness of the policy of the Party through their own experience, and attempts to impose it on the

masses." *

Allow me to make a small comment on this quotation. The Party has some rights, but it does not have unlimited rights over everything, it cannot act at will. The Party has the right to do what the people want, what the class wants, what the laws permit, what its Marxist-Leninist line permits. Beyond these, it has no right to act. If it goes beyond these confines, then the Party, the communists, embark on the wrong road.

The Bolshevik Party, in Lenin's time, did not make mistakes. At the time when Stalin was at the head of the Central Committee some distortions were made by bureaucrats, but the fundamental principles of the general line of the Party remained intact. They were trampled underfoot after his death, when the party leadership and the state power were usurped by the Khrushchevite revisionists.

With us, the situation developed in a different way. Our Party has always been prudent and just in its line. Nevertheless, individual persons make mistakes, but these are not the mistakes of the Party, or of its line.

Thus, for example, at a united agricultural cooperative in Tirana, the secretary of the party organization of the base gives an order to search all peasants' houses without exception to find out who had stolen a certain amount of olives from the cooperative. Who gave this secretary the right to order every house to be searched? Nobody! This act is a great offence to the people, by capitalizing on the name of the Party. According to the laws of our state, no one can enter anyone else's house without their permission. Neither the Party nor the law allows for someone's house to be searched in contravention of the fixed regulations. Only the prosecutor has the right to issue an authorization of entry into a citizen's house, but the prosecutor, too, should think the matter over well before the search is conducted, he should have concrete evidence that theft or crime is committed, and only then does he order the police to start the search. Whereas some communist comrades, taking things lightly and proceeding from the erroneous concept that "the Party can do anything", go and search all the houses of the

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, pp. 48-49 (Alb. ed.).

village, merely because one or two persons have stolen some pounds of olives! To allow such erroneous, arbitrary acts, which originate from the distorted viewpoint that "the Party can do anything", leads to the road mentioned by Stalin, when the Party endeavours to prop up its own prestige not by its own work, not on the confidence of the masses, but on its "unlimited" rights.

We should have it quite clear in our minds that there are also limits to the rights of the Party. Our Party, being in power, has made laws, has established regulations, which no one should violate. If the Party violates them, this is a great mistake, for it creates a situation where it relies on its "unlimited" rights, without a base in the people. The confrontation of the people with the Party is an erroneous road. Therefore, our Party has not allowed and will never allow such violations, it will take ruthless measures against all those who commit them, whoever they are.

A cooperative member from Elbasan writes me a letter, whose content is really very bitter, extraordinarily bitter. Among other things he wants to know when the party organization at the Shirgjan agricultural cooperative will cease making mistakes? For it has ordered that all privately owned livestock be sold or slaughtered. The writer of this letter wonders how it is possible for such a thing to be done. At first, we could not bring ourselves to believe that such an order was issued either, therefore we sent people to verify the matter on the spot. What was the result of the control? It came out that this order was issued by the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, by the bureaucrats of the agricultural section. When these "scribes" over there were asked why this order was given to this cooperative, they answered that it was thought that in the future it would become a higher-type cooperative, therefore, privately owned livestock, according to their distracted minds, should be slaughtered or sold. This act, which was in open contradiction to the line of the Party, and which had worn the patience of this cooperative member thin, urged him to write me this letter. But because of this order, of the 2,400 ewes owned privately by the cooperative members prior to the issue of the order, about 800 ewes were sold at the time when the verification was being made. When people understood that this was a wrong order, they stood up and demanded explanations from the Executive Committee which

had taken this decision in opposition to the line of the Party. The people were right.

Such orders, issued in the name of the Party, but which, in fact, run counter to its line, are hostile. Therefore, can we allow these people to commit such monstrosities? No, we can never allow them to, otherwise we oppose the Party to the masses. Therefore, anyone who acts against the directives of the Party, against the masses, should be sent to the people without hesitation, and should tell them personally that the mistake was not made by the Party, but by us bureaucrats, he should apologize and beg the people to give him somewhere to shelter his head, some tatters to sleep on, some job in the fields and, if the cooperative has enough meat and milk, to let him eat some too, if the cooperative has not, to let him wait until it produces them.

The question arises: where do such unjust orders and directives emerge from? They are the offspring of bureaucratism; therefore, in order to avoid them, bureaucratism and the bureaucrats who do such things in the name of the Party must be ruthlessly fought against. Such persons harm the interests of the people and harm the line of the Party to such an extent that they make the ordinary people pose the question: for how long will the Party make mistakes? No, comrades, it is not the Party that has made the mistake, it has never said that privately owned livestock should be sold, even when the cooperatives become higher-type ones.

A directive has been issued that the number of goats be reduced, but this, too, should be thoughtfully carried out. We shall reduce their number only because they damage our forests and yield little; nevertheless, as long as they are not yet replaced with more productive animals, their number should not be reduced. This reduction should be carried out gradually and carefully, so that our children do not lack food. This is how it will be done with ewes too, although, as is known, we will never aim at completely doing away with them, because a number of them should be kept for the future, too, to meet the needs of the present and of the future, especially for wool, but also for meat and then for the simple reason that this useful animal eats a part of fodder that other animals do not and turns them into material goods.

This is what the Party advises. Then why should its directives

be understood wrongly? If a party instructor goes to the grass-root level and makes a wrong explanation of the directive, the communist should tell him: "I don't agree with what you say, for I have the directive of the Party clear in my mind. I have the Constitution of the cooperative, which permits me, as a cooperative member of the highlands, to keep one cow and ten ewes in my private plot, and now you come and tell me to slaughter them, but I will not!" If some amendments are made to the Constitution, this will not happen without first taking into account the opinion of the cooperative members in the highlands of the Mat district and throughout Albania. In such cases, the Party, as always, will seek the opinion of the masses. When it is concluded that the time is ripe for the reduction of the number of livestock, the cooperative peasantry will be consulted by all means. If it is seen that the time is not yet ripe, that the cooperative is not yet in a position of regularly providing its members with milk, then no reduction at all will be effected.

The Party does not oppose the desire of the people. If its correct line is not well understood, then the implementation of the line must never be imposed on the masses. The Party should continue to patiently explain to the masses, without hurrying or opposing the people.

In connection with this, Stalin teaches us:

*"Even the greatest party might be caught unawares, even the greatest party might be at the end of its tether if it does not draw lessons from history, if it does not increasingly temper the militant readiness of its class every day. Comrades, to be caught unawares is something extremely dangerous. To be caught unawares means to become the victims of "surprise", victims of panic in the face of the enemy. But panic leads to disintegration, to defeat, to the abyss." **

In our party work we should always bear in mind these teachings of Stalin. It might happen that the Party opposes itself to the class and gets caught unawares. This might happen not only to a big party, but also to a small one. The possibility of the catastrophe as foreseen by Stalin even happening to a big party when it is taken by surprise and does not draw lessons from

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 68 (Alb. ed.).

history, etc., unfortunately was proved in the Soviet Union after his death. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin was not in militant readiness. This readiness, according to the opinion of our Party, is ensured when we attach importance to some matters which might seem trivial as well. In this regard, we should always be vigilant. When the Party slackens its militant readiness at a certain moment, it is caught unawares by the class enemy. In the Soviet Union this was how modern revisionism emerged, representing the bureaucratic, corrupt elements, the enemy of Marxism-Leninism, the enemy of the Leninist revolutionary norms of the Party which had wormed its way into the Party and remained hidden there as in a cocoon.

We should bear in mind the historic experience taught by Stalin, we should bear in mind that experience of the Bolshevik Party which found itself unarmed in face of modern revisionism, precisely because in its work it neglected reliance on the masses. Stalin foresaw what can happen to a party if, under the stress of bureaucratized apparatuses, it relies more and more on its "unlimited" rights. Do not think that this slide came all of a sudden. No! Here we have to deal with an entire process, a regressive process, when under the guise of its great authority the revolutionary norms of the party are distorted, bureaucratized and become sclerosed, as happens to the blood vessels of old people, in whom sclerosis can cause not only serious disorders but also sudden paralysis. The tragedy that occurred in the Soviet Union proves that the Bolshevik Party was being gnawed at from within like an apple, which although red on the outside, is worm-eaten inside and has not long to live. The "worm" that ate the Bolshevik Party from within was bureaucratism; the sclerosis was the violation of the Leninist norms, all of them disguised with the name and authority of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The people who begin to embark on this regressive, degenerating process endeavour to exploit the prestige of the Party for their own interests, to raise its name high through hypocrisy. There are those who sincerely try to uphold the name of the Party, and there are those who, under this guise, do nothing but strive to make a fetish of themselves, of their own ego. There are some of the latter kind here and there who, charged with party

work, are always talking about the Party. Why do they do this? They do this to add to their own importance, they stick their chest out to show that they are "the envoys of the Party", to imply that you should weigh your words well when speaking to them, you should listen to what they say and do as they tell you! These are bad, anti-revolutionary stands and are maintained by the bureaucrats. These people are inclined, in general, to minimize their own faults, to make them as small as possible, and, possibly, even to cover them up so that they will not be questioned. But who do they conceal these faults from? From those who strive to be faultless, who try to spot the mistakes and denounce them, who criticize and take measures to correct them without delay. It is precisely these people that such bureaucrats are afraid of.

The line of the Party is the line of the working class. It reflects its aspirations and efforts for the realization of the tasks, common struggle and work. In actual life, this line is still better understood, formed, tempered and tested by the Party itself, by the class and by the masses. Whoever separates these factors from one another slips and deviates from the line. The people who slip tend precisely towards separating these factors, they try to hide themselves from the party control, from its norms and regulations, they aim at hiding themselves behind the authority of the Party and they stick their chest out boasting: "I'm the authority". These people, instead of reflecting on the remarks of the masses, try to cover up their shortcomings, discuss things quite abstractly, demanding to be heard, because they are supposed to be in the right. In order to hide their mistakes and avoid criticism addressed to them, they try to identify themselves with the Party and thus defend themselves and escape criticism. When they see themselves threatened by imminent criticism, they make a great fuss, saying: "the Party should not be criticized, the Party is infallible", etc.

This stand harbours in itself a great evil; it gives birth to fear of criticism. In a village of the Kruja district, the members of the People's Council went to the house of a peasant woman and slaughtered her goat in her private plot, saying that this she-goat was above the norm allowed to the cooperativists by the Constitution. The truth is that this woman was not a member of the cooperative, but she had kept more livestock in the plot of

land granted to her by the cooperative than the provisions of the Constitution allow for the cooperativists. Naturally, the act of this peasant woman was by no means correct, but the "envoys" of the Party, instead of resorting to the method of persuasion, solved the matter in a high-handed fashion, went to her house, seized the old woman's she-goat and slaughtered it before her eyes saying that this was an order from the Party! Has the Party ever said to act in this way? Never! This is a mistake made by some people vested with power, but not by the Party. These arbitrary acts, as I have said above, give birth to fear of criticism. These acts stem from the incorrect concept of some people who, as Stalin pointed out, think that the Party has "unlimited" rights. Thus someone might think, "Since the Party has the right to do anything, then why should I make any criticism at all? The Party has the power in its hand and, if I say a word, it might mean I will have hell to pay for it."

The mistakes committed by some individuals run counter to the line of the Party. Comrades, if such cases are allowed to exist and multiply, if those persons thinking that the Party enjoys, "unlimited" rights are allowed to act freely, then what happened to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will happen here: arbitrary acts, appropriate and inappropriate measures under the pretext of "defending the Party" and "safeguarding its authority". In fact, arbitrary acts lead to the separation of the Party from the class, from the masses, to its disarming and weakening, and finally to its liquidation. What Stalin predicted about a party being caught unawares must never be forgotten by our Party, must always be borne in mind. Our Party is a strong party, a party which zealously defends its norms, which fights and will continually fight for them. Nevertheless, here and there there exist some negative manifestations, some tendencies of certain bureaucrats or immature people, and it is precisely against them that we should fight in time, as soon as they crop up and we should correct them by all means as quickly as possible.

In conclusion I wish to stress the fact that we continue to march unswervingly on our correct Marxist-Leninist road, as it was defined by the 6th Party Congress, first of all for the further consolidation and strengthening of the Party. We should study the directives of this Congress with great attention, ponder them

continuously and profoundly, be led by them in our daily work and by the other materials of the Party which constitute a great treasury of experience. This material will assist us to better understand the Leninist theory on the party and the modern revisionists' false "communist" theory on the party, which is nothing but the theory of the liquidation of the party and of the proletarian dictatorship.

As you know, since the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists and their stooges, the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement has been engaged in a severe life-and-death struggle against them. Our Party is in the vanguard of this struggle which we must carry through to the end; therefore, in our country it is indispensable for both the people and the army to be armed and trained in military arts. But we, the party members and our entire people, parallel with arming ourselves militarily, should first of all be armed with our invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism. We will find this theory in the classics of Marxism-Leninism, we will also find it in the vivid, long and militant experience of our Party. Therefore, we must consider the enlivening of the revolutionary life of the grass-root organizations, of the party committees at all levels, as an important permanent task of ours. By attaching first-hand importance to the ideological, militant training of the Party, by being aware and armed, we shall never be taken by surprise, on the contrary we will always be in the vanguard, in the place of honour in the struggle against the class enemies, whether internal or external, against imperialism and revisionism, until our final victory.

The vigorous and militant life of the grass-root organizations and of the party committees, the common revolutionary struggle of the elected and electors, the work of the party apparatuses, the joint struggle of the whole Party within revolutionary norms, within the limits of democracy and democratic centralism, all these are of vital importance and should be unhesitatingly carried out through struggle, without timidity, without servility.

Servility is irreconcilable with the nature of the communist, wherever he works, at the centre or at the grass roots. The elected have been brought to the leadership of all levels by the electors, but both sides, the elected and the electors, should collaborate and strive for the implementation of the line of the

Party, without hesitation, and without servility towards one another. Such a revolutionary collaboration leaves no room for timidity, servility, or fear on the part of anyone. It is only in this way that the Party, its Marxist-Leninist line, are defended. Such a stand is a powerful blow dealt by our Party at the reactionary, bourgeois-imperialist, anti-Marxist and revisionist ideologies.

The Leninist party norms are made the target of a subtle attack by the revisionists of all hues, who aim at liquidating the parties of the Marxist-Leninist type, in order to ensure the victory of capitalism and imperialism and to defeat the working class. The revisionists resort to all ways and means to attack Leninism, its principles for party building and its norms, which make it militant, active and the vanguard of the working class. Furthermore, the Italian revisionists go so far as to tell such ignominious lies as that Marx himself had not been for the creation of a party of the working class, therefore, according to them, Lenin had distorted Marx's ideas. In this way, the revisionists come out against Lenin, but they are careful to disguise their anti-Leninist attack.

But facts indicate the opposite. The Communist League organized by Marx and Engels was a party of the proletariat. In many of their writings they have stressed, in particular, the need to organize the communist party to lead the working class. The revisionists cannot negate this, it is as clear as the rising sun. On the other hand, the revisionists say that Lenin has not only deviated from the ideas of Marx, but that he has also distorted them, thus opening the way for the emergence of bureaucracy, etc., etc.; and they make precisely the same accusation against Stalin, too.

All of us know the history of the Bolshevik Party and the Leninist theory on the party, on its principles, on democratic centralism in the party, on discipline and all other norms, without which a true Marxist-Leninist party cannot exist, revolution cannot be carried out and led, the proletariat cannot establish its dictatorship. All these have been proved by history.

In the final analysis, what is it that the present-day revisionists are seeking? They seek and promote some theories which Lenin ruthlessly fought against in his time. According to them, the working class in the West has attained a high stage of

development, therefore it is not essential for it to be regimented, organized, and to have a strict discipline. According to them, the party line, its leading role, in opposition to what Lenin has said, dwindles to nothing. According to the revisionists, the party committees in capitalist-owned factories can play a certain role only if they urge the workers to make economic demands, and not political demands. Such theories and other similar ones were condemned and refuted by Lenin in his time. Therefore, the modern revisionists' propaganda and that of all enemies of socialism, which are savagely spearheaded against Marxism-Leninism, are aimed at diverting the working class and the working masses led by it away from the road of revolution and socialism.

In our country, despite the shortcomings in the work, the line of the Party is based on Leninist principles. Its directives are constructed, implemented and verified through the party-class and party-people fusion, in harmony with the Leninist theory and principles on the party. Our Party is in the uninterrupted process of revolutionary development and continually fights to find new forms and methods, a better and more revolutionary style with each passing day. This constitutes the guarantee of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party for the future, too.

Speeches, 1971-1973

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE INTERPRETATION AND PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DIRECTIVES ON THE WORK OF THE PARTY WITH THE MASSES

*Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Secretariat of the
CC of the PLA*

April 24, 1972

I agree with the remarks and comments which the comrades have made about the interpretation and practical implementation of the directives on party leadership in the mass organizations, and therefore I do not intend to go into detail on these matters. I only wish to point out that the problems we are discussing are not being raised for the first time. If the Party re-emphasizes them time and again, it does so in order to correct mistakes that may have been made, in order to further improve our work, to "shake off the dust". The purpose is for the directives to be interpreted and implemented as well as possible by the communists and the masses, and in no case to be looked at apart from the problems and needs of the country's development. Viewed from this angle, the speech I recently delivered at Burrel was not something detached from these current needs.

I insist on the necessity of interpreting and implementing the directives properly, for a superficial and premature judgement in this can mean danger to the Party, and its slipping towards the Right or the Left. Now that my speech in Mat is under discussion, someone who does not understand the line of the Party may think that the door is open to liberalism and to the creation of distorted views: "Come and criticize right and wrong." Liberalism would be one of the major perils just as, on the other hand, sectarianism would be, for it causes the Party to be closed within its own shell, holding discussions and taking measures against those communists who commit errors, and

violate its decisions and directives, at party meetings only, and not before the collective where they work. Both of these manifestations, liberalism and sectarianism, are very dangerous, and should be fought against in whatever form they appear. Therefore, in order to get a deep grasp of the directives and carry them out in practice, it is necessary to follow continuously the correct Marxist-Leninist course. For this purpose it is essential to keep always in mind the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and the experience gained by the Party throughout its revolutionary life and struggle.

The Party should always be at the head of the masses and, together with them, should implement through struggle and effort the directives, instructions, norms and decisions it takes. But in life and in the course of work, the Party and the masses it guides should think and act to correct the errors and fill the gaps which may exist in the directives and instructions issued, and in this process correct the errors that the communists and non-party individuals make. This work should be done more intensively today than in the past, because the situation now is quite different from that of the war days.

Now we are no longer as we were during the National Liberation War, when circumstances obliged us to carry out much of our work in strict secrecy, because many of the instructions and decisions of the Party had to be kept from the enemy who made every effort to learn of them as quickly as possible, so as to work out plans to attack the Party. During the fascist invasion, if the enemy had been informed in time about a directive of the Party to launch an attack on a given target, or who were the communists belonging to a certain cell, who were and who were not admitted into its ranks, for what reasons a particular person was not admitted to party membership, or why this or that communist was criticized, if the enemy had been informed of the decisions that had been taken, then it would have been much easier to strike heavily at the cell and the whole Party. Therefore, under those conditions the maintenance of secrecy was a strong weapon in the hands of the Party, in the struggle it waged against the occupiers and traitors, for the liberation of the Homeland and the freedom of the people.

Now too we are in a state of war with the class enemies, and

therefore we should guard our Party and its unity like the apple of our eye, we should guard our state secrets and the ideological and organizational norms and rules of the Party. But while always being vigilant about these things, we should not forget that the situation is quite different compared with that difficult period we went through. Today the Party is at the head of the masses, it is in power. Through struggle and strife, the antagonistic classes have been done away with in our country. The Party has strengthened the alliance between the working class and the cooperative peasantry. At present the Party directs all the life of the country; it directs the economy through five-year plans which cannot be realized without active, all-round, conscious participation, and a high political and ideological understanding on the part of the working masses of town and countryside.

During the war the Party called on the communists to be always fearless, in the forefront of every battle, to sacrifice even their lives if necessary, to face death courageously for the higher interests of the Homeland and the people, to set an example to the masses in every way. The heroic implementation of these party directives by the communists led to the great days of liberation.

Now the Party continues to call on the communists to be in the forefront of the battle to fulfil the plans and defend the victories achieved. And the communists are in the vanguard in implementing the party directives. In the new conditions it is essential for them to think and fight with a new style of work, and eliminate the survivals of the old method of closed work in the party cells and committees, which was suitable for the period of the war, but not for the present. It seems to me that there is no longer any reason to keep the party directives to ourselves as before. We should uphold and implement properly the articles of the party Constitution and its organizational norms. But since we accept in principle that it is correct to criticize every communist for the errors he commits, be he secretary of the basic organization, secretary of the district party committee, or member of the Central Committee or government, since we accept that not only may we criticize him, but when the occasion arises we may discharge him, that we may even criticize an entire party

forum for one mistake or another, then what organizational reason prevents us from disclosing these matters, when they have threatened the interests of the Party and of the people? Why should we not inform the workers of the particular collective why these measures have been taken? Why should we not tell them why a certain communist was criticized or dismissed, or why a whole forum was criticized? It seems to me that arguments for secret work do not hold up today.

Let us now take the question of the meetings of the basic party organizations and committees. Have we held and do we hold them at the proper level, on the basis of the party directives? The conclusion is that the level of these meetings and of the implementation of these directives is not always as high as it should be. The question arises: Why are they not implemented?

As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, the conclusions of the meetings of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee are published and sent in bulletin form to the whole Party, to study and benefit from them. But we are told that there are cases when some secretaries of the basic organizations take these materials, read them themselves, and then put them in the drawer, instead of making their contents known to the communists, let alone the working masses. These comrades misinterpret the comment written on these materials, "for internal use".

What does this show? It shows that some of these comrades are not yet clear about the circumstances we are living in. They have not yet properly understood that it is necessary to inform all the masses of the Party and the people about a decision of the leadership. There is no reason for materials sent for all the Party to be shut away in the drawer of the secretary of the basic organization, if there is nothing special about them to be kept secret. It seems to me that these party leaders do not understand this matter properly, and that on the basis of the situation we are going through, they should think better and no longer tolerate such attitudes. These attitudes are maintained because that organizational secretary or communist still lives with the old mentality of secret work, or tries to keep a monopoly of the ideas expressed in the materials of this organ, with a view to giving his comrades the mistaken impression that he alone has broad

horizons! It is unpardonable not to do one's best to inform all the comrades about the materials of the Central Committee.

At no time have the Party and its Central Committee given the directive that open materials should be kept under lock and key. All of us, especially Comrade Hysni Kapo, who is in continuous contact with the secretaries of the district party committees, have explained this to the comrades in the districts, but some of them still suffer from the old mentality I pointed out, and they should shake it off as quickly as possible.

Decisions and directives covering various needs and problems are often sent to the district and to the base by the party Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat. We have often asked the comrades of the district and the base to send us their comments and opinions on them. We emphasize this, for we are aware that all that we discuss and decide is not always perfect, complete or unable to be bettered. Therefore we continually call on the Party to speak about any shortcoming or omission that may be observed in the decisions or directives, or any stipulation which practice proves cannot be implemented and should be amended. We have repeatedly made such requests, but we have rarely had any comments in this direction from the party committees, let alone from the comrades at the base. But experience has proved that decisions have been taken, and directives given, which were not complete or without mistakes.

If the centre does something to inform the Party and the masses about the problems it considers and the decisions it takes, the way this job is done in the districts is very weak. The problems the district party committee takes up for discussion and the decisions it takes remain almost unknown, for only a few cadres have any knowledge of them, those who take part in the forum and some others who, as the need arises, are called to report to the meeting, to give explanations, or those who are particularly interested in the problems under discussion. I do not mean only that information about the themes and the method the party committees have used in examining these problems should be sent here to us in the apparatus of the Central Committee, although sending them has its importance for the Central Committee, but it is also of major importance to send them to and have them analyzed by the base and the masses, to check on

the complete implementation of these decisions and to verify their correctness in practical life. This is one of the essential forms of work which would greatly help the party committees to be in the forefront, and to lead the broad working masses in the districts in implementing the decisions the committees have taken.

If you, leading comrades of the districts, wish to be in the lead at work, at the head of the leadership of the masses, then it is essential for you to work so that the problems you discuss find a wide and rapid response among the broad masses of the people in the districts, incorporated in the mass organizations which they belong to. Therefore, these problems should be made known, explained and made clear to them through these organizations and you should then set to work to mobilize them in solving these problems successfully. The masses should thus see that the Party does not stand at the head merely because it leads the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also because it takes correct and important decisions and issues directives on how to solve the various problems that preoccupy the country, enlightens the masses, makes them aware of the significance of these decisions and directives, and mobilizes them to apply them in practice, which helps revolutionize the life of the people and promote their well-being. This contributes to the daily strengthening of unity among the people, to cementing socialist affection and solidarity among the workers, and helps to solve everything in a correct way and with great goodwill. Through its work, the party committee makes all these things clear to the masses. Therefore it is essential that all its activity in the district, based on the decisions of the Party Congress, the directives of the Central Committee and the decisions of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat of the Central Committee and the government, reflects the situation, the needs and the aspirations of the masses.

Hence the need for the masses to know, for instance, why the party committee of their district or the basic organization met on a particular occasion, and what was decided. Are they entitled to this or not? Of course they are, because the Party builds socialism together with the masses, who should know about what the Party discusses and decides, for otherwise they will not mobilize all their forces in a conscious way to carry out the decisions that

have been passed. There may be and are internal organizational decisions which the party committees take, there are questions that should be kept secret from the internal and external class enemy, but the majority of the decisions taken by a district party committee are not of this nature, and therefore it is necessary and essential that they should be communicated to the masses. Thus, when the district party committee examines economic problems or the need to take steps for the enforcement of discipline at work, for the education of the youth or for the good administration of schools, etc., why should these problems not be communicated to the workers, why should the details of the decisions taken not be explained to them? All are interested in the decisions of the Party, and they cannot be implemented by the communists alone, but by all the working people, with the communists in the forefront of the struggle.

Our practice so far in informing the masses about the work and decisions of the Party is not as good as it should be, and this practice is also reflected in the method of work of the basic organization. In many cases the secretary of the party basic organization in an enterprise, agricultural cooperative, institution or elsewhere does not use the right method in preparing work plans or agendas of meetings. Therefore it often happens that the agenda is vague and has not been made known to the working collective. The working collective should not only know beforehand what the basic organization will discuss, but it should also be informed afterwards what was decided at the meeting of the basic organization, so that it may then know why to mobilize for the job assigned to it on the basis of the directives of the higher forums and of the basic organization itself, which has at its disposal the directives and decisions of the Party, of the Congress and the Central Committee, which it receives through the daily press and through the bulletins of the Central Committee. To this end, the Party has continually emphasized that in many cases the agenda of the meeting of the basic organization can be posted up to inform the communists and non-party workers. But, when the meeting ends, the secretary of the basic organization should gather the collective as soon as possible to inform it about the problems which were discussed, what was decided, etc. When it happens that the meeting has also

discussed the case of a communist who has not done his duty, or whose conduct has been poor in the collective, in society or in the family, and the basic organization has criticized him for this, the collective should also be informed, not only of the steps taken against him but also of his attitude towards the criticism, and of his undertaking not to repeat the mistake.

If we act in this way, then we will see how life in the basic organization will be revolutionized, how well the communists will carry out their tasks, and what progress will be made. Through such a practice, the non-party masses themselves will be interested in the problems of the organization, will help it with their opinions and suggestions, will be encouraged to expose the faults and shortcomings in the work of the organization and of those who do bad work, and will help the organization to know in more detail the problems that preoccupy the collective. Enlivening the life in the collective and in the organization will also greatly assist the latter in choosing what problems to bring up at its meetings.

The Secretary of the Party Committee of the Shkodra district said in his remarks here that the communists do not put up wall posters in the collectives where they work. Under the conditions of secret work, of perpetuating a tradition of work unsuited to the present situation of our development, it is understandable why the communists do not put up wall posters in their work centres. Under these circumstances the communist thinks: "Why should I put up a poster on this or that problem, since I have raised this problem in the basic organization, where I spoke about it, made criticism and self-criticism, etc.?" The communist may indeed have done this, but what he said remained within the organization, since it was not made known to the masses. Such a practice does not have a good influence and does not encourage the masses to criticize us, the communists; on the contrary, it weakens the effectiveness of criticism and self-criticism by the masses. Therefore, it is essential for us to change this situation.

A communist who has made a mistake can and should by all means be criticized at the meeting of the basic organization to which he belongs, but this is not enough. The Party gains nothing if the mistake a communist has committed is kept secret from the masses. This means that many of those who are not in the

Party will not know about it. But if some non-party worker has noticed the incorrect behaviour or the wrong attitude towards work maintained by a communist in his department, brigade, school or elsewhere, bearing in mind that the Party teaches the masses to criticize without fear, he may get up and say: "You, comrade, who are a cadre and a communist, have maintained this wrong attitude, so explain to us why you did this, and what you intend to do to avoid repeating it?" In such a case, far from hushing up a comrade's fault, the communists should acknowledge that the criticism is right, and if this matter has also been taken up at the meeting of the basic organization, they should inform the collective that the culprit has also been hauled over the coals at their meeting.

The Party comes before the masses with open criticism and a program for everything. It has no reason not to say that a particular communist has erred in one direction or another, and there is no reason why the masses should not also be told when a whole organization has been wrong and has been told to take action to correct its mistakes properly and radically. For this it should seek the assistance and opinion of non-party people, who make up the overwhelming majority of the workers. By pursuing this course, we will have better relations with the masses, who will certainly say: "Long live the Party, because the way it is acting is the most correct one!" This is the way all our people think and the way they express themselves unanimously now that they are discussing the speech I delivered at the Plenum of the Party Committee of the Mat district, where I did no more than express our Party's views to the masses and call on them again to criticize fearlessly anyone who errs or commits an offence.

Has this stand maintained by the Party lowered its authority at all? No, in no way has it lowered this authority. On the contrary, this stand has raised the authority of the Party to a still higher level among the non-party workers. Of course, if we consistently go deeper into these matters, there is no doubt that the Party's authority will be further enhanced. Therefore, it is not permissible for us to detach ourselves from the masses, to restrict ourselves to discussing problems within a closed circle, only at the meetings of the basic organization.

It may happen on some occasions that there may emerge indi-

vidual elements, carping critics and troublemakers, not to mention any enemy, who under the slogan of "democracy" and the call of the Party for bold criticism of faults and shortcomings, try to profit in order to concoct intrigues, to launch unjustified attacks against cadres, communists and honest people, and present activities and people in dark colours. These individuals should be suitably punished. But even in these cases, the Party does not lose. On the contrary, it gains because, on the one hand, the collective will know these elements better, while on the other, the masses themselves will know how to oppose wrong views and will settle accounts with the intriguers.

The criticism of the working people should not only be listened to attentively and taken into account, maintaining a serious and correct attitude towards it, but immediate radical steps should be taken to put mistakes right. The Party does not permit formal, superficial acceptance of the criticism of the masses, because the non-party people have every right to say, "We have criticized you once, twice and three times, but we see that you are doing nothing; why are you doing nothing, comrade communists? How many times will we continue to criticize you, and you do nothing to change the situation?" Therefore, if the basic organization fails to act in the revolutionary way of the Party, to correct an unsatisfactory situation, an unhealthy situation, as quickly as possible, then not only does it allow itself to tail behind the masses, but the criticism for the mistake of an individual communist passes from him to the basic organization. If it fails to take measures, to shake itself up, the criticism is directed towards the higher forum, and so on in turn. Therefore it is essential to use these forms of work I have pointed out towards the communists who err; all should be criticized openly before the masses when they err, otherwise a difficult situation would be caused and the Party would detach itself from the masses.

If the directives of the Party are well understood and implemented correctly, then the communists will put up wall posters like everybody else, even against the party members, and such a thing will not affect the basic organization at all. Why should a communist not put up a wall poster when he sees that a particular party member, despite the decision taken in the basic organization, despite the severe criticism he may have been

subjected to there, continues to err? In addition to the wall poster, he is entitled to demand that this party member who is repeating his mistake should be called to account again before the basic organization or the collective. If this just request is not met by, let us say, the secretary of the basic organization, a wall poster directed against him should also be put up.

Now let us come to another problem that concerns us all, to the problem of drawing up the agenda on the basis of knowledge of what is happening.

Without failing to make our own self-criticism, for we too have our shortcomings in this, we cannot overlook the fact that you comrades of the districts also have responsibility in this. You have not always kept in mind the slogans and the line of the Party that "the rank and file and meetings with the working people are enlivening," they "inspire", "encourage", and "open up new perspectives", therefore, you have not always given us the necessary aid in this direction.

The party committees are charged with being in the lead of all the work of the party organization in the district, and they hold great responsibility in this. It is up to them to draw up plans for activity, and to determine what meetings should be held in a given period, with an approved agenda. But how appropriate are these agendas which they work out, how well do they respond to the needs of the time, to the concrete problems that preoccupy the district, how do the party committees solve the problems which they consider at a particular time, in accordance with their importance and relevance, on the basis of the general directives of the Party Congress and the Party Central Committee, and the decisions of the government?

I do not doubt that the problems that the leading organs of the Party in the district take up for discussion are essential and correct ones, but considering this question and comparing it with the insufficient work which we do here too, and about which we are making self-criticism, I think that the party committees in the districts must have many weaknesses. The basic organizations cannot be exempt from these weaknesses, although they live closer to the masses and work among them. The basic organizations of the Party will succeed in having a clear grasp of the problems to be considered at their meetings, if they continue

to study the principles and the directives of the Party more deeply and in a revolutionary way, foreseeing all the harm that may be caused by the slightest deviation from the correct line and Marxist-Leninist organizational principles, and if they apply the mass line with consistency. Then it will not happen that the secretary of the organization or a couple of other communists call for an unnecessary meeting of the organization, say, for the sole purpose of criticizing a party member for something which is not so important at that particular moment, when it should be looking further ahead, for instance, at the problem of norms, which is a problem of principled political and economic importance, or, perhaps, at certain negative phenomena which have been observed in the collective. Thus, much closer knowledge of the life of the collective where this basic organization militates will help it to choose, among the many problems, the one which really deserves to be taken up.

How can the basic organization arrive more concretely at the most correct conclusion in specifying on the agenda the problem which preoccupies the collective and itself most? It can reach this conclusion when the communists are deep among the masses and in close touch with them, when they know their opinions, their wishes and their concerns, when they work with them in production and when the communists, with a clear conscience and iron will, are the first to place the general interest above the personal. In this case a correct solution will be found to the question, for example, of paying a hard worker who toils and sweats, not less, but on the contrary, more, than one who sheds no sweat. In this case the communists themselves will act and set all their fellow workers in motion to correct mistakes. This, then, is how the most important problems to be included in the agenda of the basic organization can emerge.

When all the communists live in close contact with the non-party masses, when they themselves take direct part in production, they cannot but be in a position to propose to the secretary of the basic organization the most acute problem which should be analyzed at the meeting, because this is dictated by life itself, by the needs of production, by the will to carry out the line of the Party, by the will of the working collective and of the communists who fight in the vanguard of the masses and work

tirelessly to accomplish the tasks raised by the times, by life itself. Such a thing can never be done by the will of one person alone, even if he is the secretary of the organization, when he is detached from life and from the masses. The secretary is obliged to consult with the communists about the problems which the basic organization will consider. Thus the communists as a whole, and not one or two people, should discuss and decide whether a certain problem is to be included in the agenda or not. Then you will see, comrades, how good and clear the agenda will turn out to be, how timely will be the problems to be considered, and what good results we will have in our work.

When the Party takes up and analyzes the most important problems that preoccupy the people, the working masses rejoice and impatiently await the decisions that will be taken. After the meeting it is essential that these decisions should be made known immediately to the masses, so that they can mobilize to implement them.

By acting this way in every collective, great revolutionary liveliness will be created among the masses, and the basic organization will be stimulated to feel its responsibility more strongly, will act more justly, showing courage and initiative, and will not trail behind the masses. When criticism is justified and hits the target, people will be better educated and revolutionized. Under these conditions it is not very important whether or not the representative of the women's organization attends the meeting of the party organization to discuss a problem relating to women, when the women of the collective themselves have raised this problem, complaining that they are being hindered, that in their activity difficulties are being created by the men, and by their party and non-party brothers. By acting this way the problem will be solved better and more justly. Thus, it is not very important whether or not a representative of a mass organization attends a meeting organized by the Party, as long as not only the communists but all the non-party working people take part in this meeting, at which the problem of things which are not going right is considered and discussed in a revolutionary way. Therefore, the committee or basic organization should listen attentively to the proposals made by the working people and take immediate steps to fulfil their request, to look into the problem

that is worrying them, and to make such a profound analysis that old and young are shaken up. The party committee should then take immediate steps to issue the appropriate directives to improve the situation and carefully follow up the results of this work step by step.

It is clear that the Party should from time to time also call to the meeting the comrades elected to the leadership of the mass organizations, and carelessness about doing this should be stopped. It is quite impermissible not to activate the forums of these organizations through the established forms, which should be better utilized and continuously improved. But the narrow concepts that exist, thinking that the line of the Party towards the masses is carried out merely by calling the representatives of the mass organizations to a particular party meeting, while the decisions taken in these party meetings remain secret, leave many problems unsolved.

I wanted to emphasize these questions, for on all the others I agree with the materials and with what the comrades said in their remarks. Let it be rightly understood that in the field of the leadership of the mass organizations by the Party, as in every field, we have made progress; what I have said here does not mean that the party committees in the districts work in a bureaucratic way. It is a fact that the party comrades in the districts go to the masses, are in daily contact with them, consult with them, take their opinions into account, etc. The question now is to work better and go more deeply into the directives of the Party on this problem, not only the present directives, but also previous ones. This is a skein whose threads are closely tied to one another, and if you begin from the last and forget the first, the directive cannot be fully implemented.

I also had something to add about the meetings of the party activists. The Party has practised this form of work and I think this was necessary when the number of communists was smaller than at present and the mass organizations were not at the ideological, political and organizational level that they are today. Nor, of course, were the activists around the Party at the present level. To a certain extent, they accomplished some tasks which the communists should have done, they were people assigned by

the Party to take its word to the masses, they were propagandists instructed in a special way to acquaint the masses with the problems of the times. When the Party thought of using activists, we not only had fewer party members, but their ideological, political and cultural level was low. Later on, with the further development and consolidation of the Party, this active force assumed another meaning, it embraced more of those workers who were outstanding in their work and aimed, through activating them, to prepare them for admission to the Party.

Anyway, no error of principle was committed by creating the active force of the Party, whose members used to gather now and then and were sent out to explain certain directives they were given. Now the situation has changed. But the old concept of the active force and the method of work used with it are difficult to uproot, for they have become deeply rooted and have become a habit in the practical work of the Party. However, today we have thousands of other workers outside the active force whom we activate, most of whom are as capable as the members of the active force. Therefore, I am of the opinion that there is no reason to retain the active force for the purpose for which we had originally created it, not even for the purpose of preparing the best workers for admission to the Party. Today, this form of work can be harmful, because it may be construed to mean that other workers not in the active force cannot be admitted to the Party, as if the doors of the Party are opened only to members of the active force. Therefore, it was rightly said here that we should not take any decision today about this problem, but wait and make a final decision after having consulted with the comrades of the district party committees.

Speeches, 1971-1973

**GREETINGS ON BEHALF OF THE CC OF THE
PLA TO THE 7th CONGRESS
OF THE ALBANIAN
TRADE UNIONS**

May 8, 1972

Comrades,

It is a great honour and a special pleasure for me, and for the whole leadership of our Party and state, to be among you today, comrade delegates, at this Congress of your militant and combative organization. Allow me to convey to you, delegates, and to all our heroic working class, the warmest revolutionary greetings of the Central Committee and our Party as a whole, and to wish you good work and full success.

This great convention of the organization of the working class and of the other working people of our country is being held only a few months after the 6th Congress of the Party. At that Congress, the Party took important decisions, and laid down a major program of work and new tasks for the further material and spiritual development of our society. Their accomplishment will further strengthen our country. Albania's transformation into an industrial-agricultural country will proceed more rapidly, the life of the people will become happier, and the complete construction of socialism will take a further great step forward.

This brilliant prospect has aroused unparalleled enthusiasm and a new upsurge of activity and efforts among all our working people in town and countryside, in factories and mines. The working class is on the offensive. It has taken and is carrying out a number of revolutionary initiatives in order to implement the historic decisions of the 6th Congress and accomplish the tasks of the 5th five-year plan.

The Central Committee of the Party is convinced that the

proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Trade Unions and the decisions it takes will give a new impetus to the many-sided activity of the trade union organization, it will increase the drive and mobilization of the working class at work and its revolutionary awareness and activity. We are certain that the voice of the working class will resound forcefully at this Congress. From its rostrum it will have its important say about all the problems of the life of the country, pointing out the brilliant successes achieved, the great experience gained and the advanced revolutionary initiatives which should be undertaken and developed; it will point out correctly the great value of the collective and of our marvellous people who do wonders in their work, and will openly and courageously criticize shortcomings and defects, bureaucratic concepts and practices, and everything old and alien that lies in the way of the progress of our socialist society.

Our Party and people have achieved great victories and extraordinary results in all fields of socialist construction. We are proud of our socialist industry, of the combines, plants and hydro-power stations which have been set up by the skillful hands of our working class, and which are being managed and exploited by them so capably and with such ingenuity. In the socialist transformation of our countryside and in the development of our agriculture, we also see the great contribution made by the working class, its invaluable aid in bringing about the progress of our new countryside. The working class plays a decisive role in all the magnificent achievements attained in the development of education and culture and in the revolutionization of the whole spiritual life of our country.

An important contribution to the achievement of these important successes has also been made by our people's intelligentsia, who, together with all working people and under the guidance of the Party and the working class, have placed all their creative abilities at the service of the Homeland and the cause of socialism, and have tirelessly worked to develop and organize production and to advance education, science and culture.

Everywhere, every project and every success bears the seal of creative work, the inexhaustible energy, the thought and spirit of

sacrifice of the working class, and bears the seal of its revolutionary ideology.

In the all-round and complex struggle, full of adversities and obstacles, waged by the working class together with the other working people to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past and to build the socialist economy and culture we have today, the working class has developed and tempered itself. Its consciousness and organization have been raised to a higher level. The working class has become more mature politically and ideologically, better prepared and more able to cope with new great tasks, to carry out better its historic role and mission as the leading and irreplaceable motive force of the whole life of the country, which holds political power and the destiny of the country in its hands.

These results are inseparable from the great leading and organizing work of the Party, and from its all-round concern to arm the working class with Marxist-Leninist theory, and to bring about its ideological, political, educational, cultural and vocational development. In the future, too, our Party will work untiringly to continuously advance the education of the working class, to raise its militant spirit and temper it ideologically and politically.

The realization of the major tasks now facing us is a continuation of the ceaseless and self-denying battle which our people wage to build socialism. The working class, led by the Party, stands as always in the forefront of this struggle.

Within its ranks there have sprung up such great movements as "standard-bearers of the ideas of the 6th Party Congress," "Shock Worker of the year 1972 and of the 5th five-year plan," the initiative to accomplish the tasks of the five-year plan with the manpower of the year 1970, to gain the title "Example in discipline and proletarian education at work," to mechanize work processes, to improve the quality of production, to save materials and money, and so on and so forth. From its ranks have emerged such vanguard workers as the outstanding driver Spiro Lera, tractor driver Shyqri Kanaperi, geological brigade leader Ismail Nika and teacher Hysen Mezini. Their example is followed by hundreds and thousands of others, by whole collectives like those of the Bulqiza, Mborje-Drenova and

Memaliaj mines, the oil prospecting enterprise N° 2 at Patos, the "Tractor" plant in Tirana, the metal manufacturing plant in Gjirokastra, the superphosphate plant at Laç and others, or of the state farms at Maliq, Sukth and Kamza, which have set an example of determined and devoted work for the benefit of the people and socialism.

Every time the Party has laid down tasks and opened up new prospects for socialist construction, the word, thought and action of the working class have always been decisive in carrying them out. And this has not happened by chance. It is the class which, through its high revolutionary consciousness and spirit, its creativeness and self-denying work, advances the triumph of revolution and the construction of new socialist Albania. Therefore, our Party and government always consider it necessary to seek advice from you, comrade workers, and from all the people, about the problems that continually emerge from life and from the socialist construction of our country, to examine them together, and jointly to find the most correct way to solve them.

Our country has risen to a new and higher stage of economic, social, educational and cultural development. But this development will naturally come up against various contradictions and difficulties of growth which we must eliminate and overcome. The present phase of our socialist construction cannot coexist with and carry along old artisan concepts of production, vocational qualification, organization of work and bureaucratic routine, which obstruct the running of the economy along scientific lines. These shortcomings and weaknesses hinder our new start and make more difficult the accomplishment of the tasks it sets, which are much greater and more complicated.

Therefore all of us, workers, organs of the economy, government and Party, are required to live up to our work, to have a higher sense of duty and stricter discipline, and to adopt a revolutionary method and style of work.

The working class and its Party have the right and duty to demand of the party organs, the organs of state power and the economy and of all managers, that they take all the necessary steps to organize the work in such a way that the energy, efforts

and capacities of the workers can give the best results possible.

For the organization and management of our economy and of all our social life, the Party and people's state power have issued laws and have set up the necessary organisms, giving them the relevant powers. All of these are essential and have their own significance and importance. The laws should be implemented rigorously, for otherwise the way is open to anarchy, subjectivism, arbitrariness and spontaneity. But however just they may be, however much we improve these laws and organisms, they cannot by themselves solve the major problems we are faced with. Nor can these problems be solved by inflating our apparatuses and staffs, by endlessly organizing and reorganizing them.

The key to the improvement of the work should be sought primarily in raising the consciousness of our workers so that they have a correct ideological and political understanding of their tasks, and in enforcing responsibility, discipline and control over the work.

The working class is directly and vitally interested in the increase of production and in the speedy growth of the productive forces of society. For this purpose, it is necessary first of all for the working class itself, and every worker, to set an example of strict discipline, to endeavour to do organized work with high productivity and quality, and to demand this rigorously of others as well.

The Party demands these essential features of revolutionary method and style of work from all, workers and managers and working people of the economy and state administration. Discipline and rules are violated both by certain workers and by certain managers. But the breach of discipline by the latter has more serious consequences. We should therefore consider this matter with the greatest seriousness, and demand the enforcement of order and discipline by the rank-and-file workers, and the workers of the administration, up to the leaders of the highest organs of the Party, the state power and the economy.

Just as we require the workers to produce in quantity, in quality and at low cost, we also require with the same class rigour that the intelligentsia and other working people do good,

efficient work of high quality. This means that they should work productively, and that staffs should not be inflated by accumulating in one place cadres and office workers who do more to hinder one another than to work creatively. Having inflated apparatuses and many organisms does not serve either the efficiency of the work, the progress of technique and production or real scientific management.

We say, rightly, that the discipline of the plan is law. But what happens? Before the ink has dried on the approved plan, changes are made in it by the departments, and the worker collectives are faced with an accomplished fact without it being considered necessary to solicit their opinions about it. By a stroke of the pen, basic funds and materials are casually transferred and retransferred from one project to another, from one enterprise to another. Such gestures disorientate the base, create additional difficulties and have a bad influence on the work. They pave the way to irregularities and breaches of the discipline of the plan at lower levels of the administration. When the director of an enterprise sees that the minister makes changes in the plan which run into millions of leks, then he too considers it an easy thing to make changes in the plan for the enterprise, to decide to produce or not to produce certain articles, to keep in stock crude oil, iron, cement and other materials above the plan for that enterprise, or not to fulfil contracts.

Of course, a plan is not something inviolable. However correctly things are foreseen in a plan, life brings changes and dictates the need for corrections. It may happen, for one reason or another, that a study has not been made accurately. At the same time, unforeseen difficulties and circumstances may arise which call for new measures to be taken to overcome them. In these and other cases the problems that arise should not be left to spontaneity, but should always be examined and solved within the regulations. Otherwise, mistakes are made, responsibility lessened and the discipline of the plan weakened.

In their efforts to fulfil the plan, worker collectives are often handicapped by the irregular supply of raw materials, etc. This may happen because there are difficulties, but more often because of irregularities, disorganization and a lack of responsibility. These disorders damage the whole economy of the

country and in some cases reduce the workers' incomes, because, as we all know, on the basis of the rules and regulations in force, when the workers are not working because planned materials are not supplied, they do not receive full pay.

I would suggest that this matter be re-examined. It is not right that the workers should suffer when they are not to blame, and, moreover, that they alone should suffer. If such a thing is done on the basis of decisions taken, then the whole apparatus of the enterprise, as well as all those responsible for these irregularities, including the ministries, should suffer the same consequences as the workers.

This, I think, will place people in a more militant position to carry out better the tasks assigned to them.

The responsibility for the faults and shortcomings I have just referred to falls on all those who do not seriously carry out the plan targets. They try to cover this up with all kinds of justifications, sometimes blaming transport, sometimes imports, production or distribution. However, this labyrinth of justifications is of no use to the workers. They want their factory, plant and every workplace to be supplied according to the plan so that they may fulfil the set tasks. When the workers lack supplies and are not producing, they are entitled to come and complain to the ministry and even to the party Central Committee.

But their right and duty are not only to complain. The working class should stand up and say "Stop!" to irregularities. It should call to account and hold responsible anyone, regardless of the position he holds, insist on the application of legal sanctions, and take measures, going as far as dismissing from their jobs all those who are incorrigible.

Our Party rightly demands that our planned targets be achieved and overfulfilled. This is for the good of the people, of the working class itself and of socialism. The working class, in responding to the call of the Party, has always worked with self-denial and enthusiasm and has advanced the development of our economy from one five-year period to another. But in our socialist economy everything must be accounted for, well thought out and carefully weighed. From this standpoint, not every overreached plan target is always justifiable and acceptable. When the planned targets are overreached by using up

reserves, when more materials are used than planned for, when goods are produced merely to raise total production and not to produce what the people need most, such overreached targets are not wanted by our economy and our working class.

Under the present conditions of the rapid development of our economy and culture and of the entire life of the country, the volume of work each worker and manager has to do has greatly increased. The problems and tasks that face us have not only increased, but have become more complicated. But we have every opportunity to cope with the job and solve the problems successfully. The Party has patiently and carefully trained many capable cadres, ideologically and politically tempered, loyal to the working class and to the cause of socialism. What is now required in addition is to strengthen the responsibility of each for the task assigned according to the powers given to him.

Improvements are evident everywhere, but not at the level we wish them to be. In the various organs of state power and of the economy, from the base to the central departments, personal responsibility and calling to account are not always at the necessary level. It is neither just nor principled for one person alone, say, the minister or the director of the enterprise, to be held responsible for everything.

Of course, they should not and cannot evade their direct responsibility. But in the ministry there is also a deputy minister who runs specific sectors, there are directors and departmental heads who lead the work there, just as there are chief engineers or chief agronomists, chiefs of planning and others, who are assigned to clearly specified jobs. Each should bear full responsibility for the job he is assigned to and should be required to render account to the last detail on carrying it out. No one should be exempted from responsibility and from the control of the Party, the state, the working class and the labouring masses.

Here, in our socialist order, there are no contradictions between the masses and their state power. Ours is a state of workers and peasants. Therefore, the working class and peasants, the working masses, should be and are interested in continually strengthening the proletarian state, their power, by fighting bureaucratic distortions and people's shortcomings and faults.

When the working class and the labouring masses call to account, criticize, condemn bureaucratic procrastination, irregularities and the lack of responsibility and control, and face people of the state organs and apparatuses with their responsibility, they are not opposing either their Party or their state. Through such revolutionary acts, they do not "negate", they do not "strangle" the administrative functions of the state essential to the management of the economy and of society, but they make the people who work in them do their jobs better.

The cadres and managers are people of the working class, educated by the Party in a sound spirit, and they pour out all their energies, talents and knowledge to the benefit of the people and the country. But among them there are also some who have been contaminated by bureaucracy and become conceited and arrogant, who stand aloof from the masses of the people and think they know everything and have no need to ask anyone, that the opinions they hold about this or that problem cannot be wrong, and that their acts are beyond criticism. They reach the point where they think they are irreplaceable. This leads them to errors, to arbitrary acts contrary to the laws of the state and the directives of the Party, to disregard for the wishes and opinions of the working collective. The worst thing is that they often justify these attitudes and present these actions as if they are taken on behalf of the Party in order to implement its directives, in the name of the general interest, of the campaign against narrow personal interest, allegedly in order to cultivate the spirit of sacrifice and the revolutionary spirit, etc., etc.

The Party has not allowed and will not allow anyone, whoever he may be, to place himself, intentionally or unintentionally, above the Party and above the class, to impose his will on the masses, to trample underfoot state laws and the rights of the working people, to disregard the voice of the masses. It is the duty of all the working people, especially the working class, to speak out courageously and condemn severely any manifestation of bureaucratism, to place under their control all the activity of the organs of the state, the economy and the Party, and the communists, cadres and office workers wherever they work, be they elected or appointed. The idea that "it is someone else's business in some other place to look at their work" is not the idea

of the Party. No unjust acts can escape the vigilance and judgement of the working class, of the people. Bureaucratism rears its head and becomes active where it is underestimated and the fight against it weakens. It cringes and cowers when the masses raise their voice, when the control of the masses is exercised over it, when the powerful fist of the working class and its Party falls on it.

Comrades!

The great tasks which the 6th Party Congress set for the development of the economy and culture, and the numerous and complicated problems which emerge from our rapid development cannot be solved only by appealing to the conscience of the people, or only by taking administrative steps. We should set the organization, management and planning of our economy on a more scientific basis so that the combination of social, collective and personal interests may be more correctly harmonized, always bearing in mind the knowledge and application of the objective laws of socialism. Our Party has always followed this road, and therefore all these historic victories have been attained, and magnificent prospects have been opened. Now it is up to us to further improve our system of managing the economy, relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on the experience we have gained throughout these years of socialist construction.

The interests of our economy, of our working class and of the people demand that we not only produce as much as possible, but also produce by using as little manpower, materials and finance as possible, that we produce goods cheaply and of as high a quality as possible. Major improvements have been made in this respect. But the successes we have scored should not prevent us from seeing the defects we have in this field. In this case, above all, it is a question of raising the efficiency of our economy, of making the enterprises and the self-supporting system more productive, and of further improving the use of economic levers.

These problems have been brought up and talked about on other occasions. But how long shall we allow certain industrial and agricultural enterprises to incur losses for years in succession? Why are payroll funds and expenditures for

materials and fuel exceeded without being accompanied by a corresponding increase in production? How can it be accepted that costs are lowered to the detriment of quality, or that goods are produced which the people do not want or like? Is it not very bad and condemnable that certain enterprises make only partial use of, or find superfluous, machinery and equipment bought abroad with foreign currency? Why should our enterprises be urged to run after the "total" fulfilment of the plan and neglect the production of much of the planned range of items, of so-called minor articles, or the fulfilment of contracts with others?

Regarding these phenomena, which the ministries and the administrations of the enterprises come up against every day, deep all-round studies should be conducted and presented to the Party and government, with concrete proposals on the measures to be applied. The working class itself is and must be no less interested in doing away with these defects. Viewed from this angle, it is the duty of every worker collective to see to it that the self-supporting system is strictly applied everywhere in all the links of the enterprise, that every enterprise should be profitable and should not be allowed to incur losses, except in extraordinary cases and by a special decision of the government. The principles and requirements of the self-supporting system should be made known to all the workers, so that they may strive to carry them out, to take an active part in running the enterprise and in exercising their control over all its activity. The problems of the organization and payment for work have been and remain the object of the great and particular concern of the Party and the government. These are problems of vital interest to the development of our economy and to the life of the workers themselves. They are of deep ideological, political, economic and social significance, and are not purely administrative and technical problems.

Let us take the question of work quotas. The working class has shown itself ready, and has taken numerous initiatives, to raise quotas, to pass over to higher progressive technical quotas. This is a further expression of the high socialist consciousness of the working class, of the sound revolutionary spirit which characterizes it, of a deep understanding of the fact that higher work quotas are to the benefit of all, and to its own benefit. The

better the work is, and the higher productivity is, the more production will increase, and the more the well-being of the people, of every worker and peasant family, will be improved.

Setting work quotas is a very delicate, responsible job. It must take into account the conditions that have been created, the introduction of advanced technique and technology, the improvement of work organization and the higher qualification of the workers. This does not permit haste, nor the taking of subjective decisions. Every change should be well-weighed and studied in depth.

When we say we should be reasonable and not take hurried decisions about work quotas, this does not mean we should reconcile ourselves to the existing situation. Why should we stick to experimental statistical work quotas which we have been working to for over twenty years? Has all this time not been enough to experiment and then to establish new, well-studied, technically-based work norms? It is true that progressive work quotas have been established in many enterprises and work processes, but these are still rather limited.

The task of establishing technical norms is not new; it has been discussed at other times. But conservatism and bureaucracy hinder and delay the solution of this problem. This is also sometimes justified under the pretext that the establishment of technical norms "angers" the working class and "encroaches" upon its interests. This is no justification and the working class does not accept it. It is well aware that everything in our country is done for its benefit. The establishment of technical norms can affect only those who unjustly receive more than they are entitled to for the work they do, but does not and must not affect those who work well, who receive what is due to them according to the quantity and quality of work done.

The study and establishment of new work norms should always be done in the spirit of the class, along class lines and in the interest of the working class, not according to stale views, maintaining outdated, superseded norms only in order not to "anger" those who try to profit from society and put more money into their pockets. The workers themselves should persuade these people that they are not in order, that in this way the interests of the class are not upheld but harmed.

Keeping these experimental statistical norms in force has brought about certain unjustifiable disproportions in the pay of workers of the various branches of our economy. It is quite unjust that a worker of the food-processing industry, because he greatly overfulfils low work norms, should receive the same pay as, or more than, a miner who works underground in difficult conditions.

Nor does the fact that workers of the same category are paid the same for working a day-shift as for a night-shift, comply with our socialist principles regarding pay.

I shall take another case. How can it be accepted that a young boy who has just left school should receive approximately the same pay as an old experienced worker who has from 15 to 20 years seniority at work?

Other irregularities are created in the present system of pay because, in many cases, a lot of workers classified in a lower category are employed in jobs of a higher category. Consequently, a less qualified worker receives, in this case, equal pay with another, more highly qualified worker. This impairs the quality of work and production, lowers productivity, and lessens the incentive and interest in raising one's qualification.

Our society is very interested in having people continually raise their qualification for work and their technical and vocational ability and knowledge. In our country, all doors are open for anyone who wants to work and learn. But we must put more order and discipline into this matter, and raise requirements. We should not permit formal promotion to a higher category without subjecting the knowledge and ability of the candidate to strict verification and control. Each should be given the category he or she really deserves. I say this because in this matter there are also manifestations of leniency and sentimentality. This is also shown in the training of higher cadres at the university, where certain young people are awarded unmerited titles and diplomas. This is not to the interest of the working class and of the people.

All matters dealing with the system of pay, granting of categories, and qualifications should be viewed in a complex way, not a one-sided way, for otherwise undesirable economic, political and social consequences may emerge. In studying and

solving these problems, special attention is to be attached to maintaining correct proportions in pay for qualified, less qualified and unqualified work, for heavy and light work, for work in more important and less important branches of the economy, in the principal and auxiliary sectors and so on.

The shortcomings and faults we are criticizing are partial and particular. They are not typical of our development and cannot overshadow the results of the good work of the organs of the Party and our state power, our cadres and workers. Our life, the development of our economy and culture and our socialist construction are characterized by rapid progress and major transformations and successes, which are the fruits of the conscientious and self-denying efforts of our heroic working class, the cooperative peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the communists and the party and non-party leading cadres. We criticize shortcomings and weaknesses and cannot reconcile ourselves with them, because they hinder us in our triumphant march forward, they restrain the drive and creative work of the masses, preventing us from attaining the results we have every possibility of attaining. We fight them because we want to advance faster and to march always ahead.

Comrades,

Many cooperative members representing our peasantry have also been invited to take part in this Congress of the working class and all our working people. This is a very good thing, as it testifies to the strong and close alliance which binds the working class with the peasantry. Our working class and peasantry have marched and will always march side by side, will exchange experience and will help each other, because they are following the same road and have the same goal.

Today, our peasantry is faced with tremendous tasks to develop agriculture and increase agricultural and livestock production, which are so essential to our economy and the life of our people. The accomplishment of these tasks will be decisive in the successful fulfilment of the whole 5th five-year plan. Aware of these tasks, our cooperative peasantry is working with fresh vigour and enthusiasm to reach the set targets and to make our socialist countryside more beautiful and more prosperous. In all

the efforts the peasantry makes, it will have, as always, the direct, unsparing and all-round support and aid of the working class.

There are many tasks our industry will have to face to assist the countryside. It will have to supply agriculture with more chemical fertilizers, insecticides, herbicides, machinery and work tools, building materials and mass consumer goods. The peasantry rightly expects great assistance from the working class regarding the improvement of the organization and management of the cooperative economy, the raising of consciousness and the enforcement of discipline and order at work. The Party is fully convinced that the working class will honourably fulfil its obligations towards the peasantry, and will as always play its leading role in building socialism in the countryside, just as the peasantry for its part will fulfil its obligations and pledges to the working class and the urban working people.

Comrades,

Your Congress is meeting at a time when major events are taking place in the world, which we are not isolated from or unaffected by. But, as always, our Party, our government and our people as a whole analyze the development of the international situation with due attention and maintain a stand which complies with the defence of the freedom and independence of our Homeland and the construction of socialism in Albania, which helps the cause of revolution and of the liberation of the peoples throughout the world.

The international position of socialist Albania is strong and unshakable. Thanks to its revolutionary struggle and activity, its correct internationalist policy and its determined anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist stand, our country has gained the sympathy of the progressive and peace-loving peoples of the world, and has many powerful friends who always wish it well and help it generously.

The friendship and collaboration between the Albanian and Chinese peoples, between our two parties and governments, is becoming increasingly stronger. This friendship is built and is growing on the unshakable basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and our common interests and

aims. As such, it has resisted and will resist all tests, it will be steeled further to the benefit of both our peoples, and the cause of revolution and socialism in the world. Our Party and people will always work to make our close Albanian-Chinese revolutionary ties, our fruitful cooperation, mutual respect and fraternal aid forge ahead and become ceaselessly stronger.

We consider the brilliant successes achieved by the working class and the whole Chinese people, under the wise leadership of the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tsetung, as our own victories. They fill our hearts with joy and we wish our comrades of the Chinese working class and all the Chinese people further and greater successes in the future, so that they may make great People's China a still more powerful bastion of revolution and socialism in the world, and an even more unshakable base of the anti-imperialist struggle of all the peoples.

The working class and the whole Albanian people rejoice immensely to see that in recent years the revolutionary activity of the working people in all the capitalist and revisionist countries is rapidly gaining momentum, and with it their class consciousness.

While the bourgeoisie and the Soviet-led modern revisionists have been plunged into a major crisis involving the economic, ideological and political spheres, the working class is coming onto the battlefield, now earlier, now later, here with more determination and there with less, and striving to take into its hands the power and role which history has assigned it. It is certain that the intensity, acuteness and degree of political and ideological awareness of the world revolutionary movement will keep growing and deepening. Revolution can never be stopped by either bourgeois oppression or revisionist betrayal.

The powerful movement of the people for national liberation from the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist yoke has become an irresistible trend in modern history. The brilliant victories achieved by the people of Vietnam against U.S. imperialist aggression show that a people who fight heroically for independence cannot be beaten.

For more than a month now, the heroic fighters of South Vietnam have been successfully continuing their bold offensive, the greatest and most powerful since the 1968 offensive. They

have succeeded in liberating many towns and districts, seizing the major U.S. military bases within the powerful grip of their encirclement, and causing incalculable losses to the enemy. Washington's "Vietnam strategy" has been profoundly shaken. It was proved that neither now nor at any time can there be such a thing as "vietnamization". For Nixon, there is only one course, to withdraw as soon as possible from Vietnam, to let the Vietnamese and the people of Indochina settle their own affairs freely and independently of any foreign aggression and intervention. The persistence of the U.S. government in continuing its military violence and political manoeuvres to achieve what it could not achieve on the battlefield is doomed to shameful failure, as has been the case so far. The continuation of aggression can never stop the Vietnamese people from freeing their country and realizing their national aspirations. The future of Vietnam and of the other peoples of Indochina is secure. They are building it with their sacred fight for freedom and independence, with their bloodshed and numerous sacrifices.

The working class and the people of Albania, certain of the inevitable triumph of the fraternal Vietnamese people, have been and will be in solidarity with them to the end, and will give them all their support.

The Albanian people are in full solidarity with and support unreservedly the just struggle of the fraternal Palestinian people and all the other Arab peoples against the Israeli-imperialist aggression.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people and that of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, and in the first place U.S. imperialism, show that no predatory power, however big and powerful it may be, can check the people's drive for national liberation, or stop the overthrow of the old relations of imperialist dependence, oppression and exploitation.

The peoples of the world have now risen and are opposing with greater determination the policy of violence and hegemony which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are pursuing, the attempts they are making to extend their zones of influence and to divide the world between them, the policy of dictate and arbitrariness of the two imperialist superpowers. The working masses oppose in particular the demagoguery and decep-

tive slogans of the old and new imperialists who, pretending to be concerned about peace and international security, try to lull the vigilance of the people, to prevent them from uniting into a general anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front, and to disarm all their revolutionary opponents ideologically and politically.

But the efforts of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, and of all reactionaries cannot stop the triumphant march of the working people of the world, of the international working class, towards national and social emancipation, towards revolution. Socialism is the future of mankind, and, therefore, its advance can neither be stopped nor diverted.

The great historic victories the working people of the capitalist and revisionist countries are scoring in their struggle against imperialism and the national bourgeoisie are another source of powerful inspiration for us all, a great incentive to work even harder in our country to reach all the targets set, in order to further advance the cause of socialist construction in Albania.

Allow me, dear comrade delegates, to take advantage of this occasion to greet the representatives of the trade unions of fraternal countries and the representatives of revolutionary workers who are attending your Congress and, through them, the working class and all the workers of the countries they have come from, to wish them successes and victories in the noble struggle they are waging.

The working class of Albania, and all our working people, will strive, as they have done so far, to ceaselessly strengthen their internationalist solidarity with their class brothers in other countries, and will firmly support the struggle of the working people of the whole world against imperialism and capitalist exploitation, in defence of national liberation, democracy and social justice, for the final victory of the great cause of the proletariat, socialism.

Dear comrades, let us raise our revolutionary spirit and proletarian discipline higher, let us face difficulties courageously, do away with shortcomings and forge ahead on all fronts! Let the drive and impetus of our heroic working class, of the working masses of town and countryside, of our women and youth burst forth powerfully, to fulfil and overfulfil the plan for 1972 and for the whole five-year plan period, to make our socialist Homeland

more beautiful and more flourishing!

LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS PARTY OF LABOUR!

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC WORKING CLASS!

LONG LIVE THE TRADE UNIONS OF SOCIALIST
ALBANIA!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

Speeches, 1971-1973

ON PROMOTING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN THE FAMILY

*Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Secretariat of the
CC of the PLA*

May 24, 1972

I too wish to say a few words about the question we are examining at this meeting of the Secretariat. First of all, I wish to express my satisfaction at the good and well thought out comments of the comrades of the districts who work with the organization of the Women's Union (1). I am very glad that the Party, through tireless work, has trained such capable comrades who have a profound understanding of its line and are able to implement it correctly in practice. I have no doubt that in the Party we have hundreds and thousands of other women comrades like those we heard here, who should be highly valued, encouraged and supported by all, and by the Party in the first place, for the good work they do. They should be supported not in a sentimental way and in the petty-bourgeois sense, because they are women and "woman is the weaker sex," not because "the Party says so," but because the problem of women is of extraordinary importance. Women do not exist just to bear children, they are social beings with whom the life and the whole progress of human society are linked, at every level and from whatever standpoint you view it.

Our Party, from the time of its founding, has fought, is now fighting and will continue to fight in the future for the complete emancipation of women. It does this not only because women make up half of society, but because this stand arises from the

1. Reference is to the women in charge of the women's organization in the Përmet, Shkodra, Elbasan and Mirdita districts, invited to attend this meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA.

principled policy which our Party pursues for the emancipation of all the masses of the people. The aim of our Party and of communism is the emancipation of the oppressed, of all those who suffer from economic exploitation, from lack of democratic freedom and, in general, from all forms and survivals of social inequality. The whole struggle of the Party was aimed at freeing all working people of Albania, men and women, young and old. This struggle continued until the people were freed and won political, social and economic freedom.

For the victories achieved to be consolidated on a new basis and new principles, the economy was organized, and the ideological, political and moral education of the people, culture, etc. were developed, with much effort and sacrifice. Having given the power to the people, the Party now stands at their head to build a happy life, a socialist society. Our life is forging impetuously ahead, our revolution is developing incessantly and deepening in all fields, and we are fighting to raise the material and cultural level of the working masses continuously. But we must understand clearly that in this development, despite the improvements made, which bear no comparison with the past, there are also discrepancies and inequalities, such as, for instance, the differences between the economic, social and cultural condition of the cities and villages. We see that workers' centres and cities are better supplied with mass consumer goods. In spite of all the efforts made to narrow this and other gaps, we are still far from closing the gap completely, for we have not yet succeeded in giving the people what they need most, in quantity and quality. As we know, the struggle of the Party aims at equipping all our people with Marxist-Leninist education and culture, but in this field, too, there are inequalities, which are natural under the present conditions. The time will come, after many generations, when in our country these pronounced differences will no longer exist, when, true enough, some will be more or less educated than others, but there will no longer be illiterates or semi-illiterates. Thus, in spite of all the differences which will exist among people, we will reach a general level of education and culture much higher than at present. Naturally, this will come about as a result of the great economic development of the country, as a result of the development of our

education and culture. These successes will serve as the basis for the further improvement of the life of our people, of their economic conditions and cultural and educational level, and as a consequence of these improvements, a much narrower sphere of action will be left to the many age-long survivals in the consciousness of the people, petty-bourgeois survivals, and bourgeois and revisionist morality and ideology. In this way, the Marxist-Leninist understanding of every problem will be further illuminated.

This inequality also exists in the relations between men and women. When we speak of inequality in the relations between men and women, of oppression and the way to fully emancipate women, it is self-evident that we should not imagine that kind of inequality and class oppression to which the people were subjected in pre-socialist socio-economic formations. Under our conditions, the way to the complete emancipation of the woman is mapped out under the direction of the Party. Just as we are striving to close the economic gap between town and countryside, in the same way we will close the gap of the disparity in the relations between men and women, to achieve their full equality not only in law but also in practice. This fundamental problem is of primary importance in the building of socialism.

Relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party has made and is making great efforts in the struggle for the complete emancipation of women. The participation of women in productive work has played an important role in extending their economic freedom, but at the same time this phenomenon has had a major political and ideological effect and consequently has brought about a radical change in the direction of narrowing the distinctions between men and women. The Party, as a political organization which guides the proletariat and inspires all the people wherever they are, cannot be fully successful in carrying out any activity of leadership without the broad participation of women because their problems are related to everything. It cannot be said that this or that political, economic, social or cultural problem concerns men alone, excluding the women, who make up an important section of society, who through no fault of their own have lagged behind in cultural and educational development.

The struggle for the complete emancipation of women should not be forgotten for a moment, for it has to do with the narrowing of the existing differences in the economic, educational and cultural fields between one part of the population and another, between men and women. This major orientation of the Party should be taken to mean creating facilities to lighten women's tiring work of rearing and educating children, the essential need to provide consumer goods and gradually extend electrical home appliances needed to shorten the time of household work, which, in spite of the Party's insistence that this work should be shared by all members of the family, still continues to fall almost exclusively on the women. Every party basic organization, every state, cooperative or social organ, every enterprise, institution and every individual, wherever he or she is employed, should also see to it that the existing differences in the relations between men and women are done away with. All should think of narrowing this inequality, just as they think and act in narrowing the gap between town and countryside. Our women comrades who are more enlightened politically, ideologically and from the educational and cultural standpoint, who are in a position to understand and be more profoundly aware of this inequality, should be the principal elements, wherever they work, to raise before the collective both the obligations of women towards society and those of society towards women. We have such women comrades today not only in the towns but also in the countryside.

Experience has continually proven that when the Party takes a problem in hand and mobilizes the masses to solve it, every goal, no matter how difficult it seems, is achieved. Thus, when the Party made an all-out effort, taxes and the system of compulsory accumulation of agricultural and livestock products were lifted. When the Party raised the question of supplying electricity to all the villages of our country as an absolutely essential need, because socialism could not be built with the countryside in darkness, this task was completed with full success. The Party is doing the same thing for the complete emancipation of women, but in order to have better results in this field, which has to do especially with the ideological and cultural revolution, we must firmly insist that all the people, at every step of their lives, bear in

mind the teachings of the Party on making the question of the complete emancipation of women a problem of all the people.

Revolutionary struggle, the Party teaches us, does away with all those outdated survivals which exist in the minds of the people, as well as the consequences of these survivals, which weigh more heavily on women. They weigh more heavily on women, not because they desire them, but because of the backward concepts inherited from the past, which the ruling classes cultivated for their own interests using their power, the power of religion and the power of men. Men should never think that they love freedom more than women, even though the women are less educated and cultured. People who are not fully equal with others feel the burden of oppression and love freedom more than anyone else. This is just as true in the sphere of family relations as it is true that the slave loves freedom more than the slaveowner, the serf more than the feudal lord and the proletarian more than the bourgeois.

We should become deeply aware of the feelings of those girls who are "sold" by their patriarchal, conservative and backward fathers, or of those women who, though they toil harder than their menfolk, are at times scolded and even beaten by their husbands. If we become profoundly aware of the feelings of the women, we will see what great revolt seethes within them in such cases as I have mentioned, and what boundless desire they have to call on their Party to liberate them! The Party should find suitable forms, ways and means to meet the demands of women, not only economic, but also educational, cultural, etc. The task of carrying out this noble mission falls, first and foremost, on us, the communists, who are the most advanced and aware members of society, because we are more revolutionary, we are equipped with Marxist-Leninist ideas, with socialist culture and with the teachings of our Party, which orientates us, lights our path and guides our activities, and prevents us from turning into a blind alley. The Party's work for our ideological, political, educational and cultural development is an important factor in building socialism, and has made us more capable of facing obstacles, fighting and conquering them, and always forging ahead.

The level of comprehension on many questions varies, because our society is made up of people of different generations and

walks of life. One of these is the older generation who, despite all the progress they have made in the process of their education and re-education, in spite of their great merits and the special respect they enjoy because they made the revolution, have not yet sufficiently rid themselves of the old feudal, conservative and petty-bourgeois ideas and opinions. This is apparent especially in the field of family relations and concretely in the relations between husband and wife. If the Party were to fail to understand this reality, then it would be on the wrong track, and would not be able to concentrate its forces on bringing about those progressive changes which are dictated by the new stage of the historical development of our country, the full construction of the socialist society. If we are content with general statements declaring that we have given women political, legal and social freedom, and close our eyes to the economic, cultural, moral or political disparities that still exist in the family between wife and husband, the Party cannot mobilize itself as the standard-bearer of the struggle to liberate and save the oppressed, to draw all the masses, especially the women, who through the centuries have been greatly oppressed, out of this situation.

The question of further raising the educational and cultural level in our country has extraordinary importance for all, especially for the older generation, among whom there are a large number of people who have less culture than those young people who have been educated and brought up under the conditions of the socialist society. The grandparents and parents of the present youth were brought up before liberation and, for the reasons we know, received very limited education and culture. The National Liberation War, the liberation of the country and the work of building socialism, enabled some of the people of the older generation to rid themselves of the fog of the culture which they had received from the old society, and in the process of re-education, they were equipped with the culture of our new state and social order. This phenomenon of getting rid of the negative influence of bourgeois culture began to appear among our intellectuals immediately after liberation, while among the broad masses of the people who lacked even primary schooling, this was more difficult.

The Party should see that this transformation, brought about

among the generation of intellectuals which I have just mentioned, is extended at all costs to the older generation of the population, because all, by their actions and attitudes, greatly influence the formation of the younger generation. Our younger generation is raised with pure feelings, with broad socialist culture, and lives, works and fights under socialism; thus it is interested in opening the way for our socialist norms everywhere, but petty-bourgeois remnants, nurtured by bourgeois and revisionist ideology, and reflecting the concepts and thoughts of the old world overthrown by our revolution and transmitted by the older generation, hamper social progress and become an obstacle especially to the complete emancipation and all-round progress of our youth and women. The dissemination of socialist education and culture among the mass of our women has special importance in fighting the many patriarchal, feudal, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois survivals. All the old people living in villages, towns and cities have the opportunity to be re-educated, just like many of their companions whom the Party has convinced and educated. Those who cannot advance at the same pace as the younger generation should support it and not become an obstacle especially to girls and women who are eager to forge ahead.

In line with the decisions of the party Congress, the Women's Union of Albania rightly considers the educational, technical and vocational development of women as one of its principal tasks. These two elements, the level of education and the level of socialist relations in the family, also determine the level of emancipation of women, following on what they have achieved in social production and in the political and social domain; therefore, for the reason I have mentioned, the Party and the mass organizations like those of the trade unions, the youth, the Front, etc., should attach greater importance to school attendance at every level, especially by women. Why do I say especially by women? Because among some people there still exists the old concept that "a woman doesn't need education." This reactionary concept has been shattered among the young. Now almost every girl attends school and a good number attend secondary schools and university. This is an extraordinary success for the great work of our Party, which others have not

attained. Today our girls are good from every point of view, they are strong, agile, cultured, hard workers, pure in their thoughts and capable of understanding correctly questions of party policy. The Party has educated them with all these attributes.

We have many schools, ranging from the lowest to the highest which should be zealously attended by our young people in line with the directives given, but we should also make efforts to raise the cultural level of the older generation, because a great disparity exists among them in this respect. I do not think that we should call on old women in the countryside to attend school, for it would be difficult for them all to do this, but it is essential to find forms and methods of work so that education, and especially culture, may be assimilated in a concentrated way by all the people, especially the women. If this is done well, if the cultural level of the somewhat older women is raised, then we will see with our own eyes major transformations taking place as regards the further narrowing of the cultural gap among them, and we will be able to wage a more effective campaign against old survivals, whose source lies to a great extent in people's ignorance. In this way the instructions and directives of the Party and of the women's organization will also be better and more easily understood, and there will be no need to go into detail about everything in these directives, whether for minor problems or for important ones dealing with relations within the family. Why do we have to speak in detail now about many things? Because at present the women and even the men in the countryside are not all at the necessary cultural level, and often become an obstacle to the establishment of new socialist norms, especially in the family.

Within the context of the development of women, we should also look at the other side, that they should be involved to a greater extent with the preoccupying problems of the time, of life.

Traditionally, the men have been and continue to be superior in this respect. This superiority of men in life did not come about all at once, but was created over a very long period. Men engaged in work outside the family, tackling problems of social production and social politics which were very intricate; they have had to solve many problems in order to meet the needs of

the family and in this process they developed, learned, advanced and asserted the worth of their abilities.

Not only men but women too must learn from life and confront the problems it raises. Today not only in the town but in the village, too, men discuss state, political and moral questions, matters of principle, etc., and have no time to attend to minor matters. What about the women? Many conditions have been created for them as well. In our country the women take part in productive social labour, in political and social life, and now have a richer mental world, they aspire to be active everywhere the same as men, and to a certain extent they also prove their abilities. But still, when the women have done their work and done it well at the factory machine, in the laboratory and elsewhere, they return home where they have to do the tiring housework, and thus, naturally, have little time left to think beyond the narrow framework of the family. Some men, who discuss major economic and political issues, go home and expect to have dinner ready and other services done for them, and then go to bed without taking the "trouble" to discuss with their wives too the major problems of the time, in the way they discussed them with their companions or read about them in the press. Often, these men are too lazy to communicate to others the Party's discussions and conclusions on the necessity of introducing the new norms in the family, which would influence the women as much as the elderly or the young.

It happens that men, underestimating women's need for ideological, political, cultural and vocational development, hinder them from attending courses or conferences, because they cling to erroneous views on the relations between husband and wife and within the family. This attitude of some men is incompatible with the line of the Party, it is backward, patriarchal and conservative.

Married couples and other members of the family should communicate and discuss many problems together. In this respect, men have no reason to hesitate to talk with their wives just as they do with one another, because the things they discuss outside the family are not secret matters. If they were secret things, they would not discuss them even with their friends who do not belong to a party basic organization. If we succeed in

making all the communists and other non-party members understand the great importance of the communication of culture in the family, especially to the wives, sisters and daughters, but also to the old, then we will have raised the cultural level of the masses to a higher degree, and this will bring about the elimination of many distinctions between men and women and thus the successful and harmonious solution of many problems which preoccupy the family. With the establishment of these relations, every problem will be solved with goodwill, for all will be guided by the same principle.

On economic problems within the family such as the administration of the combined incomes, expenses, saving, etc., etc., husband and wife will decide jointly, and as correctly as possible. Judging by the incomes they earn, the number of children they have, the needs which arise, etc., they will act in the way that seems most reasonable to them and will buy those things they need to lighten household work and to improve their material and cultural situation. This is done in many families where the teachings of the Party are rightly understood and the cultural level of the couple is high. The husband who seeks to impose his will against the interests of his wife and children, who eats and drinks without taking into consideration the needs of others, lacks a sense of marital and parental responsibility.

We will solve these problems properly only when we have made women aware that they must insist on the rights that belong to them, and that they must work hard to raise their ideological, political and cultural level. There can be no true socialist society and family, no pleasant life within the family, if it is not understood by all that the relations between husband and wife should be characterized by mutual and equal obligations and rights, by mutual confidence, respect and love. The establishment of these correct relations will greatly influence the upbringing and education of the children to become worthy citizens of our society. This is an absolute necessity which cannot be realized unless we take an interest in the wife, mother, sister or daughter in our household.

The development of the personality of women, and cultured communication with every member of the family, will greatly limit many concepts of backward men who hinder young women

in their work as social activists after they marry, and will prevent many parents under the influence of pronounced patriarchal survivals from "selling" their daughters for money, concluding marriages for payment, etc. The formation of the new world outlook and a conviction of the correctness of the new family relations will stop the man from considering his wife, daughter or sister as an inferior creature who was born and will die in this condition.

The old world outlook, in which many views and remnants are interwoven, has exerted its influence, and has left its traces in the bad treatment of women by some men. There is no doubt that all parents want their daughters or sons to be honest and hard-working. All parents want their daughter to find a good husband, but the conservative, victim of many old views, has no confidence in his daughter, and fears that the man who marries his daughter for love may later abandon her, and then the family will bear the burden of shame for the daughter would return to her parents. But it is a fact that the conservative has a different view about his son. His son may divorce several women but this will be forgotten, because social opinion is not yet sufficiently formed, and does not make equal moral demands on boys and girls.

When the Party creates a situation in which political work goes on in every family, so that the parent treats his daughter not as a creature subject to the severity of "paternal power" but as a companion, joining in discussion with her on political, ideological, cultural, ethical and other problems, then the daughter will be well able to make her own choice of a faithful life companion. Not only will such a girl be able to choose a good man, and her father need have no reason to feel concerned, but through her work and thinking she will demonstrate her real ability, and no one will dare treat her as an inferior being.

In this respect the organization of the Youth Union should play a very great role, for youth make up the most dynamic part of our socialist society. All that I have said will also be done by the old, but more by the young, who are less affected by backward concepts than older people. Youth itself is free from the influence of the past, but the older generation in many ways, intentionally or unintentionally, transmits and "injects" some of its old concepts into the youth. Therefore, the youth

organization should influence its members as much as possible so that each young man may know what role he must play in defending the rights of his sister and his mother. If the young men fail to understand that in life, in love and in their relations with their girl companions they should be serious and behave in compliance with the norms of proletarian morality, if they fail to uphold the new norms in their attitude towards their mothers and sisters, then some manifestations which restrict and stifle girls will never be brought to an end, and it will be more difficult and take a very long time for some parents to acquire confidence in them.

I am speaking here of a correct understanding of the place and role of girls and women, but also of pure and sincere relations of comradeship, friendship and love between young men and young women. We are Marxist-Leninists and as such have a realistic grasp of the development of life. In the great transformation and rapid advance which is taking place both in the life of society as a whole as well as in the life of our youth there will, of course, also be some mistakes in the life of and in the relations between our young men and young women. This rare thing is not a catastrophe as the conservatives maliciously make out, because not only some young people, but old people too, despite their great experience make mistakes. There are older people, even the old communists among them, who do not understand the development of life correctly and, when an unpleasant case arises, without going into the matter they make baseless generalizations, saying that the youth have become corrupted, etc. But why throw the blame on the youth alone, when old people also make mistakes? Why should we say the youth have become corrupted, when the old people who transmit all kinds of old ideas to them, are supposed to be all right?

The communists and patriots should realize that mistakes occur in life, and therefore, in order to have as few mistakes as possible it is necessary to apply the line of the Party properly. We will say to him who speaks ill of the youth: "What have you done for the complete emancipation of women? Why have you considered it enough to stand up at a meeting and say a few words about these vital problems, and have not set a personal example in the relations within your own family? Why have you

not severely criticized improper stands and attitudes towards women but have preferred to complain that 'the youth have become corrupted'?" Then we will criticize this person, because he is conservative and makes insufficient effort to understand the line of the Party profoundly.

Our society has made great progress in making girls equal companions with boys. In contrast with the time when young people never met or got acquainted before marriage, they now work together, are good companions, and in the process of work and acquaintance they spend time in each other's company, become friends and may fall in love and marry, thus creating a new socialist family in which sincere love and mutual respect predominate. There may be occasional unfortunate results but one or a few bitter cases cannot stain our youth.

The youth are the future of our society. Tomorrow, the young men and young women will be the fathers and mothers of a youth much more advanced than we were in our time, or than the youth are today. Therefore, you comrades of the youth organization, together with the comrades of the women's organization, should attach great importance to the collaboration between your organizations for the strengthening of the socialist family. Regardless of the fact that you are separate organizations of the masses, each of which has its own specific work, you should be in very close contact in this direction. Difficulties exist both with regard to setting up more nurseries and kindergartens for children and with socializing household economy, which will disappear when a more advanced material and technological basis of socialism has been reached. We are aware of all these, but there are things which have lagged behind not because of objective difficulties, but because of a superficial understanding of how to apply principles, in other words due to subjective causes. Therefore, the problem of the complete emancipation of women has to do, above all, with the correct understanding and application of the principles and directives set forth by the Party.

Speeches, 1971-1973

**TODAY THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE FIGHT, WORK
AND LIVE HAPPILY IN THE EPOCH
OF THE PARTY**

*Speech Delivered at the Reception Given in the City
of Vlora on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the
Proclamation of Independence and the 28th Anniversary of
the Liberation of the Country*

November 28, 1972

Today we celebrate with great joy the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Albania. Since 1912, the Albanian people have always called November 28 their national day, and have linked it with the hero city of Vlora, where independence was proclaimed and the red flag with the double-headed eagle raised, the symbol of the freedom and sovereignty of the Homeland, and of the unity of all the Albanians who had continually fought with arms, the pen, and diplomacy for the formation of a single Albania which would include within its boundaries the Albanian territory and all the Albanian people with their habits, customs, traditions and common mother tongue. All these natural and legitimate rights were denied to the Albanian people by the imperialist powers and the other satellite capitalist states.

Before as well as after 1912, when the independent Albanian state was proclaimed in Vlora, our sacred territories, drenched in the blood of our fighting people who never bowed to slavery, had continually become an object of barter for predatory foreign powers. Reflecting the interests of one power or another, the map of Albania had been marked with the colours of those states which had dismembered and enslaved our country.

Even after the fixing of Albania's borders by the big imperialist powers, as a result of the ceaseless liberation struggles of our forefathers, from the legendary time of Skanderbeg up to the

Balkan wars against the Ottoman Empire, during which the Albanians played one of the decisive roles in weakening the "sick man of the Bosphorus", there was no security for our long suffering people.

Following the historic event in Vlora, the great patriot, outstanding statesman and diplomat Ismail Qemal, setting out for London at the head of a delegation to defend the rights and borders of our Homeland, was accompanied, among others, by the brave, wise and fiery Albanian patriot from Kosova, Isa Boletini. Tradition has it that when Isa Boletini was to meet the British Foreign Minister, he was asked to remove his revolver before entering the room. When the discussion had ended and the British Minister was seeing him off, he said to Isa in a boastful way that up to that time no one had been able to disarm him, but now the day had come when he was disarmed in London. After firmly placing in his belt the silver pistol he had handed over to the guard, Isa Boletini pulled out another revolver from the inner pocket of his gold-embroidered waistcoat, and in reply to the British Minister said right then and there: "Indeed not! Not even in London!", letting it be understood that no state can ever disarm the Albanians when it is a question of defending their rights.

Historical facts show that even after the borders of our country had been fixed, the secret London treaties had again divided Albania among its neighbours. Again in 1917, at the time of the First World War, historical documents confirm that the powers of the Entente informed Charles I of the Hapsburgs, the emperor who replaced Franz Joseph, that they accepted the armistice proposed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire if it agreed, among other conditions, that Albania should be swallowed up by the Serbian state. And this apology for an emperor granted them this gift, as if our country were a handkerchief which he could buy in the stores of Vienna or Budapest. In history, this event is known by the name of the "Affaire Sixte de Bourbon".

Under these critical conditions, in struggle against the imperialist powers and the chauvinism of the neighbouring states, in struggle against their numerous and diabolic intrigues which prevented our people from achieving their sacred goal of liberating and setting up a free, independent Albania, our people

fought decade after decade until that November 28, the 60th anniversary of which we are celebrating today.

The entire Albanian people, as the decisive factor who have made and are making their history themselves, created the favourable conditions to bring about this great historic event. At the same time there is merit in the great Albanian patriots led by Ismail Qemal who acted with courage and wisdom at those decisive moments for the future of our Homeland.

The old man of Vlorë with his companions, like Luigj Gurakuqi, Bajram Curri, Isa Boletini, Pandeli Cale and others, became the soul of the liberation uprisings which broke out in the years 1910 to 1912, of the militant rallies of the Albanians for freedom and independence which flared up everywhere, in southern and northern Albania, in Peja and Jakovë, in Prizren and Prishtinë, in Plavë and Gucia, in Dibra and Shkupje, in Rumania, France, Turkey, and the United States of America. It was under these circumstances that Ismail started his triumphal march from Istanbul through Bucharest, Vienna and Trieste, landed at Durrës, and then crossed the Myzeqe marshes, finally arriving in Vlorë where he was awaited by representatives who had come from all over Albania for the great historic event, to fulfil the lofty mission the people had assigned to them, the proclamation of independence and the creation of an independent Albanian state. The people and the Party of Labour of Albania have set up in Vlorë a fine monument to these great standard-bearers of the struggle for freedom and national independence, in the very place where the flag was raised on November 28, sixty years ago. The immortal people, the coming generations, will come wave upon wave to honour with profound admiration, respect and gratitude the titanic exploits of their predecessors and their sons and daughters who fought for the freedom and independence of the Homeland.

But from November 28, 1912 to November 29, 1944, the Albanian people had to fight uninterruptedly for fully 32 years against internal and external enemies, against hunger, disease and medieval ignorance. The Albanian people had to fight against local feudal satraps and the endless intrigues of the imperialist powers who were tightening the noose around their necks, they had to fight against the regime of the whip and rope of chief

hangman Ahmet Zog, who sold the whole of Albania to the Italian fascists and paved the way to its occupation. The Albanian people had finally to wage the bloodiest and most glorious war of their history, the National Liberation War, led by the Communist Party of Albania, in order to raise again in Vlorë and throughout Albania the triumphant red flag of freedom with the double-headed eagle, which now had in its centre the bright star of the Party and the partisans. A new page was opened in the glorious history of our people, the brilliant epoch of socialism and communism.

What did the Albanian people learn and what conclusions did they draw from all the events which occurred during those 32 years I referred to? Freedom, independence, sovereignty and self-government are the highest aspirations of a people, who must fight with arms and with every means at their disposal to win them, and once they have won them, they must be always vigilant and fully armed to defend them at all costs against anyone attempting to encroach upon and eliminate them.

The various imperialist powers and capitalist states have always been the sworn enemies of the Albanian people. They have always caused them harm, they have attacked them, bled them white, divided them, deceived, partitioned and enslaved them. Therefore, our people should have no faith in them, they should not cherish any illusions about their so-called aid, but should always be on their guard and never fall into the trap of their demagogy. They should discuss any problem with them as equals, and in no case bow to their threats and blackmail. If anyone attempts to resort to force against our people, then let our people show him their force.

"Unity is strength," our people say. Therefore, in fair weather and in foul, they should preserve their steel-like unity, both in order to forge ahead towards well-being and progress, and to cope with any storm which may come. Thirty-two years of fighting, suffering and toil have taught our people that in order to be united, they must settle accounts radically with their internal enemies, the feudal chiefs, the rich merchants, the tribal chieftains, religion and the reactionary clergy, with political bandits, highway robbers, usurers and deceivers, with all these attendant evils in the great wound of the medieval past, and of

imperialism and capitalism of our days.

These 32 years of fighting, suffering and toil also taught the Albanian people to wage a merciless struggle against ignorance. Learning, education and schooling were indispensable to open their eyes and arm them, for they had to roll up their sleeves for the great battle to build a new life, full of happiness and dignity, in order to overtake rapidly the centuries that had left them behind.

In the great test of those years, our people felt what colossal energy they had within them, they beat big states and powers in battle, fully confident that they would cut through mountains, make the Homeland flourish, and enrich their inner life, because now they had taken power in their hands, and after all these tragic trials, they would never let this power escape from their grasp.

Finally, one of the most important aspects is the great and brilliant lesson in history drawn by the people, that the real path to liberation was shown by their Party of Labour of Albania, their glorious offspring, their heroic Party, intrepid in battle, wise, modest and honest like the people who brought it into being in times of storm and catastrophe, nourishing it in the mountains, sharing their food and shedding their blood, the Party of communists which holds and will always hold aloft and uncurbed the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The Party enlivened the people's strength of spirit and body, increased the power of their sword and rifle, and kindled their desire to live, to be renewed and learn, in their free and sovereign Homeland. The Party sharpened their mental and physical abilities to set up their own people's power and to build the socialist system.

Tomorrow, November 29, 1972, 28 years will have passed since the day of liberation, on November 29, 1944. During this important historical period, our people, guided by their Marxist-Leninist Party, ousted the foreign occupiers from their land by force of arms, did away with traitors and treachery, liquidated the old power of the feudal chiefs and capitalists, established their new state power, eliminated the hostile classes, tempered the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, and are building the socialist society. Today, the Albanian people fight, work and live happily in the epoch of the Party.

What has this bright epoch, though relatively short, brought to our people? All good things, and nothing bad. Today, the people are masters in their own country, Albania has emerged from darkness into light, it has been completely reconstructed, with cities and villages, roads and ports; our industry has been set up and continues to grow vigorously, new mines have been opened, magnificent thermo- and hydro-power stations have been built, the electrification of the entire country has been completed, the metallurgical industry is under construction, roads and highways have been built, and agriculture, thanks to collectivization, mechanization, and the application of modern agricultural technique, has made a great leap forward. Education has become like food to our people. There is no village anywhere, no town, no city, no factory or workshop, without schools of various kinds. Schools, schools and light everywhere, for the minds and hearts of our people. Cultural and sports centres, hospitals, clinics, maternity homes, etc., have been set up all over Albania. In contrast with the pre-liberation period the living standard of our people has risen and continues to rise all the time. Bearing in mind the wretched past of our people, we know how to evaluate this rise in the standard of living correctly and realistically, for we know where we started from and, at the same time, have a clear vision of where we will get to. We have raised this standard of living, and will continue to raise it, by our own efforts and our own toil, without enslaving our country and people either economically or politically.

The Party teaches the people to be on their guard against any danger that may come from outside, be it the danger of armed aggression, or of the loss of freedom and independence that might come through economic enslavement by the imperialist metropolis, with U.S. imperialism at the head, and the social-imperialist metropolis, with the Soviet revisionists at the head. In order to cope with these two dangers, the Albanian people and their Party must be armed and must make no concession whatsoever.

We stand for peaceful co-existence, on the basis of the familiar principles of great Lenin, not allowing anyone at any moment to encroach upon our legitimate rights.

Someone may say with a smile: "But would the imperialist

powers be afraid of acting against socialist Albania?" We reply to this that the Albanian people are not afraid of them either. The imperialists and social-imperialists are afraid of the people, of revolution, and of Marx's ideas, which inspire the people and lead them forward. Socialist Albania is marching in the forefront of this proletarian revolution, and it is not alone; its friends and faithful comrades are the peoples of the world, the world proletariat, who are oppressed and exploited in the most barbarous way by imperialism and social-imperialism.

We must arm our people well against the propaganda and demagoguery of the capitalists and revisionists, who claim that we are isolated from the world, from progressive science, from their "generous aid". What in fact is the aid they claim they would give us through their credits? It means selling out our country to them, allowing the imperialists and revisionists to invest their capital in Albania, to suck the blood and sweat of our people, so that we become satellites of the big monopolies and metropolises, so that we adopt their degenerate way of life, so that we establish in our country their consumer society with all its attendant evils, so that the old exploiting class together with all the evils of the present capitalist and revisionist class may be revived and consolidated in our country. The Albanian people will not swallow this, since they are well aware of all these dangers; the Party and they themselves are vigilant and take care never to set foot on quicksand.

Where do these modern robbers get this capital with which they so "generously" seek to "aid" other backward peoples? From the terrible exploitation of their working class and of other peoples. The surplus values which go into the pockets of the capitalists from the eight-hour workday of the worker, come from the appropriation of the greater part of this workday. What huge profits he derives from the toil and sweat of the workers! Even when, because they want to continue their savage exploitation in peace and quiet, the capitalists are compelled by circumstances to make a small sacrifice in favour of the workers, who rise in bloody strikes and demonstrations, they rob the workers on the other hand through heavy taxes, raising prices and rents, setting high school fees, high charges for medical treatment and all other forms of extortion, including the sale of

goods on credit and the withholding of workers' wages for months at a stretch, all characteristics of the consumer society. These super-profits impoverish the working class, while making it possible for the capitalists to invest their capital elsewhere, in order to exploit and oppress other peoples, to colonize further countries, allegedly for the sake of progress and supermarkets filled with commodities which cannot be bought and which were made with the sweat and blood of the workers.

No! The Albanian people and their Party will never be deceived into turning their socialist society into this hell. In our country there may not exist supermarkets, our shops today may still lack certain commodities, but our people know that, in contrast with the past, these commodities have greatly increased, and are fully convinced that through their tireless efforts, our people will continue to increase them in the future, but in freedom and independence.

From liberation to the present day, prices of all commodities in our country have not risen as they do in the capitalist and revisionist countries, but, on the contrary, have been continually lowered. At a time when rents in their countries have skyrocketed, in our country they are extremely low; when all grades and branches of education in our country are free, school fees and expenses in their countries keep rising, day in, day out; while medical service in our country is free and treatment and medicines in hospitals are also free, in their countries hospitalization or even a minor surgical operation costs the earth; while here all taxes have been abolished, there the people suffer under the burden of colossal taxes, and so on in turn. That is what their society is like. Our socialist society is quite different.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries, the number of hippies is increasing, narcotics, degenerate music and striptease are spreading far and wide, all kinds of theories to degenerate the people and youth are being propagated everywhere. By propaganda and demagogy, they try to introduce into our country all these evils that are occurring in their countries, but we have blocked the way, we fight them and develop and spread our own beautiful, pure, progressive and revolutionary life. We guard and educate a sound, revolutionary people with the high virtues of proletarian morality; we guard and educate a sound,

revolutionary, happy, optimistic and serious youth, taught to fulfil its great missions honourably.

The Soviet revisionists noisily claim that it is "theoretically wrong" to say that socialism can be built by relying on one's own forces as the Chinese and the Albanians maintain. In this matter, the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the Party of Labour of Albania are not wrong in the least, either in theory or in practice. The main, decisive factors in building socialism in a socialist country are the internal forces, the forces of the country itself. The aid one socialist country grants to another should be fraternal, internationalist, without interest and without political conditions. Such is the aid socialist Albania receives from the People's Republic of China.

But why is the aid China gives to Albania like this? Because our two countries are true socialist states, because two genuine Marxist-Leninist parties are at the head and in the lead of our two countries, because our two peoples, two parties and two states are bound by permanent friendship, leavened and tempered by Marxism-Leninism, because we follow one course, we have the same aims and the same enemies whom, in collaboration with other peoples and the world proletariat, we must beat and smash. The Albanians and the Chinese march side by side in complete unity with one another. In the same way, Mao Tsetung's great China helps the other socialist countries and other peoples. Mao's great China is a powerful socialist state, not an imperialist or social-imperialist superpower.

Through their demagogy, the Soviet-led modern revisionists try to deceive their own people and the people of the world when they claim that their countries and system are socialist. This is a downright lie. The modern revisionists have utterly destroyed the socialist system in their countries, turning it into a capitalist system, while they have now turned the Soviet Union itself into a social-imperialist state. One cannot imagine the existence of real fraternal internationalist collaboration, disinterested and without any political conditions, between the countries which call themselves socialist, or between them and us, as the Soviet revisionists and others who follow them claim. Their so-called "aid", allegedly socialist, is the same as the "aid" of U.S. imperialism: the "mutual socialist collaboration" claimed by the

Soviet revisionists is the same as the "sincere collaboration" of the imperialists. The two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are preparing for a hot war, are striving, through their allegedly generous aid, to enslave you, to seize you in their economic and political grip, to place you in their spheres of influence and to colonize you.

The Soviet revisionists are enraged at China's and Albania's advance. China fully paid back the credits they had given it. For years we have been paying back to the sham friends who turned into fierce enemies their so-called credits which consisted of some repainted machinery from old workshops.

We Albanians got to know well what lurked behind the so-called internationalist aid of the Soviet revisionists. The imperialist nature of their aid is now being experienced by other peoples and states. It was these Soviet revisionists who intensively sabotaged the development of our economy, industry and mining. Their aims were long-term — to enslave our socialist country and turn it into one of their satellites.

This same heroic Vlora saw Khrushchev, too. When this renegade to Marxism-Leninism found himself before the marvellous bay of Vlora, he was stunned, and on one occasion I heard his collaborator Malinovsky whisper in his ear: "Do you see, Nikita Sergeyevich? With rockets from Berlin and East Germany we can now hit Gibraltar, while from the bay of Vlora we have the whole Mediterranean in our grasp." But they had only the wind in their grasp, for our Party and government frustrated their plans. Vlora will never fall into the hands of foreigners. This same Malinovsky said again to Khrushchev at Butrint: "What a beautiful lake this is. If the coast is cut through nearby, a marvellous submarine base could be built, and then Greece would also be ours." I shivered, and recalled that dark night in Tirana when together with Vasil Shanto we put up posters on the walls: "Down with Italian fascism! Long live the fraternal Greek people who are fighting for freedom!" No, our Party and government would never allow evil to come to the fraternal Greek people from the land of olives!

These false communists perpetrated these and many other misdeeds against a small country and people. They organized their blockade against the People's Republic of Albania, hoping

to force it to its knees, but quite the contrary happened. Socialist Albania, guided by its heroic Party, is marching full speed ahead, successfully building socialism, and scoring victory after victory in all spheres of life, in industry, agriculture, education and culture, and in strengthening the defence of our Homeland.

A few days ago, the Congress of the orthography of our beautiful language held its historic proceedings. This is an incalculable victory among all the other magnificent victories achieved by our people thanks to their struggle, efforts and ability.

We greet wholeheartedly the educated and gifted sons and daughters of our people, who in that historic convention, and following in the footsteps of the Frashëri brothers and others of our national revival, gave a greater brilliance to our language, the greatest heritage of a people!

We ardently and wholeheartedly greet, in particular, the distinguished scholars, our Albanian brothers of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, who made their valuable contribution in establishing the orthography of our common mother tongue! We wish the fraternal Albanian pupils, students, linguists, professors and teachers of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, further and greater success in the great progress they have made in elaborating the Albanian language, which we consider a common victory!

Dear comrades, friends and brothers,

During these great historic days, when the Albanian people celebrate with indescribable joy the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of independence and the 28th anniversary of the liberation of our country, let us faithfully follow the unerring course along which the Party guides us, let us be united and realize with success all the objectives we have assigned ourselves, in accordance with the historic decisions of the 6th Congress of our Party of Labour, and raise a toast.

TO THE GLORY OF OUR PEOPLE!

TO THE GLORY OF OUR PARTY!

Speeches, 1971-1973

EVERYTHING IN OUR COUNTRY IS DONE AND BUILT FOR THE YOUTH

*Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Secretariat
of the CC of the PLA (1)*

February 23, 1973

It seems to me that the problem has been incorrectly posed from the start. Instead of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party being presented with a concrete, maybe brief, but clear picture of the political, ideological, moral and organizational problems of the youth organizations, of how they received the decisions of the Congress (2), and how they are carrying them out, in this report, from beginning to end, demands are made on the organs of the Party, state and cultural institutions. I do not say that demands should not be made, but they should not be one-sided, not only in the sense that you do not talk about the youth organization here, but there should be no one-sidedness in the demands themselves. You are allowed to demand, but of course, demands will be made of you as well.

If you say in such a categorical way: "... apparently the worries of youth, their requirements, interests and problems are not understood" (which I find neither correct nor realistic), then the question arises: Do you properly estimate the great interest the Party and the state power show in the youth? Do you correctly evaluate the huge material means made available for the education of the youth in all spheres? Do you assess and utilize them properly? Do you assess them within the general development of the country and the needs of this development? It seems to me that to reply to all these questions you must first

1. This meeting of the Secretariat discussed the report presented by the CC of the Labour Youth Union of Albania "On Certain Problems Raised at the 6th Congress of the LYUA Which Concern the Organs of the Party and State."

2. The 6th Congress of the Labour Youth Union of Albania.

think about them, and if you do so, you cannot and should not arrive at the conclusion you reached.

In the report you have presented to us I have several times come across your use of the term "the worries of youth". I fail to understand to what worries you are referring. What are these problems that gnaw at the hearts of our youth? If you use this term just for the sake of using it, you make a mistake. If you are serious, then let us discuss it seriously, because it is important for you and us to be clear.

I am of the opinion that our youth are the happiest and most cheerful in the world. Everything in our country is done and built for the youth, they live in a socialist country free from every point of view, and are educated in a sound way; they live in a democratic country where they enjoy all rights, but, of course, they also have obligations.

When a child is born in our country, its parents and relatives are all able to care for it because they are all employed. The economic life of our families has improved a lot. In addition, the state does its utmost (and it has done no small amount) for the children, setting up creches, kindergartens, holiday homes and hospitals everywhere. Today, children in Albania are brought up well-nourished and clothed, they have shoes and they go to school. Schools of all grades are open to all free of charge. When children are sick, their treatment, as for all the people of our country, is free. State scholarships are granted to many young people who attend secondary schools and university. When they start work they are paid good salaries, rents in our country are very low, and we have good state social insurance. Millions upon millions of copies of books have been and continue to be published. In addition to the central press organs, there are newspapers nearly everywhere; in every district, in cities, towns and villages there are cultural centres, in workshops and factories there are libraries, etc. Theatres, cinemas, professional and amateur variety theatres have been set up in large numbers everywhere. Almost every city has one or even two big stadiums, not to mention thousands of smaller playgrounds. The whole country is very picturesque, among the most beautiful in the world, and our youth can and do go everywhere. They study, work, live, go on excursions and no

obstacles lie in their way, for our people as a whole, our Party and state power, think highly of our youth who fully deserve this. Then the question arises: "What are the worries of our youth?"

No, comrades of the youth organization, reality is not as you say. That more and still more should be done is true. That there are certain people who do not show concern or do not understand these matters properly, is also true. Then there are also the kind of people about whom you complain in your report, but, on the other hand, you too should look squarely at your own shortcomings and faults.

Let us take the question of the cultural front in the education of youth. You do not view this problem very correctly, you even view culture, which is a broad field, from a narrow angle. You forget its breadth, and narrow the front of culture for the education of youth, saying: "In a number of districts no plays are prepared dealing with the problems of youth," "no feature film has been made for the youth," "literary publications are few and of a low standard" and "there are no scientific publications for youth." To raise the problem in this way means to raise it superficially and, why should we not say it more bluntly, comrade leaders of the youth, to give the impression that the blame rests on others, not on you who make the report and are the principal leaders of the youth organization.

The cultural front for the education of youth does not lie in the making of one or two films, or of presenting one or two plays, which has not been done. For this to be done (and it is right that it should be, not only this but even more), it is necessary for us all to fight, not excluding you; but the problem of the cultural front does not lie only in what I have mentioned, for these things are only a very small part of the work of this great and complex front.

The great front of culture of our youth is the school, where knowledge is acquired, where science and philosophy are taught; and when the young men and young women quit the school benches, they take their position at the work benches, at the lathe, on the land, in animal husbandry, in the struggle for existence. All this broad front of activity to produce material goods is at the same time a great front of culture. Both these fronts are wide open to our youth, who take an active part, first

as students and later as educators and creators. Therefore, the youth organization should attach great importance to these two fronts of culture for the education of the mass of youth, because they are the principal ones. We have major successes to our credit on both these fronts.

In general, our youth study, are educated and work well. But they can and should work and study even better, for all possibilities have been created for them. I say that they should work and study better because in this direction there are many gaps of a subjective nature, gaps which should not be blamed on the youth alone, but also on the teachers and lecturers, on the communists and youth leaders, on the managers of the economic and state organs.

Of course, these faults and shortcomings come under attack and continuous improvements are made, but without underestimating the responsibility of others whom the Party and the government continually advise to correct themselves, I wish to emphasize that the youth organization itself, wherever it exists as an organization, and its leaders, from the top to the base, do not, as I have already said, attach the necessary importance to the great and decisive cultural front for the education of youth, but do formal, routine work, and there are even cases where they do none at all. Not once but a number of times I have talked with students of general secondary schools and with outstanding and very good undergraduates, and I have noticed that they do not know the important social and historic movements of various epochs of history, that they know nothing about some writers and philosophers who have marked epochs in human thought, not even knowing where they came from.

Can such a thing be accepted as normal? Of course the teachers are to blame for this but are the school and university students blameless? What is the youth organization doing, why does it not educate these young people to complete their culture, either at school or outside the school? Of what importance is it whether or not there was one more theatrical performance or film, when a young man or young woman who has been through a secondary school or university not only does not take the trouble to read world famous literary works, comedies or dramas, but does not

even know who certain authors are, such as Shakespeare, Molière and others like them?

The comrades of the youth organization may say: "Well, we hold meetings." You hold meetings, comrades, but I am told that hundreds of students receive low marks, many are expelled because they do not study, because of bad conduct and so on. Comrades, this worries the Party, and the concern is well-founded. Shortcomings of this nature should worry you, not the imaginary or unhealthy worries of certain young people.

Why do unpleasant attitudes and behaviour arise in our pure society? It is not only young people who behave badly, because there are also older ones, but this should not make us forget the young and make some foolish statement: "After all they are young!"

Educating people should be one of our greatest preoccupations, and this begins in the family and continues, and is later interwoven with the school, then with work and finally with society. At every stage, in every environment, there exists in our country a whole complex of forms and ways for their education. It is not enough to give your ideas, but you should also benefit from others, it is not enough only to demand but you should also contribute, set yourselves up as examples, be courageous, creative and not indifferent.

Therefore, comrades of the youth organization, you should consider the school as the principal cultural front for the education of youth. You should attach great importance to the acquisition of broad, all-round culture during the years when young people are at school. It is not advisable to view culture for the education of youth from a narrow angle, considering how many theatrical performances are prepared on themes for youth, saying that special scientific books should be published for youth, that novels should be written about themes for youth alone, that the Opera and Ballet Theatre should prepare special ballets for youth and so on. This greatly narrows the sphere of education of the youth, isolates them from the major possibilities that have been created for them and, in the final analysis, is not even realistic. The youth themselves do not accept this framework, they have long broken out of it, and they have done well.

What does writing special novels for youth imply? I do not say that they should not be written, they should be beautiful and there should be ever more of them. The Party has inspired and will continue to inspire writers in this direction too, but this does not mean that your organization should remain with folded arms. Young talented authors exist; why do you not encourage them in this particular direction? But these things cannot be done to order. Besides, all our literature is for youth, for it has a socialist content. It is fresh like the youth, it describes our life, sentiments, struggles, pure love, the working class and its struggle, the efforts of our cooperativist peasantry, in short, the development of all aspects of our life. There is no genre of our literature which does not speak of the life, thoughts, feelings and struggle of our youth. But do these young people live isolated from their parents and grandparents, from their comrades and friends, or from the people? Their life and feelings are interwoven. There is no young person above 13 years of age here who does not rush eagerly for the novels, poems, etc. which our writers and poets continue to write.

How good it would be if we had, and we should have, some simpler publications for the very young, and some simpler and more understandable literary works for the young people up to a certain age. Such books should be published, and there should be more of them. Therefore, you, the young, translate and produce beautiful and suitable works of this kind, and they will certainly be published, but do not place a barricade or division between literature for the young and that for adults. We do not live under a bourgeois regime, and therefore all the literature we publish can and should be placed fearlessly in the hands of our youth, for there is no corrupt morality in it, it is not pornographic or gangster literature, but it is precisely the kind of literature which educates all our people in a revolutionary way and in the path of proletarian morality. The same thing can be said about our theatre, ballet, folk dances, music, radio and television. Everything in our country is in the service of the education of the new man, everything is on the correct path and generally develops well. Of course, among these things there are very good, good and mediocre books and, at times, books with mistakes. But in this

field too there is struggle, there are clashes. Everything develops, the old which infiltrates is attacked and replaced by the new. The pressure of the bourgeoisie also does its work, tries to find cracks, and at times finds them, but is attacked and replaced by what is good; vigilance is sharpened and positive creativity comes to the fore. Can it be thought for a moment that our youth are excluded from participation in all this development, from this creativity, from this struggle which is waged in our country? No, certainly not, otherwise we have committed suicide.

During the National Liberation War, at the moment of the greatest difficulties and worst tragedy of our nation, during the most crucial moments of that time, our youth were in the forefront of battle, and their heroism will be sung to for centuries in legend. At those historic moments could we have said to our young men and young women: "Go home, for battles are not for you, they are for grown men!"? If we had done that, today we would not have had a free socialist Albania. So whom does our contemporary literature sing praises to? It sings to those 18 to 22-year-old heroes and heroines who commanded brigades and divisions. Are there more suitable themes for our youth than those of that heroic period? No, there are not. Our youth should know where all those girls and boys came from, with empty bellies and bare feet, with the heart of a lion, who sacrificed even their lives. They emerged from the ranks of our brave and militant people. Why are such works as Dritero Agolli's "The Bronze Bust", Ismail Kadare's "Chronicle on Stone" or "The General of the Dead Army", Jakov Xoxa's "The Dead River" and others of this kind not suitable for our youth? It is neither good nor correct to build walls without foundations on the sound culture of our youth, but we should educate them, encourage them to read, read and read again, and to draw lessons from what they have read.

By this I do not mean that no reading is being done. In this, considerable progress has been made, but let us not rest satisfied. I call on our youth in particular to read and study still more, for the country expects a lot from them. We, the old, feel the gaps in our knowledge, for other conditions existed when we were young, many tragic worries occupied our brains at that time; that is why we desire and strive that our youth may have no gaps in

their knowledge, for they have all the possibilities and conditions and will have still better ones, for we will create them in the future through hard work, sweat and knowledge.

I want to tell our youth too that we can and should publish more scientific and literary books and other publications for them. We do not lack the will to do this, but it is necessary to know what possibilities our state has at present. We are setting up bigger and more modern printing presses than those we have now, and certainly the time will soon come to print more, but I leave this matter to our young men and young women to judge with their keen minds and clear conscience, and the Party has taught me to put my full trust in our youth and their correct judgement. Are the books of artistic and scientific literature, the literary and scientific reviews, the school texts of various grades on all subjects, the political, literary and scientific newspapers, lectures and special studies that have been and are being published few in number? Or are there only a few foreign books placed every year at the disposal of our studious intelligentsia in various institutions like the National Library, the State University, the libraries of the ministries and even those of the enterprises? We say they are not few, and I am sure that our youth share our view. But they must be made use of seriously, very seriously.

All over the country there is no village without a library, let alone the cities, where libraries can be found everywhere. But are these libraries frequented? Yes and no. We were told librarians were needed and the state appointed them on a salary basis. It was said that they lacked culture, and they were replaced with educated people. The comrades of the youth organization complain that both libraries and cultural centres are being turned into warehouses. How bad, comrades! But who is to blame? Has the Party said that they should be turned into warehouses? But what are you doing, why do you allow such a thing? Where are the communists, where are the youth? How can such things be tolerated in our socialist times?

Let me tell you something of the past of our youth in Gjirokastra some 50 years ago. With some money which our poor parents gave us from their hard-earned income, we students ourselves opened two clubs in our city, we opened libraries with

our very few books, we bought some musical instruments, a mandolin or guitar which we learned to play, and we appeared before the people to play them. Bear in mind that we ourselves took turns to clean the clubs. Someone who knew a foreign language used to read books and then gather us there to tell us the stories he had read. Now my hair has gone white, but I can never forget a certain Samuel Kofini who toiled all day carrying bales of cloth on his shoulder trying to sell a metre or two, while in the evening, tired as he was, he came to speak to us, sometimes about the old Greek authors such as Homer and Aristophanes, and now and then about Allan Pinkerton. Nor can I forget Kamber Bilali, a poor man in ragged trousers who used to work and read during the day and in the evening came to speak to us about Alexander Dumas' novels and others, telling us the stories in episodes. But today, how can it be allowed that we treat books, libraries and cultural centres in this way?

Of course, we must view the question of the recreation of our youth in a broad and realistic manner. But first of all, my opinion is that the state has not stood with folded arms in this matter either. It has continuously invested considerable funds and will again invest in the future, because there is a need. But all that we have built and created is for our youth, and they should consider these things as theirs, they should make proper use of them and keep them in good shape, not destroy them. In addition, the initiative of the base, especially of the youth themselves, should be more lively and more fruitful in this direction. So think more deeply about what I have said. I believe that there is no cultural centre without various musical instruments, some of them manufactured in the country and others imported, and all of them have been of great assistance in the recreation and education of our youth. In this field great progress has been made everywhere. Our youth have these means in their own hands, as we see in variety shows and festivals. This is a great pleasure, so why should we underestimate it? That more are needed, there is no doubt, and more efforts should be made, but to distort the issue and say that the shepherds who take their flocks to the Lenie and Gramos mountains in summer have no radio and watch no films is to beat the air. Every shepherd, if he wants to, can very well buy a transistor radio, for they are on sale, and his

wages are higher than those of others; the state should not be expected to do everything. Comrades of the youth organization, you ask for many separate clubs for the youth in the cities, let these be set up wherever possible, but as far as I know some were set up, fully equipped, even with billiard tables, but then they were closed because they were not serving the aim for which they were set up. You make demands but you also have duties. Everywhere our youth do many, many good things, and this is characteristic of them, but I have been told that when the trade union holiday home in Voskopoja was given to the students to spend their winter vacation, they damaged it during the time they spent there. This is not the way to do things, comrades, for the state to spend and build and for you to cause damage. In the same way, in many places playgrounds were set up for children but they disappeared leaving no trace, and telephones were set up in the streets, but they were put out of order by certain irresponsible young people.

I agree that not all the youth do this, no one says that, but those who do such things are young, and therefore the youth organization in particular has responsibility for all these unpleasant things that occur. Comrade leaders of our youth, do you think we should protect what we build with the police or by education? Are you aware that this educational work should be done to a greater extent by the youth organization, without speaking here of the major responsibility which evolves upon the Party, the school, the family and society as a whole? It must not be forgotten that our youth must appropriate that education which it is taught, at the level it is taught, with all its good aspects and shortcomings, they must assimilate the good into their character, and get rid of the bad in whatever form it appears.

Why are the funds specified for the needs of youth not spent? If that is so, why do not the Party and you, the youth, make a big issue of it? You may say that they do not listen to you, and that is why you have brought the question up in the Secretariat. I do not say that you did badly in bringing the question this far, and we will draw the attention of the organs of the Party and those of the state which violate or fail to implement decisions, but I tell you too that the matter does not end here, it is necessary for a great

battle to be waged at the base, by you in particular, against distortions, bureaucratism, routine and negligence.

Interest in developing physical culture and sports is of major importance. The Party has always emphasized this. And steps have been taken, investments have been made, and much theorizing has been and continues to be done regarding means and methods, etc. But this theorizing, however good it may be, has little effect if it does not arouse in our youth the desire and absolute need to take part in physical culture. If our youth do not understand that this has to do with their good health and is not snobbery, then there can be no physical culture and sport for the masses of youth in spite of the means that are put at their disposal. And the means have been provided, possibly still few as yet, but they are not used properly.

We are asked to open special shops for the sale of sports equipment in the cities. Shops can be opened, but they have to be filled with sporting goods. We must first think out in a rational way what is needed and how much we are able to do, and not promise and do nothing.

You tell us that the government decided to set up various playing fields in every village and in the quarters of the large cities. This is a good decision although very daring in its scope. And here now you tell us that a year has passed and nothing has been done to implement this decision. I want to ask you, comrades: Have you helped the government to do these things for you, or have you waited and are you waiting for everything to be brought to you by train or truck at the appointed time? I believe this decision has not been viewed properly either by you, or by the districts, or by the enterprises. I think that the state should help in this direction, but in no way should everything be expected from the state, for there are many things that you should do yourselves on your own initiative, that the enterprises should do, that the district should do.

All possibilities exist for you yourselves to set up small playing fields in city quarters, to build playgrounds for young pioneers with the assistance of the enterprises, to organize excursions to scenic areas, and I do not think it is necessary to set up a special shop to make climbing boots, nor are we in a position for the time being to import thousands of skis for this sport which has not yet

been developed in our country; so let us first develop it with primitive skis that our youth themselves can make.

You are right in criticizing teachers who show no interest in the out-of-school education of children, which is an integral part of their task. He who interprets this otherwise makes a mistake. Of course, the interest should be shared by your organization, by the family and by society as a whole.

You are also right in complaining about the lack in number and poor quality of publications for young pioneers. Our writers should do some hard thinking about this lack, which has serious consequences. You are right, but at the same time I ask you what is being done by so many talented young people who have emerged from your ranks, who know the lives and feelings of the young pioneers, having been pioneers themselves? What are you doing with them? How far do you influence them to specialize in this direction? Do you think that writing for youngsters is something easy, unimportant, without future or "fame"?

The party Central Committee calls on our gifted writers not to forget to write both for young people and for pioneers. Children's literature is very important and very necessary, and only talented and passionate writers can turn out pleasing and educative books for the most precious offspring of our socialist land.

You have done well in submitting a report to the economic organs and even to the Council of Ministers on certain principal problems that our youth raise on economic matters. I am not acquainted with that report of yours, but I am familiar with a number of questions relating to youth in production. The Party is of the opinion that our youth are everywhere in the forefront and work very well, this is their distinctive characteristic. But in their work, as in the work of others, there are also shortcomings.

You express the desire of the cooperative youth to work reduced hours and to fulfil and overfulfil the planned targets within this reduced work time, etc. This is a wish, but unfortunately it is not being realized even in factories where work discipline is stricter, let alone in agricultural cooperatives. When I speak about this in factories I speak with competence, relying on correct estimates and not on guesswork. The workers in

factories, let alone the office workers who are hard to check on, instead of working a full eight hours, work six to six and a half hours, or a maximum of seven hours. In the countryside the work time is reduced to five or six hours. Then why do you speak of eight hours; or do you mean that the youth of the countryside should work five hours a day? I may be told that this is not the situation. Maybe, but then prove it. You should know one thing, that a youth on a cooperative does not work isolated, but in a brigade; so he should start and finish work together with the brigade. At the same time let us not forget that the work a worker does is controlled, although this control should become stricter, but the cooperative member's use of his hoe should also be checked on, because the final result of his day's work depends on how many times he swings his hoe, and while the worker receives his pay every 15 days, the result of his work can be seen only at the end of the year. You say lightly that this claim of our peasant youth is not excessive, but do not forget that agricultural production has its requirements and its strict discipline, and the method and quantity of work are calculated. Many agricultural managers begin by making pledges and high-sounding promises, but in the end, we see that many deficits arise. In agriculture there are also brigades in the same cooperative where the youth work so hard, they turn night to day and perform miracles, while there are other brigades which, though they contain many young people, lag far behind. This does not mean that the youth of the countryside should not have recreation and relaxation, but work should be better organized, the machinery should be put to better use, many work processes should be mechanized so that time may be gained, but it seems to me that it would be very difficult to do what you suggest. The young cooperativists should first complete their eight-hour workday as they are supposed to, and in agricultural work this is not as easy to calculate as in factory work. In agriculture, in fact, the workday must necessarily be longer, because the cooperativists take frequent breaks, not that these are indispensable, but in order to smoke a cigarette or to hold endless conversations.

It seems inconceivable to me that, because in some work centres work is done in three shifts, we should completely change

the structure of our cultural, artistic, sports and other activities in them. Yet some small changes may be considered where it is possible, such as, for instance, some cinemas opening in the morning for workers of the second and third shift, but it is difficult to make radical changes in this direction, because we lack the means, personnel, etc., etc.

Excuse me, comrades of the youth organization, for it may seem to you that this speech contains a number of reproaches about your work. To a certain extent this is true, but it must be said that in the work of our youth there are many good things, great in number and in moral, ideological and political value, and very inspiring to all, but among all these there are also shortcomings. Can we hush up these shortcomings? No, comrades! This is not what the Party teaches us: on the contrary, we should point them out clearly so as to correct them as soon as possible.

I could have used another slightly milder form to point out the weaknesses I mentioned, but I thought that the comrades of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of Youth, regardless of their youth, are mature communists to whom the Party and the young people have given rights, and whom they have charged with important tasks. Let them listen to these remarks of ours the way we think them, because they themselves know how to find more suitable forms to present them to the youth. We understand our marvellous youth very well, and we are more than confident that the youth too understand us of the older generation.

The struggle of the Party for the education of our workers and youth, among other things, should be viewed in connection with the struggle waged by the imperialist and revisionist enemies against our country, and the ideological pressure they exert on our people.

Our Party has spoken and continually speaks about the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. It seems to me that this realistic thesis of our Party is often interpreted narrowly by some people, it is taken merely as a geographic notion and as a warning to be always on the alert militarily to cope with the eventual aggression of these savage enemies of our socialist land. But this is one-sided.

It must be profoundly understood that the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is expressed every day and every hour through great ideological pressure which aims to confuse the minds of careless people, to bring disorder into our economy and organization, to cause the political and ideological degeneration of the masses and, in particular, of our youth and intellectuals, to weaken their revolutionary spirit and encourage indifference and an apolitical attitude. It was in this way that the revisionists seized power in the Soviet Union and in many other countries. Let us never forget that bitter experience.

The hostile elements within the country, urged on by imperialism and revisionism, have adopted this tactic in various forms, and try to apply it in their campaign against the Party and the people's power. The enemy do not come out in the open against the line of the Party, for they know that the fist of the people's power will fall heavily on them, but they try to distort the directives of the Party and state power. They are afraid to come out in the open, for instance, against the agricultural cooperatives, or to sabotage production as they would like to, for they know they will suffer greatly for it, but in various ways they encourage a lack of discipline at work, wherever they can they encourage tendencies to place narrow personal interests above everything, they try to hamper revolutionary initiatives to establish advanced norms, to raise productivity, etc. The hostile elements do not openly call for opposition to the people's power and socialism, for they have experience and know that the working masses and our revolutionary youth would grip them by the throat and bury them alive; so, to achieve their hostile objectives they try to degenerate our socialist rule and order by encouraging liberalism and indifference, by opening the way for the introduction into our country of alien influences in art and literature, in behaviour, fashion, etc. Therefore, we should keep our eyes open to observe not only alien manifestations and influences which can be clearly understood, but also some disguised trends in certain writings which are published about our literature, drama and music, so that certain blemishes may be noticed in time, for if not attacked they will become more serious and obvious. It is essential for these problems to become the target of our ideological struggle on the front of literature and

art, especially regarding certain things that are discordant.

One of the forms of work to raise our people's ideopolitical and cultural level and sharpen their vigilance is discussion and debate, so no obstacles should be placed before the confrontation of opposing opinions and the all-round discussion of problems. Unprepared, vague discussions just for the sake of talking are a mistake. To express approval of something without knowing what it is about, means to express ungrounded opinions of no value. Objective discussion, on the basis of a sufficient degree of knowledge, is always useful. While passing judgement on a literary or artistic production, you can point out its good and bad aspects with regard to style, structure, language and so on, and its political and ideological nature. Faults in style, in structure, in the beauty of expression and so on in a work are weaknesses of growth, while the problems of its political and ideological nature are extremely important. We may accept a work which has stylistic weaknesses, but in no way can we accept one which contains and upholds reactionary views. Discussion in all these fields is necessary, it is even indispensable, and should be lively and revolutionary, especially against alien views.

There are cases when some confused idea is expressed according to which we ought to follow blindly the course of European development. No, comrades, we cannot and should not follow the "European road"; on the contrary, it is Europe which should follow our road because, from the political standpoint, it is far behind us, it is very far from that for which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin fought, and for which our Party fights today. Of course, it cannot be denied that in Europe there are also good things, especially regarding the development of science and technology. We do not reject these achievements, but in no way can we accept that as regards politics "we should develop according to the European way". It is quite different when we try to adopt something from non-socialist countries in the field of material development. In our daily life we sometimes come across the expression: "This is French-made." Our people have used this expression to point out the skill and ability of the producer, and it is not hard to understand that the thing which comes from abroad and which you like, is not the work of the corrupt bourgeoisie but of the working class and technical

intelligentsia of the country where it is produced, who exert all their energies, are barbarously exploited by capital, and live in suffering and misery. When we have all these things clear in our minds, then we will be able to oppose and settle accounts with those who, for definite political objectives, recommend that we should follow the "European way of development".

There are people who think that the struggle against alien manifestations and influences will retain its impetus for a month or six weeks and will then wane away, giving way to some other slogan. No, comrades, our Party has worked, works and will continually work so that in our country the revolution in the field of ideology and culture which is characterized by class struggle against all forms of alien ideology, is not carried on either for one month or for two but for a much longer time, for decades and decades.

Manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist ideology have appeared especially in these recent years, when the Party is waging an intensive frontal battle to revolutionize itself, our youth and all the broad masses of the people. Have you noticed this phenomenon, you comrades of the youth organization? In this respect we come across certain contradictions which may be thought to arise from our growing revolutionary situation, but these manifestations are not purely of this nature, therefore the slogan of raising the revolutionary level which is mentioned on this occasion should not mislead us. We are continually improving the living standard of the population, education and culture are being extended by opening new schools and cultural institutions all over the country, in our shops the citizens have what they need to buy, and so on; then why should there exist theft and robbery and some other ugly manifestations? We should go deeper into these things in order to find out the real causes.

It is essential for the Party to consider well, from the ideological standpoint, these manifestations which have arisen as a result of liberal attitudes, and where they stem from, for bad conduct comes both from blindly copying things from abroad, as well as from distorting the line of the Party.

It is essential to fight persistently first of all against anti-Marxist philosophical views which have been brought in from

abroad and are talked about here and there on street corners, and in every case they should be gone into profoundly, and those who propagate and, openly or surreptitiously, uphold them in the field of art and culture and in our daily life should be attacked. Then our brave youth, who have never lacked courage, will become clear, and when they come across such views will be able to reject a wrong viewpoint or a worthless literary or artistic work, they will pass their own judgement, and will have the courage to oppose everything that is not in accord with the line of the Party, which is distorted by certain individuals.

It is up to the Party to educate all the working people and the masses of our youth correctly, to keep raising their revolutionary vigilance towards the great danger posed by the continuous imperialist-revisionist pressure against our country, and by the activity of the class enemy. No one is allowed to take this struggle lightly, to live in a state of euphoria; on the contrary, it is the duty of everyone to fight in close ranks, bearing in mind the danger which now faces us from the present all-round efforts of the enemy against our country which are, so to say, a kind of calculated preparation on the part of the imperialists and revisionists for still more provocative and aggressive actions against socialist Albania. Our youth in particular should not take this struggle lightly; because of their nature and their age, because of their lack of experience, they are the target of this great ideological pressure by our enemies who continually try at any cost, and will keep on trying, to set the younger generation against the older generation.

In your comments, Comrade First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth Organization, you mentioned the work you will do on a series of problems. Very good in regard to what you will do, but I advise you not to be satisfied with speaking in general terms about the directives issued by the Party. When you say "we should put the finger on the wound" you should truly put the finger on the wound, justly, without being either harsh or liberal. Explain to the youth who are in the wrong where these errors lead them, and advise them to take the right course. If anyone fails to change despite the individual work of the comrades and what has been done in the organization, criticize him before the masses; and if he still does not listen, then take

other measures of an educative character. I do not believe that the party organization, the youth organization and all the other bodies have failed to speak against alien manifestations, but the bad thing is that they have spoken about them in very general terms, things have not been gone into carefully, and therefore the results are not satisfactory.

I have already said that this struggle should be waged in close ranks. This means that every communist, every young person and every patriot should always bear in mind that we are building socialism under the conditions of an imperialist-revisionist blockade. However, this fact is often underestimated, and people think that the blockade can be coped with without sacrifice. This erroneous view is also expressed in the demands, without basis or criterion, that everything should be done by the state, and in the tolerance shown not only in the ideological and moral field, but also in the economy. It is a fact that in our country, in work centres, in the countryside, in schools and everywhere, work discipline is not always at the height it should be, low quality products are often turned out, work norms are exceeded because they are not well founded, people learn just enough to receive a pass mark, and so on. And it often happens that people say very little against these negative phenomena, not enough is done to call people to account, while if something is lacking in the market, they do not hesitate to write even to the party Central Committee or the government. For the market to have commodities in abundance we ourselves must first produce in abundance. Also, the Party has always emphasized that in order to be ready for the unexpected, besides regular market supplies, we need reserves. But how shall we create these reserves? Only through conscientious work, through strict proletarian state discipline, through leading a simpler life and not by being lavish, or by nurturing inclinations to satisfy the petty-bourgeois tendency to luxury of certain people.

Therefore, we should do more to educate our workers, peasants, intellectuals and youth with our communist world outlook. We should establish strict discipline everywhere in production and in all work, based on a sound proletarian education. In this way we will also fight liberalism which is evident in many cases.

The fight against alien influences and manifestations, the fight for the revolutionary education of the masses and especially of our youth, should always be conducted according to the teachings of the Party, without going to extremes. We should all take this into consideration, otherwise any unwise or overhasty act will be exploited by the enemy for speculative purposes, interpreting the correct revolutionary ideological, political, administrative and economic measures the Party takes as restrictions and repression, and claiming that the situation in our country is unsound.

The comrades should think deeply and reflect well about these problems, because only in this way will they be able to make the necessary criticism of the weaknesses they observe. But criticism should not come only from above, it should come especially from below, because criticism from above, besides its very good side, since it reflects the greater political experience of the leading comrades who have the opportunity to have access to information from various sources, etc., also has its bad side, because those people who make mistakes and are criticized only from above may pose as victims in the eyes of others.

The Party and its leadership require that opinions about anyone should be expressed openly, and therefore people should be spiritually cleansed, so to speak, and a situation created in which the person who criticizes justly may feel happy and arouse in the person who is criticized not a feeling of indignation or desire for revenge but in the first place of great love for the Party and its leadership. If we attain this objective we shall have scored a major victory. We should do a lot in this direction, otherwise we will not achieve what our Party aims at, and what we would achieve would be a formal fulfilment of its high aims, a kind of doubtful respect, which is of no use to the Party of the communists.

What I have said should be well grasped and should be taken continuously into consideration by all the party comrades and by our youth who are the future of our Party, who will take the torch into their hands. The cleaner and the more courageous our youth are, the more enduring will be the work of our Party. We must always keep our conscience clean, just as we work every day to keep our homes and bodies clean; so let us work untiringly to

reach the point where the people and the Party see that their strength lies in themselves, in the correct line of the Party, in the people, in the cadres at the centre and at the base, in collective leadership, in unity of thought and action.

Having said all this, having reprimanded some of our comrades, leaders of the youth, I wish to emphasize again that, regardless of how they raise these problems, in form or substance, it is not permissible for us comrades of the Party, or for those of the government, those of the state power at the grass roots, or the managers of economic enterprises, to bypass the requests of our youth, not to give them serious consideration and not to make efforts to see that decisions are implemented.

Therefore, let us agree with the proposal of the youth that meetings should be called on these problems in the districts with the members of the executive committees and other responsible persons around the bureaus of party committees, and in those meetings the comrades of the youth organization should put forward forcefully and correctly the opinions they have on these matters, discuss them, take clear-cut decisions and see to it that the decisions of the party Central Committee, the government and the Central Committee of the Youth Union itself are properly carried out.

Speeches, 1971-1973

**HOW WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND AND FIGHT
THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST
ENCIRCLEMENT OF OUR
COUNTRY AND THE EFFECT
OF ITS PRESSURE ON US**

*Speech Delivered at the General Meeting of the
Communists of the Apparatus of the CC of the PLA to
Render Account and Hold Elections*

March 15, 1973

We have spoken many times on these questions of vital importance at party meetings and with the people, in various forums and with individual comrades, whenever the problem was on the order of the day or when it was linked with other problems. We raised this problem again, with the comrade secretaries of the Central Committee in particular, so that we may have it in mind at every moment, and raise it in the Party time and again in a concrete way, related to life, to the situation, and not merely as a political and ideological slogan.

Our Party fights a lot in this direction and that is why our internal situation is sound. But it is right to say, and we must look squarely at the situation, that there are comrades and citizens who do not go deeply into this reality. Some underestimate it with amazing indifference, saying: "We are very strong, there is nothing they can do to us." Some others think that by using these merely as political formulae in a few of their speeches and talks, they have done their job, they have fought the encirclement, they have weakened and eliminated the enemy influence, and may put their minds at rest, for they have enlightened the masses.

Some understand the struggle against the capitalist encirclement in a one-sided way and not in its complexity. These people speak and argue approximately like this: "We Albanians

are courageous and brave and, if danger comes upon us from outside, we will make short work of the enemy who attacks us. It is enough for us to be militarily strong, to have a strong army; these two things we have, and we develop and temper them. These, therefore, constitute an armour impenetrable by the enemy." This is by no means the whole matter, but even if we consider these two factors alone, the armour will soon be penetrated by the influence of bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist pressure, if we fail to combine the question of bravery, defence, and the army with the whole development of the country.

A man is brave if he is taught and succeeds in understanding why he is brave, what he must defend, why he should defend it, that what he is to defend he has created himself through bloodshed, sweat, hard work and effort, and that he does all these things of his own free will. These aims have guided and inspired the Albanians in the past, and therefore they have been brave. These sacred ideals of the Party and the people should also guide us today.

During our history there have also existed traitors who have fought against these ideals; the class struggle has existed and continues to exist, there have been brave men but there have also been cowards, there have been people who understood matters correctly and fought to the death, and there have been others who wavered, hesitated and lagged behind. Some of these developed well and were educated, others fell away. This process is going on now, favouring the positive side, but let us not forget that it goes on and will go on, for people are not all cast in the same mould.

At present the Party is in the lead, the working class is in power, we are building socialism and educating the new man. But does this new man we are educating and tempering understand properly the question of military defence of the Homeland? In general we can affirm that he does, and we have scored much progress in this direction, but it is not permissible for us to close our eyes to the shortcomings that are observed in this matter.

In this state of encirclement, we have to fight many enemies who are equipped with more modern and numerous weapons than ours. So our People's Army should be trained to perfection in modern military art, should master weapons well, know how

to use them properly, be disciplined, brave, politically and ideologically enlightened, and backed by a sound rearguard, etc., etc. But in this direction there is weakness, leniency, negligence, in teaching, in organization and in education; there exists liberalism, bureaucratism and routine.

Do we fight against these defects? Undoubtedly we do, but let us not forget that it is precisely these manifestations that make the armour of our defence penetrable. What are these manifestations? Are they hostile and deliberate, do the external or internal enemies have a hand in them, etc.? Call them what you please, but you are never wrong if you call these manifestations totally alien to us; we should put them right, wipe them out, because they also endanger the true concept of bravery and the defence of the Homeland.

In all this process of educating, correcting and purging, we will distinguish between what is done with hostile motives and what is done unintentionally, though they equally bring grist to the enemy's mill. The aim of the enemy is first to know the terrain, to feel your pulse, to lower your vigilance in a thousand ways, to disorganize, and then to attack.

In the present circumstances the enemies use the tactic of crying out loud that "peace" and "peaceful co-existence" exist. Later comes the attack, and we must prepare to oppose and fight off this eventual attack. At no time can we say lightly: "Oh, we're strong, they can't do anything to us!" but we should really become strong. Nor can we ever say lightly: "Oh, when war comes, then we'll show them!" We must prepare ourselves for this war, if it comes. The enemy exerts great pressure to convince us that "no danger exists for socialist Albania" and therefore, "sleep peacefully!" The enemies call us conservative and want us to be liberal.

I say to some of our people: "Yes, we are conservative towards our external and internal class enemy, because we want to conserve the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our Homeland, which have cost a lot of bloodshed to our people, generation after generation. We are conservative because we want to conserve and develop for our people the great achievements we have attained. We are also conservative towards the liberalism which makes socialism, the youth,

women, art and culture degenerate, which the imperialists and revisionists have adopted and are advising us to adopt."

Some comrades like Fadil Paçrami and some others were eager to know which was the main danger today, conservatism or liberalism? The Party has long said that both are dangerous, and that we should fight on both fronts, and the Party has followed this course. The history of our revolution which is developing is alive, continuous and tangible. But do these shortsighted comrades want us to assert that the main danger at present is conservatism? They must excuse me, but this is the line of the enemy. And we ask these comrades: "Are you for the line of the Party or for that of the class enemy?" These comrades want us to assert that liberalism is not the main enemy. But this is the line of the enemy. We ask them: "Are you for the theses of the Party or for the theses of the enemy?"

No! You will never catch our Party unawares, it will never deform its theory either in a conservative or a liberal direction, but it will uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism and will always fight with this correct compass, just as it is, pure, creative, pointing to the right course, and revolutionary.

The bourgeoisie, reaction, the imperialists and the revisionists apply a thousand and one epithets to our Party and our internal and foreign policy: "Stalinist, iron curtain, cold war, conservative, destroyers of religion and old traditions, etc." Recently voices are heard saying: "Albania has begun to open its borders, Albania has begun to liberalize, Albania is turning its face towards the West," etc.

Regardless of the slogans they use, we should know why our enemies use them, what their aim is, and what they want to achieve. Imperialism, revisionism and the reactionary bourgeoisie want at any cost and by every means to break the resistance and struggle of our people in defence of political, economic, ideological and cultural freedom, in defence of independence, sovereignty and socialism; they want to break, first and foremost, the Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party which is the decisive factor in all these achievements of our people.

We are the only country in Europe and the only Communist Party which fights with heroism and resists with success such

great pressure which is exerted day and night. All the former communist parties of Europe, including that of the Soviet Union (we will confine ourselves to Europe and not extend to the whole world) have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the proletariat, of the revolution and of their own people. They betrayed the cause of socialism and turned their countries into capitalist ones. The Party of Labour of Albania did not betray, it stood its ground fearlessly, unyielding; it upholds principles and defends socialism, its own country, and revolution. Neither the imperialists nor the revisionist traitors could expect or conceive of this.

Socialist Albania is a small country, the Party of Labour of Albania is a small party, some may say. No, that is not so, because the ideas they uphold are great, they are the future of the world, and the torch which keeps burning in socialist Albania not only throws light on the treachery and harm plotted against the people by the imperialists and revisionists, but scorches them too. Precisely because the People's Republic and the Party of Labour of Albania are small, they serve as a great example of a mighty fighter against a many-headed monster. Viewed in this realistic light, it becomes the task of the imperialists and revisionists to oppress us; the task of the Albanian people and of the Party of Labour of Albania is to resist, not to be broken, and to win this battle.

But are the names which the imperialists and revisionists and their overt and covert lackeys call the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania well grounded? Can we call conservative a people and a party like ours, who in a few decades did away with centuries of darkness and slavery? Can we call conservative a party and people like ours who fought with arms in hand and beat powerful foreign enemies and age-long internal enemies, who seized power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in their country, who carried out a number of extremely progressive, major reforms, who enacted agrarian reform laws and built socialism in the countryside, who liquidated the class of feudal landlords, capitalists, kulaks and usurers, who abolished the exploitation of man by man, set up modern industry, brought forth a whole working class which is the master of the destiny of the country, set up and worked out an

appropriate administration for a socialist country, and modernized it as they modernized industry, agriculture, the army and all the other sectors of the country's life?

Can we call conservative a party and people who made such a profound, progressive revolution in social life, who brought women out of obscurity and gave them all their rights and equality with men in all spheres of life, who broke for all time the cruel chains which had made the women slaves of men and of society, who did away with the savage canons, laws, habits, and bad customs, who opened to women the broad field of a dignified life, opened the way to work, learning and knowledge?

Can we call conservative our Party which brought happiness to the youth, which opened schools all over the country to equip them with knowledge, culture, and high proletarian morality, which provided everything to enable them to grow up healthy, to become capable and worthy to take up the torch handed to them, and to work with a high sense of duty so that when they in turn hand over this torch to the coming generations it may be intact, not rotten, but sound, a testimony to further successes attained only through the honest Marxist-Leninist course of our people and Party?

Was not the crushing blow dealt in our country to religious dogma, this ancient plague, this poisoned black cobweb, the most heroic, the most daring, the wisest, the most successful act? Was the abolition of the power of religion, with its apparatus and personnel an insignificant and conservative act? This was an age-old spiritual and material structure. Our Party and people destroyed this structure within a few decades, but the fight to root out this cancer from the mentality of the people is still far from ended. A cure for cancer has not yet been discovered, but for religion it has been, and if a consistent and persuasive battle is waged in this direction, it will no longer take centuries but a few decades, a few generations. The fight against religious ideology is closely connected with the fight against imperialism and revisionism, with the fight for socialism and communism.

The same questions as I asked before we can ask about every field, about every activity of our new life. So, it is not we who are conservative, but those who call us conservative, the imperialists, the feudal lords, the bourgeoisie, the capitalists, the clergy and all

their followers. They aim to seize back from us what our people and Party have won and what belongs to our people and Party. They want to deprive us of our freedom, democracy, independence and sovereignty. They want socialist Albania to be no longer socialist but to be totally dependent on them.

So that Albania may cease to be socialist, these conservatives, reactionaries and bandits want us to return the land to the kulaks, to the big landowners or to a new generation of capitalists, and thus, to destroy the socialist system in the countryside and return the peasant to his former enslaved condition, only this time, with long hair over his ears and down to his shoulders like a woman, clad in extravagant synthetic clothes; they want the factories to become the property of a new bourgeoisie, and the working class to work in chains for them and their foreign bosses; they want the Albanian women to become spiritually and physically corrupt, to be worn out with work; they want the youth to become degenerate, dance crazy dances and use narcotics; they want the schools to be closed, hooliganism, crime, unemployment and emigration to flourish and religion and the church to dominate our minds, and help in this degeneration, which they call "modernism" and "liberalism".

These sworn enemies of progressive mankind seem to be "modern, progressive-minded and civilized" while we are "old-fashioned, barbarians, savages, backward, upholders of what is old" and are allegedly outdated. We are allegedly "the anachronism of the century". But of which century? Obviously, of their century of filth, degeneration, shame and slavery.

But it is we who are modern in the real sense of the word because we fight in the century during which revolution has triumphed, we fight for revolution, for socialism, for communism, because we are guided and inspired in everything and at every moment by the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, because revolution is progress, advancement, and the future of mankind.

But how is it that the dark, conservative world reaction accuses us of being conservative when we are not, how can it identify us with itself? Is there not a contradiction here? In appearance there exists a contradiction, but viewed from the proper angle, there is no contradiction. World reaction makes out with loud

propaganda that it is "not conservative in anything," that it is "progressive." It alleges that capitalism is not the same as it used to be; it has supposedly changed, become more progressive, more liberal and more humane, it is no longer oppressing and bleeding the people, or hindering progress, it is no longer warmongering, it is no longer a murderer and speculator on the sweat and toil of the people. According to it, times have changed and people have changed too, capitalism has developed the forces of production, has allegedly given the people much freedom and many rights, even over the capitalist enterprises; the structure of classes has changed, class antagonisms have been reduced and are being eliminated, class struggle is being eliminated, and is no longer the motive force of history. Other factors have appeared on the stage of society, like the technical-scientific revolution, etc., etc.

In other words, according to them, the theory of Marx and Lenin is outdated, it has lost its value, and not only that, but as such it has become a theory which restricts progress and well-being, it has become a conservative, anachronistic theoretical concept. Therefore, according to them, all those who remain faithful to the theory of Marx and Lenin are "conservative". In their view there are "dogmatic conservative communists" and we are among them, because we remain loyal to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and fight for its triumph. There are also "liberal communists with a human face", who are the traitors to Marxism-Leninism, of every hue and category, headed by the Soviet, Titoite and other revisionists.

The taking of power by the modern revisionists in the Soviet Union and in many people's democracies is a major victory for imperialism and world reaction. Modern revisionism was a variant of the reactionary bourgeois ideology, and it aimed at and brought about the transformation of the Marxist-Leninist parties in their countries which were building socialism into reactionary bourgeois fascist parties, and of their countries into capitalist countries. This treason caused the outbreak of a chain of betrayals in a very large number of communist parties on all continents.

The Khrushchevite revisionists, through their 20th Congress and their slanders against and condemnation of Stalin, through their rehabilitation of traitors to the revolution and socialism,

allegedly his victims, with the wide-scale liberalization of the life of the Party and of the allegedly oppressed masses, paved the way to capitalism in the Soviet Union. This process of transformation proceeded rapidly in the Soviet Union and in many well-known people's democracies. The Soviet Union was quickly transformed into a big social-imperialist power, partner and ally of U.S. imperialism in dividing the spheres of influence, dominating the world, and suppressing people's national liberation wars and revolutions.

We have lived through all this process, our Party has analyzed it in all its details, and, at the head of our people, has waged and continues to wage a very fierce and successful battle against the traitors to Marxism-Leninism and their allies, the various imperialists, led by the U.S.

I will not enlarge here on this analysis, but from what we have done, and have not done badly, on the basis of those genuine documents we have been able to have access to, and rejecting the trumped-up charges, slanders and falsifications of the Khrushchevite revisionists, the revisionist betrayal was able to triumph because after Stalin's death, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was not in a sound revolutionary position. It had lost its revolutionary spirit of the glorious period of the Great October Revolution, of the civil war and the struggle against intervention, of the period of the struggle to accomplish the tasks of the great five-year plans, of the correct and fierce class struggle against the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites and kulaks, against treason in the army, and of the Second World War.

After the war the Leninist norms in the Party and the state were maintained, but they were not properly implemented, there was a lack of revolutionary discipline, not enough was done to fight against bureaucracy, routine, conventionalism and a series of other vices which weakened the structure of the Party and Soviet state. Here, in the darkness, the Khrushchevs arose and flourished, on the one hand singing praise, and on the other making concessions and preparing for the future.

The most dangerous enemy is the one who is forgotten. It was this enemy which the Bolshevik Party forgot, and that is why the Soviet Union suffered this catastrophe, that is why international communism suffered this great injury.

The whole leitmotif of the Khrushchevite traitors was their ideological reconciliation with U.S. imperialism and capitalism, peaceful co-existence, the suppression of revolutionary wars, the assumption of power along parliamentary lines, broad and sincere economic collaboration, the free exchange of experience, taking and giving economic credits, promoting tourism and the exchange of ideas, the whole range of unbridled and degenerating liberalism. All this is done under the slogan of "protecting peace", of "a world without armaments and without war", of the "prosperity and progress of mankind", of the "triumph of socialism with a human face".

It is clear that a big market was opened for the spread of reactionary bourgeois ideology; revisionism became a zealous apprentice in spreading them, a worthy partner of U.S. and world imperialism in spreading, backing and upholding the American way of life, the western way of thinking and all the evils they bring in their wake, with the degeneration of society, the women and the youth.

Decadent music, radio broadcasts, literature, dancing and jazz, narcotics, murder, prostitution, the selling of countries on the auction block, the influx of U.S. capital, buying secrets, people and brains, became the fashion, the prevailing currency, to the extent that whoever it may be, an individual, an enterprise or a state which refuses to act in this way "is not in his right mind, has lost his senses, is backward, is not modern." The sea has turned into yoghurt, and such people have lost their spoons. "Come on!" some say, "let us live in euphoria, in gaiety, let the young amuse themselves, the young want what is new and modern! Who are these conservatives who hinder us from doing what we please? We want freedom, we want democracy, we want to sleep with women in the streets and parks, we boys want to let our hair grow long like women, to wear crosses around our necks, to go to church, to have our pornographic clubs, to have a private car, and we hope to have even an airplane at our disposal!" This is what life is like there, this is how it is understood in the capitalist and revisionist countries. There are people who are amazed at the Albanians, but let us not forget that there are many who are not only amazed, but are bitter enemies, and have the barrel of their gun pointed towards us. We

do not lag behind either, we have our artillery pointed towards them.

Old and young in our country should be well aware, and the Party should make them understand that socialist Albania is a thorn in the side of the imperialists, revisionists and all the capitalists of the world, and not one of them, at any time, has wished her well. As regards their activity against us, it can and does differ in intensity, kind, method and circumstances. We should always be prepared to cope with, avoid and do away with this activity even temporarily, fight against it with the same intensity that they show, and never make concessions to the detriment of the cause, the interests of our homeland and our principles. It is necessary to be vigilant, not only we, the leadership, but all our people, every individual.

The imperialists, the revisionists and the reactionary bourgeoisie calculate in this way: "Albania is a small country, and at any moment we can change the face of the regime through our intervention; even though the Albanians are obstinate and brave and will fight, nothing can resist our force, especially now when we great powers have reached an understanding between ourselves." "However," these eventual aggressors say, "we have tried all the methods of force and subversion, even using arms and economic blockades against Albania, and the truth is that we have had no success. Now, for the time being, let us resort to another tactic which has yielded such good results in certain countries: degeneration by peaceful means, infiltration by other means, by a smile, by some trade exchanges, by publishing a few of their books, making a film, etc. This was the way we broke the 'Stalinists' in the Soviet Union, we achieved our aims in other socialist countries, so why should we not achieve this in Albania too? Lastly, let us wait for the day when these old people who are hindering us die. We have time, let us work from within, and of course we should catch those who are unformed, get to know their inclinations, encourage them in one way or another, and let the situation ripen so as to take the fortress from within, because it is no use beating our heads against a wall."

In broad outline, this is the reasoning of the external and internal enemies of our Party and people. What should we do? Set forth the opposite reasoning, make a realistic analysis of the

situation and act correctly and energetically to frustrate the plans of the enemy. But can these plans be frustrated? They certainly can if we fight. If we do not, and fall asleep, then socialist Albania will be doomed; if not today, tomorrow. Let us not forget the tragedy of the Soviet Union, which should serve us as a lesson.

At present the external enemies aim to weaken our internal front, that is, to weaken our socialist regime, and first and foremost its leading body, the Party of Labour of Albania. Our external enemies always coordinate their visible and unseen activities with hostile internal elements, who act in various ways and forms to weaken the regime of the proletariat which suppresses them, and they link all their activity with the propaganda, action and political circumstances of their external allies. This alliance may be organized with secret threads, or it may not, but the alliance and collaboration exist, and they grow stronger the more careless we are and the more we lack revolutionary vigilance.

People should not think that we alone wage the class struggle against our enemies; they wage it against us too. Of course the balance of forces and victories on the battlefield of the class struggle is in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with its all-round potential, which is in power in our socialist country, but the class enemy, precisely because he wants to emerge from this struggle alive, so that later he may hit harder, has learned to fight in this situation which is difficult for him; he acts illegally while being legal, he throws the stone and hides the hand that threw it, he beats his breast and swears that he supports this regime which he hates, he has learned to disguise himself and guard against storms and lightning, he has the umbrella of those "good" but very naive people who, when the Party and the government raise acute problems, say "oh, it is only a wave which is forgotten in a month's time," he utilizes, inflates and spreads all things coming into his hands or reaching his ear, he takes advantage of people's weaknesses, uses self-criticism in his own interest, sows confusion, chaos and indiscipline, encourages exaggerated desires, stealing and hooliganism, and does this not in the open, for he guards himself, but lets others, often possibly the "good people" do it, in order to compromise them and in this way, swell his ranks.

Cast a glance at the statistics of people who have committed crimes and we will see that the overwhelming majority of them come from poor strata, from those who have experienced suffering, whom everything binds to and nothing separates from the socialist regime. In these statistics you will see a large percentage of young people, whom nothing separates from our regime. Why does this happen? There are many reasons. They have not been spurred to commit crimes only because a certain enemy has urged them to do it. That is one aspect, but they were not born criminals or thieves, they have gradually slipped into this road at variance with proletarian morality, with the laws of the dictatorship, with the norms of the Party, with the state discipline and rules at work. They have passed through several stages to reach the road of crime. Where is the culprit? Who is the culprit? Only the one who faces the prosecutor? Some say yes, condemn him! But there is a judge, a still more severe prosecutor than those who mete out punishment for penal offences, and this is the conscience, the clear conscience of an honest man, communist or non-communist, the collective socialist conscience, which should condemn the parents, the family, the school, the enterprise, the mass organizations, public opinion, as a whole, which let this person take the road to crime, and let him swell the ranks of the enemies of our socialist Homeland.

Comrades, should we be conscience-stricken at these unpleasant things that happen? Do we bear the principal responsibility for them? Or should we say as Comrade Fadil Paçrami and certain others do: "I have no responsibility for this!" Is it permissible for us to close our eyes to these unpleasant and dangerous things, even though they are few in number? No, certainly not! If they are few today, and we leave them, they will become many tomorrow.

Some think very wrongly. They say: "Why should we raise these problems, we should not make a fuss about them, we should not spoil the joyful atmosphere which exists, we should not spoil the reputation of our youth, our peasants, our workers; we should not do such a thing, for the people will say: 'What has the Party done, why has the Party allowed it'; let us take measures quietly," etc.

Such an idea is not revolutionary and should be fought

against. The people have never reproached the Party when it has said things, as it has always said them, bluntly, openly, just as they are; on the contrary, they love and would lay down their lives for the Party, precisely because it speaks out openly. Why should the Party not boldly cure certain diseases that appear in the healthy body of our socialist society? Or should it let this beautiful body become gangrenous? Certainly not, for then we will have committed the greatest crime.

Openly pointing out defects and dangers, criticizing and fighting them has indeed always characterized our Party. Has the Party lost its honour by acting in this way? No, its honour has risen to the skies and shines like the sun.

Why should our youth, our peasants, our workers and others lose their reputation when we speak of their defects and mistakes? Can they be faultless? There is a wise saying: "He who does not work, does not make mistakes." If it is the workers and peasants who work, it is they and no one else who err. Then should we cover up one another's mistakes and create a false situation? Neither the Party nor the working class has allowed or will ever allow us to do this.

Our Party should mobilize the public opinion of the whole country and create an iron front against the front consisting of the external and internal enemies, and people should understand correctly and profoundly that this enemy front, this pressure of the enemy, is neither imaginary nor hypothetical but real and concrete, and therefore the fight against it should be real, concrete, political, ideological and practical. Self-conceit and arrogance in this key problem lead you to forget the enemy, and underrate their danger.

Groundless euphoria creates difficult situations and serves as a blanket to cover up shortcomings and faults, resembling the quilt used for protection from the cold which is of no use to someone who has a high fever. This creates disillusion, discontent and discouragement. We should not be afraid to look reality in the eye, and to take steps in accordance with this reality.

The struggle against petty-bourgeois survivals in people's consciousness is often thought of lightly and reduced to an ideological struggle through lectures and conferences, and since it is a protracted struggle and these survivals are manifested in

our people and not only among the rank and file of our people, but also among the working class and its vanguard, the communists, it is thought that we have time to tackle them slowly and in a mild way instead of seeing that this is the biggest, most complicated, most harmful and most dangerous front of our struggle, which requires the greatest attention of the Party, the state power and the masses, and the greatest militant strictness.

Let us not underestimate them because we call them "survivals". The word "survivals" gives the impression of insignificant, transitory, speedily cured things without serious consequences, let alone dangerous ones. There are many people, communists as well, who interpret in this way these manifestations which are so dangerous to the formation of the new man and the construction of the socialist society; they take a very liberal stand towards these manifestations, and they do not go deeply into their essence, into their consequences in practical life. This is the broadest front of enemy work, because these survivals, as we call them, are manifestations of the ideology of the enemy which fights us with our own weapons, with our own men, who intentionally or unintentionally bring grist to the mill of the enemy.

We call these manifestations "survivals" only with regard to the people who are loyal to our people's state power and our Party, because among ten good qualities they also have some manifestations of this kind. But for the enemy elements these have never been and will never be "survivals", but their genuine ideology and the direction of their action. However, these petty-bourgeois survivals are not only one or ten, nor the same in kind, intensity, or the way they manifest themselves. They have only one thing in common: they are dangerous, very dangerous.

Our Party and all its levers are engaged in a colossal, persistent and successful struggle against them. Everywhere there is heroism at work, there is a sense of duty, there is honesty. People are tempered and educated with proletarian morality. This is undeniable, evident and tangible. Innumerable difficulties are overcome with heroism and maturity, because this is a daily battle which is not and cannot be waged smoothly. It is very positive, real, encouraging and inspiring. It constitutes the unbreakable strength of our Party, of Marxist-Leninist ideology,

of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But this sound situation should not make us underestimate the extent of the danger of these survivals, and deal with them and their consequences in a liberal way, for we must admit that there is also liberalism in the way they are dealt with, which may cause these "survivals" to turn into bourgeois philosophical concepts, resulting in dangerous social ills.

I have the impression that some people have a narrow understanding of the class struggle the Party wages, as if it is directed only against the class enemy as a person, as an individual, and they do not have a deep grasp of its ideological essence, the ideological struggle of the working class against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, which includes the famous "survivals" and a number of others which we currently call "errors, mistakes, distortions, indiscipline" and so on. The bearers of all these are the people who live, work and struggle in this land of ours where socialism is being built, where the new clashes with the old, where class struggle is in fact being waged. These manifestations in life and work should be fought using all ways and means, at all times and in every class or stratum of the population where they appear, but they appear to a greater extent and more often among intellectuals than among peasants, and less so among workers. This is the case in general, but this categorization should not lead us to the conclusion that we will find the source of these manifestations only among intellectuals and the peasants, while our working class is free of these dangerous manifestations.

There are breaches of discipline at work, in study, in the civil conduct of a citizen of a socialist country, at school, in the university, among pupils, students and teachers, there are such breaches of discipline in work and in life, very often varied in nature, of course, but not less dangerous. Among our cooperative peasants there are serious and dangerous breaches of proletarian discipline. In factories and enterprises where the working class militates, there are cases of impermissible nonfulfilment of plan targets, unbelievable reports of overfulfilment of norms, the 8-hour work time is not always observed everywhere, there is misuse and theft of socialist property, arrogance, favoritism, career-seeking among a number of

important and minor employees, and so on and so forth which the Party and the government come up against every day.

Are all the bearers of these alien, anti-socialist views enemies of socialism? No, certainly not, for if it were so, socialism would be in danger in our country. Does the external, or even the internal enemy go and whisper into the ears of pupils and students: "Violate discipline in school, why rack your brains in studying, leave lessons without permission and go for a walk"? Or do they tell the teachers and lecturers of these students: "Why do you need to extend your knowledge, why should you be interested in educating your pupils out of school"? Or do they tell the peasant not to carry out the regulations of agricultural technique, or tell the workers "instead of eight hours, work only six, don't worry about the quality or range, try your hardest to exceed the norm in order to profit for yourself"? No, certainly not!

Then, why do these things happen? "External pressure," it is said, and everything is explained. But it is not exactly like this. External enemy pressure is great, and it is not permissible for us to underestimate it, but we should be well aware that there also seems to be "internal pressure" deep down in ourselves, which we do not fight as we should in our minds through sound education, nor do we fight as we should when this pressure appears at work and in life, with all its evil consequences.

Capitalism has its laws, its work discipline, which it enforces with the greatest strictness, of course, for its own benefit and to the detriment of the working class which it oppresses and bleeds white. Socialism, which is the state of the workers in alliance with the peasant class, has its own laws, its own work discipline, which it should implement strictly for the good of the class and the broad masses of people, for the well-being of all, and hence of each individual. Often this is not what happens in our country. Is it to the credit of our working class that a German technician from West Germany, who had come to Albania to instal a factory which we had bought, should teach us a lesson? He started work at the appointed hour. Our workers who were working with him not only came late, but whenever they felt like it they left work, came in and out, took a break, or smoked a cigarette. The German technician criticized our workers in a

friendly way once, twice, but finally lost patience, locked the door and put the key in his pocket, saying, "We have come here to work, not to amuse ourselves; if a worker in our country acts like you, the boss throws him into the street and lets him starve."

Precisely in our socialist country people do not starve, they do not suffer from unemployment, they have material and spiritual benefits which they increase and will and should increase day in, day out, with their work, their toil, struggle, sacrifice and education. It is precisely the vital teachings of our Marxist-Leninist Party, the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which have created this situation, and therefore our working people should study them and grasp them thoroughly, and do their utmost to carry them out and uphold them in life. The laws and norms of the Party should not be violated at any time by anybody, the laws of the dictatorship should not be violated, freedom and proletarian democracy should not be abused. Every toleration, every abuse, every form of liberalism, every underestimation of mistakes and errors, causes incalculable damage and worsens the situation. None but the enemy want such a thing to happen. But it may happen if we do not fight as one body around our Party and government against these manifestations.

These manifestations are not new, and they did not and do not emerge in one day. There are circumstances which serve as a spur to some. The Party reacts and points out their danger and the way to fight them on all fronts. Certain people, and leading cadres, consider these reactions as "campaigns", as unexpected things and ask "how did they happen, how did we fail to see them"? This is a wrong, unrealistic view. The Party saw this in time, gave warning, mobilized and fought against these manifestations. But people who express such opinions should rather be bolder and say: "We have waged campaigns, sometimes superficially, we have left one and taken up another. We have overestimated one problem and have underestimated another, and what is worse, we have been afraid to speak out and express our opinion." When you ask them: "Who were you afraid of?" they reply: "We were afraid we might be accused of being conservative." But what sort of a reply is this!? These comrades need to analyze their consciousness and their work.

The question of television, radio and the festival was raised; in short, of alien manifestations in literature and art. Some people opened their eyes wide, and pretended to be amazed, some others said Italian television was to blame, while some minimized the correct reaction of the Party, reducing it to the issue of long hair. There is no doubt that Italian television has had an influence in this direction, but the masses of the people have not been watching it for long; the directors of television and the arts have long been watching television, listening to music of all kinds, and reading foreign books. We will analyze this, but the Party is not raising these problems of art and culture for the first time, it has constantly fought against deviations from the party line, for there are people who have deviated from the line, and specifically have deviated towards liberalism, towards "modernism", imitating what is ugly, what corrupts and degenerates, and doing this because allegedly it is what the youth want, because the youth want what is new, because the youth want to amuse themselves, etc. This will also be analyzed.

Why did certain leaders of the youth organization adopt these slogans, going so far as to distort the party directives which aimed not at weakening but at strengthening the organizational, political and ideological work of our youth organization? What made these youth leaders commit Right opportunist errors, and allow such unpleasant things to appear among our youth? We will also analyze this.

But we must understand that at work, in factories, in the fields, in schools and offices, a mild stand, an opportunist and liberal stand, is maintained towards survivals and evils, towards shortcomings and faults, as well as towards their bearers. Then an unsound environment is created at school, in society, in the family and in the street, people do not lead a genuine proletarian life, parents hesitate to give advice to their children, or spoil them, meeting their whims easily, because they themselves easily exceed their norms by even 40 percent. Then "let the child go and enjoy himself, let him go to the cinema every night or every day, and go to every football match. What does it matter if he does not come home on time and study?" Mothers and mothers-in-law dare not say a word, or discuss what worries them with their sons or daughters-in-law, because they are likely to be turned out into

the street or scolded, for they are conservative while the latter are modern.

In such a situation love and respect for one another are lost; when they are lacking towards good and honest close relatives, then towards others, towards society, they are certainly formal and ungrounded; for such people there can be no proletarian norms in society, just as there can be no proletarian norms in exaggerated, premature and unreasonable wishes and demands of working people and the less so in those of incapable cadres.

We can say that the economic situation of our country is not bad, but satisfactory. This is due to the correct line of the Party, to the tireless efforts of the producers, to the development of these forces according to the scientific laws of Marxism-Leninism, to the correct administration of the national income, to the constant increase of investments, and so on. Our markets have been supplied with everything, prices have never risen but have been lowered, while in revisionist and capitalist countries prices rise every day, and those countries are in the grip of a great economic and monetary crisis. We know that the purchasing power of our population is high, and wants and needs are growing. We all wish for these wants and needs to be fulfilled, and strive for this, but not all understand and act correctly in this direction, because they view these things from their personal angle, from the angle of their tiny world.

In order to have more, you must produce more, in order to have good, beautiful and cheap things, you must work well, be disciplined at work, acquire technical training, work eight hours and even longer sometimes, turn out good quality products according to the specified range and in the specified time and deliver the goods, that is fulfil contracts, obligations and plans. Do we do all this as we should? No! Then is it right to make unwise, unjust requests when we do not take strong measures to fulfil plans properly in agriculture, industry, mining, transport, education and trade? These are all linked.

But should we not make requests? Of course we should make them, but we should not smash windows and doors in order to get a television set. These, and even the instruments with which they are produced, come from abroad; therefore there is a limit. Regulations have been established for their sale, which you

should observe, and not begin to criticize the government, while you yourself do not produce enough chromium, shoes, etc.

The same is true of refrigerators. Some say that we have factories, so we should manufacture refrigerators and washing machines to make the work of women easier. We have done a lot of things to make the work of women easier, and we should do a lot more in this direction because what we have done is not a great deal, but to demand these things right away, without stopping to think what they will be made with, saying only "they should", would be talking nonsense just like a reporter who wrote one day in the newspaper "Bashkimi" attacking everybody, the government, the ministries, for not opening in every city quarter in Gjirokastra, restaurants with "appetizing" and almost free meals, so that the Gjirokastra housewife may not get tired, at a time when there are one or two food shops in every city quarter, and a number of dining-halls and restaurants in the city centre, when there are state-subsidized dining-halls serving many dishes in every enterprise. And this man, supposedly working for the state, engages in anti-state work, and tries in this way to create dissatisfaction among the Gjirokastra women. The Gjirokastra mothers and sisters, whom I know well, disregard such people.

But among these exaggerated, groundless, unrealistic requests, which are harmful to our economy, the most harmful are those of the district leadership, which we have seen and still see in working out the five-year or one-year plans. If an individual can be excused 10 times for the requests he makes, a leadership cannot be excused an inch, for its members know why the plan of their district is not fulfilled, and are well aware of the material and financial difficulties; not only at the district but also at the Republic level. Nevertheless, they make requests saying "if we manage to get away with it" or merely arguing that "we need them"; but they do not say "cut your coat according to the cloth" though the length of this cloth has been made clear to them.

All these things and others like them should seriously draw our attention, and we should take correct and radical measures, and not confine ourselves solely to the problem of long hair of some young people. This "hair" has deep roots, and is not on the surface; it is not easily got rid of by going to the barber's once

every three weeks as we can do with real hair. These evils, these survivals, should be uprooted by skilful and intensive ideopolitical work, especially during work, during activity. It is only in this way that theory is implanted in people's minds, that they are corrected, and advance in the full meaning of the word along the correct road indicated by the Party.

Earlier I said that socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat have their own laws. These laws should be strictly observed. Any spirit of liberalism should be absolutely prohibited. Strict proletarian discipline should be established everywhere, and punishment in accordance with the law should be meted out without hesitation to all those, whoever they may be, who violate this work discipline in production, in education, in offices, who infringe on discipline and the plan in all its range and aspects, who violate the party norms and state laws.

Work is an honour for the people of our country, and therefore one cannot conceive or accept that people, especially the youth, should fold their arms and stroll up and down the streets without working. The best sons and daughters of our people shed their blood for this land and for this freedom we enjoy today, while individuals who loaf and do not want to lift a finger for their country are doing nothing but abusing this freedom. I tell them to go to work tomorrow, and be quick about it, not where they feel like going, but wherever the country needs them. Let the iron dictatorship of the proletariat hit hard at and have no mercy or hesitation towards parasites, for they are among the most dangerous enemies of our socialist Homeland.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and its organs should consistently protect the rights of citizens, but, at the same time, it should demand that each citizen carry out his duties to the letter. There is not and cannot be onesidedness in this matter. Everyone has rights, but at the same time he has duties as well, therefore no one is allowed to demand his rights while neglecting his duties. If someone fails to fulfil his duties and tries to put on a mask, this means that good advice and educational and political work are having no effect on him, that he is abusing them. Then anyone who breaches or evades the laws, ordinances and regulations issued by the working class and the Party should be punished without hesitation, and any one of the appointed or

elected working people who does not properly carry out these laws, ordinances and regulations should unhesitatingly be charged with penal responsibility, and turned over to the court.

Strict proletarian discipline should be established at work, coming to work at the specified time, fully observing the eight-hour day, taking breaks only at the time set and for the length of time specified, observing the discipline of production and of the plan, and so on. Against those who do not implement and abide by these essential requirements, measures should be taken ranging from cautioning them (and this should not be abused) to dismissing them from their jobs. These disciplinary measures should be clearly recorded in the work record of such undisciplined workers who commit abuses, and they should not think that they can go out through the door and come in through the window. The state of the proletariat will not leave them without work, but this time they will go to work where the state considers it necessary.

All those working people who damage common socialist property will have to compensate for it out of their salary. If the laws in this respect are inadequate, measures should be taken to amend them. We cannot tolerate any longer what has been happening up to now, that some irresponsible individuals should take advantage of what has been done to educate them.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and its organs should show no mercy towards those who steal public and private property. No mercy or leniency should be shown towards the enemies of the people and of socialism, who include thieves. There should be no pardon for those who commit such offences nor for those who try to moderate their punishment.

I propose that we re-examine the law and assign much greater responsibility to the parents of those under-age children who take to hooliganism.

The Ministry of Education and Culture has allowed abuses of the correct proletarian democratic line established in schools, and, therefore, it bears responsibility for this leniency. But this does not lighten the responsibility of the party and youth organizations in the schools, nor the teaching staff. Therefore proletarian discipline should be established among pupils and students everywhere, both in regular attendance with no

unexcused absences, and in learning their lessons well.

At the same time our teachers and lecturers should be faced with the serious responsibility of giving their lessons at the required level, and in order to do this they must make continuous efforts to raise their own level of learning. They also bear great responsibility to educate their pupils and students not only in school but outside it as well.

Today, thousands and thousands of workers attend part-time courses throughout the country. This is a very good, necessary and indispensable thing both for them and for society. The state grants them many favours which, translated into monetary terms, amount to large sums. But it happens that at the beginning many register and profit from the favour granted, and at the end of the school year the majority fail to turn up for their exams. This is called misappropriation pure and simple. These people should feel conscience-stricken, but the time has come for them to feel it in their "pockets" too. I think that the government should reconsider this matter so that any of these people who have profited from these favours but fail to pass the exams should pay all that they have taken by fraud from society.

Does what I have said, and other things I have not mentioned, but which we should go into in more detail in every sector, mean the line of the Party has changed? Not at all. The Party has said these things and continually repeats them. We will find them in every directive of the Party and at all times. They have become laws, rules and regulations, ordinances, habits. We work and fight, and they inspire us. We will never give up our policy of persuasion, of intensive and continuous political work with the people. First and foremost we must work to educate our people ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist theory of our Party. In no case do we abandon this course, which is the principal and decisive one, in order to turn to the course of administrative measures. Ideologically immature people may easily make this mistake. Naturally these people will now wake from their opportunist and liberal sleep, and take up the "whip", and then return to their opportunist sleep again. These matters should be viewed properly and a correct attitude taken towards them.

It must be acknowledged that there is a lot of liberalism and leniency in these matters. Some lead an easy life, not putting

themselves out or making much effort. Some others think that the great, difficult and glorious battle the Party has been waging for decades in order to revolutionize people and life has been achieved, that it has been won on all fronts and in all the vicissitudes of life, and they come out all the time with communiques full of slogans which put people to sleep, precisely when some are breaking laws, rules and regulations, stealing and adopting the disgusting, reactionary bourgeois way of life.

Good advice, political and ideological education, are for all the masses, while punishment is only for those who deserve it, and not for good people. The bad are a minority; the overwhelming majority are good, and where there are bad people there is education, but these measures are also to be taken when the educational work has no effect. This is what the Party teaches, and we should never forget it. So we should carry out the line of the Party in full and not half-heartedly.

We should educate our people to have a deep ideological and political understanding of problems. We should never give up the policy of persuasion and clarification, but at this bitter stage of the class struggle, in this capitalist encirclement, the dictatorship of the proletariat and our ideology do not permit us to confine ourselves solely to this form of education for those who break the laws, for those who do not hesitate to leave work when they please and return when they please, because nobody asks them where they were, or for those who produce what they feel like while receiving full pay, or damage common socialist property and escape with only a self-criticism. This liberalism and condemnable leniency should be ended at once. The Party and the government should be strict in their justice on these matters, and the people's courts should also be strict. Formalism and bureaucratic concepts should not be allowed in our courts; the revolutionary spirit should develop in them. The rights of the individual must be guaranteed, but at the same time he should be required to fulfil his obligations.

Social insurance for the working people should be protected and implemented, but the latter should consistently fulfil their obligations towards work, otherwise they should not benefit from it.

In other words, the laws of the dictatorship should be put into

operation properly and not be covered with rust which, in this case, is called liberalism, indifference, bureaucracy, favouritism, nepotism, familiarity and friendship. And often this is covered up by saying, "We are doing political work, they are young and inexperienced, they will grow up." The people say, "Make your way through thick and thin," therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat and its Party, alongside educational and persuasive work, should whenever necessary use all measures, with patience and discretion and without hesitation, because they are for the good of our people, they are for socialism and a better future.

So let us all set to work with multiplied efforts, with heroism, wisdom, and the revolutionary spirit which characterizes our people, firmly relying on and inspired by the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, to accomplish each and everyone the tasks which fall to us, in order to make our socialist Homeland ever stronger, more prosperous and more beautiful!

Speeches, 1971-1973

**INTENSIFY THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE
AGAINST ALIEN MANIFESTATIONS
AND LIBERAL ATTITUDES
TOWARDS THEM**

*Report Submitted to the 4th Plenum of the
CC of the PLA*

June 26, 1973

Comrades,

This Plenum of the Central Committee is dedicated to a major and vital problem for our Party and the cause of socialist construction, the problem of the struggle against the influences of alien bourgeois and revisionist ideology, in order to implant proletarian ideology on all fronts and at all times, and in particular under the present conditions of the hostile imperialist and revisionist encirclement of our country.

Recently, these problems which we have continually faced have become more acute, and have therefore attracted the particular attention of the Party and of all the working masses. The Party criticized with courage and in a principled Marxist-Leninist way many alien manifestations which had appeared in certain spheres of our social life as a result of the influence of the old society, and especially of the pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world. The measures that have been taken to fight these negative phenomena mark a further important step in the intensification of the process of revolutionizing the whole life of the country.

Although a relatively short time has passed since the Party raised these problems before all the people, we notice with satisfaction that good work has been done and very positive results have been attained in all fields. The first thing to point out is the deep grasp, unanimous approval and readiness which the communists, the working class, the youth and all the working

people expressed on this occasion. Now a lively atmosphere of debate and confrontation has been created everywhere to criticize shortcomings, to expose weaknesses and alien manifestations in work centres, cultural and artistic institutions, schools and the family, and to determine effective methods of overcoming them. In town and countryside a sound spirit of mobilization is being created to fulfil the plan and carry out tasks, to enforce proletarian discipline at work, and to protect the property of the people. Ideological and political vigilance towards internal and external enemies, and military training to defend the Homeland, have been raised to a new, higher level.

In this revolutionary atmosphere, a series of valuable initiatives have burst forth in the sphere of production, ideology, culture, etc. They are a concrete expression of the correct understanding of the internal and external situation in which we live and an expression of the high moral qualities the Party has implanted in the working people, their steel-like unity around the Party and its correct Marxist-Leninist line.

All these are a premise and guarantee for even greater successes in the future. But we cannot rest content with what has been achieved, nor can we think that the problems recently raised by the Party have already been fully solved. On the contrary, we must stop and go still deeper into certain important aspects of the class struggle, in order to smash all influences of the alien ideology of the past and present, bourgeois and revisionist, in order to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat still further, and to advance the revolution and our socialist construction unceasingly.

Comrades,

The struggle against alien ideology to implant the socialist ideology in the consciousness of all our working people on all fronts has always been one of the main preoccupations in all the activity of the Party. It has always considered this struggle as one of the fundamental conditions for the ceaseless development of the revolution and socialist construction, for the formation and tempering of the new man of the new society. It has also considered it as an essential condition for its very existence and development as a Marxist-Leninist party, to enable it to fulfil its

national tasks and its internationalist duty.

The emergence and advent to power of revisionism in the Soviet Union and certain other countries, where the underestimation of the struggle against the influences of bourgeois ideology became one of the important causes of the degeneration of the socialist order and of the Party itself, strengthens still further our correct conviction that, without a persistent struggle to uproot the influence of alien ideologies, be they old feudal and petty-bourgeois or present-day bourgeois and revisionist ones, and without achieving the decisive triumph of socialism on the ideological front too, its achievements on the economic and political front cannot be ensured.

We are all witnesses of the major, historically important successes which have been achieved in the determined struggle waged by the Party, at the head of the working masses, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against religious, patriarchal and feudal ideology. A great qualitative leap has been taken for the complete emancipation of women, important measures have been taken to revolutionize education further, to uproot bureaucracy, etc. Great results have been attained in the revolutionary education of the new man, and profound socialist ideological convictions about work, property, society and the family have been created in our workers. The Party's slogan "Think, work, fight and live like revolutionaries" inspires and mobilizes all our people.

In further deepening this process of revolutionization, the 6th Congress of the Party placed greater stress on the need for a frontal battle not only against the conservative survivals and traces of the past, but in particular against the dangerous influences of the present-day bourgeois, revisionist and liberal ideology which exerts ceaseless pressure on us. It very rightly called this battle on two fronts a decisive condition for winning a stable victory in the struggle against alien ideologies.

We have scored great victories in the struggle against alien manifestations and influences. But we cannot fail to take into account that, under the present conditions of encirclement and all-round imperialist and revisionist pressure, we are far from thinking we are immune to danger. The successes our Party has achieved in its struggle to unmask imperialism and revisionism

on a political and theoretical plane, especially through the great polemics with modern revisionism, should not lead us to think at any moment that they constitute an insuperable barrier against the penetration of alien ideology into the various fields of the life of the country and into the thinking of our people. It is a fact that our enemies have never given up their fight against us. They have changed only their tactics, concentrating their efforts especially on the ideological front. In order to pave the way for the degeneration of our people and of our socialist order, they more and more frequently and with greater zeal exploit the lingering vestiges of the old ideology in the minds of our working people, especially petty-bourgeois, individualistic concepts and habits. Our internal and external enemies encourage and support one another in various forms and ways, coordinating their activities against our people's state power and socialism.

Moreover, there are situations in the world which prompt one to a greater mobilization to heighten vigilance and muster all efforts against the ideology and politics, attitudes and activity of the enemy.

A pacifist wind of capitulation is pervading the atmosphere. The U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists are trying to spread a spirit of reconciliation and compromise in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. Now the war in Vietnam is coming to an end, and it is being said that the situation in the Middle East can be settled in a peaceful way, there is talk of some sort of security and reduction of troops in Europe; the results of the improvement of relations between the big powers are proclaimed far and wide, the frequent contacts and talks of statesmen are greatly publicized, etc. Such situations may create a spirit of lowered vigilance, they may create the opinion that war is far away, that "the world is becoming calm".

The tactic of spreading this false, peaceful psychosis, as a means of carrying out military and ideological aggression better, is now supported by a host of theories and doctrines which the imperialists and revisionists have concocted especially for this purpose. They talk much about "peaceful co-existence", about "detente", "negotiations" and so on. All these are not simply propaganda slogans, but also ideological devices, means to create a general fatalistic psychology towards the events which

take place in the world, attempts to prepare the people ideologically to accept the arbitrariness of the superpowers and the destiny mapped out by them.

The imperialists and revisionists try to inculcate this pacifist spirit in us too, through honeyed words, through proposals to "normalize relations", trying to persuade us that no danger threatens us and that we can live unguarded and carefree. This diabolical and very dangerous tactic aims at stifling our vigilance and at inciting and encouraging liberalism and disarray. It should be clear to us that even if some sort of detente actually exists, this can be true only between the imperialist superpowers, but there is not and will not be a detente between them and us, between the peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and social-imperialists on the other. We are fully aware that the imperialist and revisionist strategy to suppress revolutionary struggles and movements and every resistance against their hegemony, to crush and suppress by force states or parties which oppose their domination, has remained unchanged. Only the tactics and means they use have changed, and are now more numerous and more sophisticated.

The agreements and collaboration between the big powers, and first and foremost between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are extending, cannot fail to be expressed in their pressure on the small, independent countries, and to result in the increase of this pressure, the increase of their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states, the intensification of their struggle to force others to accept their dictate in matters of international relations, and the extension of their activity to force their way of thinking and way of life on other peoples and nations. It is natural that in this new situation the all-round imperialist-revisionist economic, political and military pressure on our country will become greater, with the aim of stifling the only voice in Europe which is raised boldly against their aggressive, expansionist policy, and which boldly tears the mask off the dark plans, demagoguery and deception of the superpowers against the peoples and the revolution.

The imperialists and revisionists have wanted and still want to do away with socialism in Albania. We know that. But what we should keep better in mind is that for us there exists not only the

direct military danger, but also ideological aggression. Moreover, the enemy's ideological pressure and struggle against us is a preparation for and forewarning of an eventual military assault. We should not forget for a moment that we are a small country, and because of our principled revolutionary stand, we are at the centre of the all-round ideological pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world. On the other hand, we cannot live isolated from the outside world, the influences of which penetrate into our country and our people through many channels, through various means of information and propaganda, which today have become more widespread and sophisticated than ever before, and through contacts which cannot be avoided. Therefore, the Party has often emphasized that side by side with serious military and economic preparations to cope with any eventuality, we should take all measures and mobilize all our forces to crush the ideological aggression of the enemy. In this life-and-death struggle, we should bear in mind that the ideological pressure is permanent, that we cannot fight against it and win only once, but that we must fight against it and win every day, every month and every year.

The essence of this ideological aggression, and the main objective of the class enemy under the present conditions for the degeneration of the socialist order and the internal and external policy of our Party and state, is to encourage liberalism on all fronts.

This is precisely the way in which counter-revolutionary results were brought about in the Soviet Union and in certain other countries, results which imperialism had not been able to bring about either by armed intervention or fascist aggression. Under the slogan of liberalism, Stalin and his work were smeared, and the dictatorship of the proletariat was destroyed. Under this slogan, the road was opened to revisionist economic reforms which led to the elimination of socialist relations in production, and to their replacement with new capitalist relations. In spiritual life, liberalism became the key which opened the door to the influx of the degenerate western culture and way of life. And it was again under the same slogan that the determined struggle against imperialism was rejected, and replaced by the Khrushchevite policy of opening towards the

West and of all-round collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

Liberalism may appear in the most varied fields and forms. But however and wherever it appears, in essence it is the expression of ideological and political opportunism, the rejection of consistent class struggle against external and internal enemies, against the blemishes of the old society and the present influences of alien ideology, it is the acceptance of peaceful co-existence with the enemy ideology. By encouraging liberalism, our enemies want us to give up our principled stand and our struggle against modern revisionism, to give up our determined struggle against imperialism, and to open our borders to "the free circulation of people, ideas and cultures". They seek to spread a liberal and anarchist interpretation of socialist democracy, with a view to disrupting proletarian discipline at work, and undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat. They want our people of culture and the arts to abandon proletarian partisanship, to pave the way for all sorts of decadent bourgeois and revisionist trends to flourish. They want our people, our youth and all our working people, to adopt the degenerate modes of behaviour, taste and life of the rotten bourgeois-revisionist world.

Characteristic of the present ideological diversion of the bourgeoisie and revisionism against socialism is the unification into a single front of the basic counter-revolutionary trends, ranging from classic bourgeois ideology of an open anti-communist nature to the old traditional opportunism, from modern revisionism to the present so-called "Leftist" opportunist trends. All these, regardless of the positions from which they attack Marxism-Leninism and socialism, regardless of what slogans and "arguments" they use against them, are united in their main objective, in their purpose to show that capitalism has surmounted its contradictions, that bourgeois society has improved, that capitalism and socialism are converging towards one society, that there is no longer a place for class struggle, no longer a place for revolutionary upheaval, no longer a place for communist ideals, etc.

In order to propagate this thoroughly reactionary thesis, in order to confuse people's minds, to disorientate their thinking and to bring about their degeneration, the bourgeoisie and the

revisionists have set up a very powerful industry to poison public opinion which, in terms of the capital invested and the people employed in it, exceeds even the biggest branches of the economy. At their disposal there are the numerous media of mass communication, and closely linked with them are literature and art, fashion and advertising, the press, radio, television and films.

This huge propaganda wave also breaks against our shores. It is closely interwoven with many survivals of the past in the consciousness of working people, especially with manifestations of petty-bourgeois individualism. These two aspects encourage each other, and the old and the modernist merge into a single front of battle against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Consequently, our battle against these two evils also constitutes a single, complex and indivisible front. It is our task to muster all our efforts and means to cope with the pressure of alien ideological influences, which are exerted precisely under these new external and internal circumstances, and to actively counter-attack. We should consider this struggle as one of the most important aspects of the class struggle for the triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

The broad discussions in the Party and among the masses about the struggle against alien influences and liberal manifestations confirmed that the concerns of the Party and those of the working people were fully justified. During these discussions there emerged a considerable number of ideological problems which have to do with the development of our arts and literature, education and culture, in a correct way, with the education of our youth, with the enforcement of discipline, with the further improvement of the activity of the Party itself, and with the growth of its leading role. We should analyze all these problems at this Plenum in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism, and determine the course and measures to keep alive the revolutionary atmosphere that has been created, and to carry the struggle of the Party further ahead on all fronts.

**STRENGTHENING PROLETARIAN PARTISANSHIP —
AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION FOR THE
DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE AND ART
ON THE CORRECT COURSE**

Our Party has shown constant concern about the development of literature and art on the correct course, and has always considered them as a powerful means for the communist education of the masses, especially for their ideo-aesthetic formation. Our literature and art have kept pace with the whole development of the life of the country, with the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, and have made a valuable contribution to the formation and education of the new man, and to the raising of young socialist culture to a higher level.

Guided by the teachings of the Party, and loyal to Marxism-Leninism, our writers and artists have created inspired works with a sound content. Our art with its socialist and revolutionary content bears the national seal, expressing the consciousness of our people in the great historic moments we have experienced and are experiencing. This art is liked by the masses and is spiritual nourishment for them. The people love and respect their own writers and artists.

The successes of our literature and art clearly show the liveliness of the method of socialist realism, of its fundamental principle of proletarian partisanship, its harmonization with the people's national spirit and sound realistic tradition. Our art, like all the spiritual life of our society, has developed in struggle with alien ideological influences, old and new, conservative and modernistic and especially bourgeois and revisionist. The orientations of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee held in 1965 have been of special importance in this struggle.

But in recent years, as a result of the pressure of alien ideology, and especially of subjective weaknesses, some overt influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology have appeared in literature, art and culture, and a liberal attitude has been taken towards them. They have harmed the development of our literature and

art. All the discussions held have pointed out the danger of these alien influences as a means of imperialist-revisionist diversion to divert our literature and art from the correct revolutionary course of socialist realism, and from the sound national basis, and to lead them away from the party line and its correct orientations.

In the spread of these influences, a primary role has been played by the imitation of alien models, of old and new, decadent and modernist trends, openly and mechanically copying the present bourgeois and revisionist artistic mode, as well as wrong conceptions of the processes of our internal development, the roots of which lie in the inadequate political, ideological and professional formation of certain artists.

Reality has been distorted in certain works of literature and art, drama, poetry, stories and novels, in certain films, etc. The various contradictions and the battle the Party and people wage against negative phenomena, obstacles and difficulties have been portrayed not from the position of the Party but from the opposing position. Thus, in a number of cases, the essence of the struggle against bureaucratism is wrongly presented, the organs of our state power are presented as stifled by bureaucracy, and the working masses as entirely powerless to fight the bureaucrats. In some dramas and other literary works, the contradictions among the people are also treated in a distorted way. In the name of the "new", the present is denied, and the struggle between the old and the new is presented as an inevitable struggle between generations. Alien influences have reached the point where the greatness of the National Liberation War and the heroism of the partisans are obscured in certain stories.

Another consequence of alien influences is a departure from great social problems, and excessive treatment of insignificant intimate themes, the theme of the loneliness of man, the transformation of people into snails, fig trees and other absurdities, phenomena which are connected with the influence of existentialist philosophy and aesthetics, as well as the influence of literary trends like symbolism, etc. These phenomena, which are encountered in certain poems and stories, in texts of songs, in some paintings, etc., are at variance with the revolutionary militant spirit of our literature and art, with their

lyrical feeling and their epic character.

In poetry there has appeared an inclination towards using obscure figures of speech, which is contrary to the tradition of clear Albanian poetry. A few young poets began to adopt a hermetic style in their poems. This is entirely alien to our literature, to our people of a socialist country with a proletarian democracy. Writings obscure in content and form are the offspring of the confused minds and feelings of people where the regime of capital, of oppression and of exploitation of man by man, of national oppression and the lack of freedom to express ideas dominates.

Such phenomena have also been found in our light music, especially in rhythmic music, where the clear melodic line has been deformed, and the way opened to unrestrained beat. This appeared especially at the 11th Radio-Television Festival. All our public opinion indignantly rejected that vulgar music, those worthless songs and the snobbish stage presentation at the festival. Public opinion rightly considered it to be an insult to our best national traditions, to the popular spirit and partisanship of our art, and condemned it as such.

Such alien manifestations have also appeared in some pictures, in the stage presentation of some theatrical and opera performances, in book covers, etc. Such shortcomings have exerted a direct influence on both the form and content of our literature and art.

These distorted inclinations are at variance with the partisanship of our literature and art, with their formative and educative role, with their popular and national character. They place a barrier between art and the people, they obscure the democratic nature that our art should have and distort the taste of the working masses.

The fundamental cause for the spread of these alien influences is the failure to implement consistently, and the departure from, the correct guidelines of the Party on waging a frontal ideological struggle on two sides, both against conservatism and against liberalism. The danger of the current influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology has been underestimated by certain working people and leading cadres in the sector of culture, literature and the arts. Certain old manifestations and traditions of a

conservative nature have been considered as the only actual practical danger, while the danger of liberalism has been viewed only as a possibility. The simplification of the danger of bourgeois-revisionist influences, especially when it is done by "learned" intellectuals, is not a lapse of memory, but an inclination, a tendency which, if it is not fought, will grow and become dangerous. The disintegrating liberal modernist influence is not a potential danger but a real one.

Certain elements contaminated by decadent modernism, posing as "competent" people, under the guise of fighting against conservatism, tried to open the door to anti-proletarian liberalism, to alien bourgeois-revisionist currents. In body they were here, but their hearts and minds were elsewhere. They viewed the life and development of our country in an inverted way, and tried to adapt decadent trends to our situation. These elements launched the divisive thesis that genuine literature allegedly begins in the 60's, thus disparaging and negating previous artistic creation. In the name of criticizing conservatism, they turned the spearhead of their fight against certain individual writers, especially against the older ones, seriously impairing the comradely atmosphere in literary-artistic circles.

Theorizing against so-called conservatism has appeared in various forms in the different genres of art. In the figurative arts, often under the slogan of fighting against scholasticism, an academic approach, naturalism and so on, old and new works with alien modernist influences and even borrowings from impressionism and cubism were not only legalized, but were often taken as models of bold creativeness and innovation. In music, the predominance of melody has been called a manifestation of conservatism, just as reliance on the people's musical creativity was called archaism and folklorism. This so-called folklorism has often been presented as a bogey and as the main obstacle to the development of cultivated music.

In recent years, there has been an underestimation of the best traditions of our folk music, which also appears in its inadequate performance by our best artists and, especially in the lack of serious work to train new talents. This underestimation cannot be taken apart from the preferences some people have had for so-

called dynamic and rhythmic music, which is allegedly the last word in modern music and the only music which responds to the "demands of the time and of our youth". No, we do not need such music. Only the bourgeoisie and the revisionists need it as a narcotic to disorientate the masses, especially the youth. Our youth need pure cultural nourishment, really of the times but imbued with high ideals and a sound spirit. And our gifted composers have created many beautiful and original works with a revolutionary, national spirit of the times. They sing with inspiration and love to our country and people, to Albanian nature, to the socialist life and pure sentiments of our people.

In the speculations about archaism, folklorism and so on, we have to deal with an openly scornful stand towards folklore in general, towards its great artistic and social values, and towards its relation to cultivated art. It is precisely such stands and speculations which were one of the causes for the departure from a sound national background, and served as arguments to legalize this departure. These pseudo-theoreticians attached disparaging labels to everything good and beautiful in folklore, labels which were often incomprehensible even to them, because they were bourgeois terms and currents in literature and art which the passage of time had long discarded. These so-called modern aesthetes attached importance to form and not at all to ideology, politics, or content.

Elements with liberal inclinations have often identified conservatism with tradition. In a mechanical way they divided present literary-artistic phenomena into "traditional" and "innovative". Such confusions and divisions open the way to the negation of the sound aspects of tradition. Alien influences spread more easily against this background. These people, of course, could not rely on tradition which they called regression, but on so-called innovation, which they called progression.

The Party has continually stressed the need to base ourselves on sound traditions and to cultivate them further. It has pointed out the great values of our best cultural traditions, their patriotic, democratic and popular spirit. Tradition for us is not only the powerful tradition of the patriotic literature of our national revival, of the revolutionary democratic and progressive literature prior to liberation, but also the tradition of the very

rich and variegated literature and art of our socialist realism, which is already 30 years old.

Do the valuable works of our best known poets ranging from the songs of the National Liberation War, Shefqet Musaraj's "Epic of the 'Balli Kombëtar' ", Lazar Siliqi's poems, etc., as well as the rich and sound works of many young poets, not serve as a clear example to contrast with the aberrations which have recently been observed in poetry, and which we are rightly criticizing strongly? How high our poets have raised the value of the ever powerful and marvellous message of the best Albanian poetry! Not very long ago I read the latest collection of poetry by Dritëro Agolli. Is not the work of this poet a new tradition, an example of the harmonization of the revolutionary socialist spirit with the national popular spirit of rich content and clear form, of partisanship and high artistic skill?

Many other outstanding literary and artistic works have appeared in recent times. The best novels of Sterio Spasse, Ismail Kadare, Fatmir Gjata, Jakov Xoxe, and other prose writers reflect with true epic grandeur the people's war for liberation from foreign oppression and age-long exploitation, the construction of the new socialist society, and the formation and education of the new man. Our playwrights and film-makers, together with talented artists of the stage and screen, have depicted these colossal transformations very beautifully in their best dramas, films and performances. We also see this grandeur and this heroic spirit of struggle in the best works of our talented sculptors and painters such as Odhise Paskali, Kristaq Rama, Guri Madhi, etc. Composers like Çesk Zadeja, Tish Daija, Fehim Ibrahim and others have also produced very beautiful works of various major and minor genres of music, with sound content, educational value and a high professional level. We are justified in being proud of the best works of our literature and art, which stand out both for their militant spirit and for their truly high artistic workmanship.

While stressing these major achievements in these fields, we cannot but accept that our literary and artistic criticism and science are behind in analyzing this new experience of socialist artistic culture, these successes and the new and powerful traditions of the literature and art of socialist realism. We should

strive to make these traditions the property of the younger creative artists and the broad masses of art lovers, so that they may be popularized by publication and republication, by recordings and reproductions, and so on. Our young creative artists should learn and be taught to rely on the results of our new experience, to follow this rich socialist tradition. The elimination of any vacuum and neglect in this domain is also a means to block the way to the spread of alien influences and imitations.

Our Party has been and remains in favour of innovative art, firmly based on sound old and new tradition, and on proletarian partisanship. But on this question too there have been distortions and speculations of a liberal character. Often, everything that appears as new is automatically called innovative, without analyzing from a class angle and in a scientific way what it represents, thus giving rise to theoretical confusion, as is the case with the "famous" discussion on the positive hero in literature conducted in the newspaper "Drita". Sometimes innovation is considered as the property solely of the young. At other times, it is not seen mainly and primarily in content, but only in form. It is precisely in the name of such "innovation" that those formalist and modernist creations which I have just referred to were legalized in poetry, light music, painting, stage management, scenography, etc. In particular there has been speculation for the alleged purpose of supporting the young, of maintaining a generous and tactful stand towards them. An attitude of this kind has only harmed the young, since they are helped not by flattery but by encouraging them where appropriate and by criticizing them where necessary.

What is new for us Marxist-Leninists is that which helps destroy everything outdated, regressive and reactionary, everything alien to our society and ideology, it is that which serves the affirmation of everything progressive and revolutionary, the development of the socialist society, the base and its superstructure, production and spiritual life. We always view what is new first and foremost in content and then in form. This is also the way we view it in literature and art.

Our Party, which is a great and courageous innovator, an undaunted revolutionary, which has crushed and continues to crush one outdated thing after another, which is leading an

unprecedented revolution in the material and spiritual life of society, will never allow itself to be deceived by false innovation, by the outer layer of attraction on bourgeois and revisionist art and culture with which they cloak the poison of their reactionary ideas, or by their noisy acclamation of the so-called innovations of that culture. Our Party is in favour of truly modern development in all our social life, our economy and culture, literature and art. But this has nothing in common with the disintegrating modernism of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world.

Many deviations which we are criticizing have arisen from a departure from the national spirit, from ignoring and denying it. In the name of what is new, of the demands of the times and of the fact that we live in Europe, the supporters of liberalism began to distort the party orientation for a critical and differentiated attitude towards alien culture, and to serve up to us as new and innovative the monstrosities of the present decadent, modernist, bourgeois-revisionist culture.

Through many storms of the times, through endless bitter battles, our people created a culture and art with clear national features, which constitute an invaluable wealth. For us, these values of the progressive art of our nation are an object of legitimate pride, they are our contribution to the treasury of progressive world culture. If our people guarded and further developed this culture through the centuries, then it falls to us, the generations of the socialist society, to strive with the passion of communist militants to keep it pure and to develop it further.

The imperialist bourgeoisie has always tried to denigrate or eliminate the cultural traditions of small countries and the national features of their art and culture. This is one of the ways to carry out their cultural aggression and to subjugate the people. The reactionary bourgeois concept of the "internationalization" of culture and art, the idea that "the stage of national schools has already been superseded" aims to eliminate the cultures of other peoples. Under these conditions it becomes even more imperative for us to fight to guard the national features of art, the cultural wealth of the people.

While fighting to defend the national spirit of literature and art, we always emphasize strongly their revolutionary and

socialist character. Socialist content is the distinctive and most essential feature of our literature and art. This content has a clear proletarian class character. As such it must be achieved in unity with national form, which we also see in the practice of our literary and artistic creativity.

Our Party has spoken at other times too about our critical revolutionary stand towards alien culture, of both past and present. We are obliged to return to this problem once again because, in spite of all the Party's correct guidelines, in practice there have been misunderstandings and distortions which have been one of the causes of the revival of alien influences.

Today, the phenomena of decay and degeneration of bourgeois culture are becoming more and more pronounced. Its "isms", which grow like mushrooms, are the clearest symptoms of this decay. Every day "new" major and minor schools of thought appear like innumerable religious sects and heresies. Nevertheless, they have a common philosophical basis — idealism — with all its endless refinements. It is also the root of those trends which at first sight appear as Leftist, radical protests against official bourgeois society, against its culture and ethics.

Under the guise of an art which claims to be free of social prejudices and ideological commitment, the cult of empty substance and the ugly form, of what is base and horrible, is created. The principal themes and heroes of decadent modernistic art are murderers, prostitutes, immorality and social pathology. Its banner is irrationalism, liberation from "reason". Its ideal is the primitivism of the caveman.

It is precisely this culture, coated with a shining veneer, accompanied by pompous advertisement, created in the most commercial way and financed by the bourgeoisie, that inundates the cinema and television screens, magazines, newspapers and radio broadcasts, all the mass information and propaganda media. Its objective is to turn the ordinary man into a passive consumer of poisonous bourgeois ideas, and to make this consumption a habitual need. We have nothing to learn from this culture, we have no reason to impart it to our masses and youth, but should discard it contemptuously and fight it with determination.

We have valued and we value only revolutionary, progressive

and democratic foreign art, be it of the past or of our century. We will continue to make use of it in a critical way, because this is necessary for the cultural development of the masses, for their ideo-aesthetic education, as well as for the formation of tastes which resist the degenerating and vulgar bourgeois-revisionist influence.

All this requires careful, intelligent and gradual work on our part, it requires the elimination of extreme attitudes based on xenomania or xenophobia, liberalism or sectarianism, the lack of a critical stand, or the desire to be on the safe side.

Our Party has always been opposed to any kind of distortion or underestimation of its guidelines for a consistent ideological struggle on both flanks, against liberalism as well as against conservatism. It has been and continues to be opposed to every kind of speculation which, for the sake of fighting against one side, neglects or forgets to fight against the other. Therefore, it would be very wrong for anyone today to think that the correct criticism which has been made of manifestations of conservatism is groundless and that conservatism is no longer a problem for our literature and art. In fact, in the process of their development, literature and art, parallel with the influences of present-day bourgeois and revisionist ideology, have clashed and continue to clash with various conservative and restrictive legacies and trends which appear both in content and in form. The conservative or progressive, regressive or reactionary character of a literary or artistic work depends first and foremost on its class tendentiousness, on the ideas it bears, on the ideals for which it militates. Conservatism in this field has its own specific features and is manifested in various forms and ways which critical, theoretical, historical and literary thought should discover and fight ceaselessly.

The Party has continually pointed out the broad political, social and ideological basis of conservatism. For us, a conservative stand is one which justifies, supports and upholds everything old, which is opposed to progressive changes, to the new, which obstructs the revolutionary drive of the masses and their all-round emancipation, which hinders our march ahead on the road of socialism. Viewed from such a revolutionary class position, from a broad political and social viewpoint, not only do

the old ideologies emerging from the depth of the centuries have a conservative character, but also the present degenerate bourgeois and revisionist culture, and all their liberalism and modernism.

Literary and artistic criticism and serious scientific debate about fundamental ideo-aesthetic problems play a very great role in the correct development of literature and art. But our literary and artistic criticism has not always maintained a clear-cut stand on these problems, it has not discovered and duly fought negative phenomena, especially formalist and modernist influences, and on some occasions has tried to give theoretical justification to these alien manifestations. At the same time it must be stressed that there has not existed always a suitable atmosphere for literary and artistic criticism to speak freely.

We need qualified scientific criticism which also has the necessary revolutionary spirit so essential to the discovery of the outstanding values of literature and art, and the spirit of irreconcilability with any distortion, or with alien manifestations in their development. We need criticism which will speak with courage and competence about every literary and artistic phenomenon. But professional literary criticism is not the only judge of literary and artistic activity. In the final analysis, the opinion of the readers, of the public, the opinion of society as a whole is the best judge of these works. Both the creative artists and the critics should always bear this truth in mind.

In order to develop critical and ideo-aesthetic thought, it is necessary to take measures to broaden scientific research work in the domain of the theory and history of literature and art, of aesthetics, strengthening the existing nuclei and creating new ones. This work cannot be done successfully without taking immediate steps to systematically train new scientific cadres for aesthetics, the theory and history of literature and art, and literary and artistic criticism.

Criticism, like all our literature and art, should always be guided by the principles of the method of socialist realism, which have emerged from the world experience of the revolutionary art of the proletariat, and have been elaborated by Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and confirmed by the literary and artistic practice of our country. These principles are unshakable and to abide by

them is essential, for otherwise we fall under foreign influences and depart from revolutionary traditions. Innovation does not violate principles, but applies them in the correct way.

The creative development of socialist realism has also come up against some misinterpretations and speculations arising from various sources. These have appeared especially in the treatment of the problem of contradictions and of the hero in art. It has happened that the contradictions of our society have been presented as having no way out, with a dark feeling of pessimism which is typical of the bourgeois-revisionist way of thinking. The superiority of the socialist forces and ideal has not always been properly pointed out. There have also been cases of confusing the contradictions among the people with the contradictions between us and our enemies. This leads to serious errors of principle into which Fadil Paçrami tried to lead our art when he said that we had already dealt enough with the struggle between "us and the enemy" and that from now on we should talk mainly of the struggle "among ourselves". Thus, we should leave the enemy in peace and treat our people as enemies.

The Party has stressed that the discovery of contradictions and their reflection in art, including the criticism of negative phenomena, should be done correctly, from the position of proletarian partisanship, so that they may be overcome and society may advance and not remain in the grip of contradictions.

On the other hand, these theories about the positive hero which dissect him, identify him with everything and make an artificial separation between the "traditional hero" and the "innovative hero", etc., are nothing but views which lead to anti-heroism in literature and art, divorced from life and from man. And stereotyped theories of the hero, conceived in an idyllic and sentimental way, are also harmful and lead art away from truth and realism. While criticizing the stereotyped treatment of a hero idealized in a bookish way without relying on our reality, at the same time, we can in no way accept the new type of a wavering hero which is, in fact, an open bourgeois-revisionist influence. These views and attitudes have nothing in common with our principles, but show theoretical confusion.

These were some of the problems that have concerned our Party, our workers and authors, in connection with the correct development of our literature and art in struggle with the influences of alien ideology. In the recent discussions held among literary and art workers in a sound spirit of criticism and self-criticism, they forcefully expressed their conviction and determination to do away with the faults and shortcomings that have been observed. The task of the Party is to help the writers and artists to fulfil honourably their high and noble duty to the people.

It must be admitted that the insufficient interest of the party committees and basic organizations in so important a field as literature and art is another reason that alien influences have not been fought right from the start with the necessary force and consistency. The party organizations do not deal with problems of culture, with the all-round education of literary and art workers, in the same way as they deal with other fields of our social and economic life. They should always keep in mind that literature and art indeed do not give direct material benefits, but their influence on the masses is great and is strongly reflected not only in the psychological condition of the working people, but also at work and in production.

Those organs charged with the specific task of seeing to the implementation of the line of the Party in the domain of literature and art have not fought persistently and consistently. The ideological sectors of the Central Committee apparatus have not done as much as they should to help our literature and art cope with alien influences. To a certain extent they have succumbed to liberal pressure and theorizing, and have not reacted with the necessary force against deviations from the party line and directives.

Deviations in literature and art are also linked with the inadequate work of the Party Committee of the Tirana district where most of the writers and artists are active and the principal artistic institutions of the country are located, and in which the spirit of liberalism was more widespread than anywhere else. A very dangerous influence in this direction has been exerted especially by the former propaganda secretary, Comrade Fadil Paçrami, who had succeeded in imposing on the Tirana Party

Committee and the artistic institutions of the city his views on literature and art.

On these problems, Fadil Paçrami has had alien views opposed to the party line, which have also been manifested in his own literary works. With his pronounced liberal inclinations, and his alien theorizing, he denied and fought against the sound traditions of literature and art, encouraging an artificial division among the generations of writers and artists, advocating conflict between them, encouraging and supporting the spread of alien modernist influences and manifestations. Through his liberal-anarchist inclinations, expressed in a Rightist conception of problems and in the use of aggressive methods, displaying conceit and arrogance, he has exerted a very negative influence on the Writers' and Artists' League and on the literary-artistic life of the capital. Fadil Paçrami's anti-party views have been manifested not only in his failure to carry out the party line of struggle on two fronts, but also in openly opposing it, fighting from an alien position against conservatism alone. In fact, as a Right-wing deviationist, he has fought to pave the way to liberalism. In his work he has violated the norms of the Party. He has arrogantly ignored criticism made time after time by communists and by the apparatus of the party Central Committee. Being opposed to the party line and to the Party itself, he has displaced the basic organizations of the sphere of culture and has carried out his own cadre policy, trying to replace leadership by the Party with leadership by people who suited him. Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, as anti-party elements, in fact have had the same aims and have followed the same course in order to strike at the Party and its leadership.

Major responsibility for deviating from the party line in literature and art lies with the Ministry of Education and Culture, because it underestimated the danger of liberalism and yielded to liberal pressures. Therefore it should re-examine its work in this direction, and take steps to carry out fully and precisely the tasks assigned to it to direct all the cultural and artistic life of the country, making no concessions to anyone who violates the party line in matters concerning our socialist literature, art and culture.

In particular, the Writers' and Artists' League and its main

leading comrades bear great responsibility for the deviation from the party line in the field of art and literature. Many concepts and theories which have been criticized above have found shelter in the activities of the League, in its press organs, and especially in the newspaper "Drita". Claiming that they alone are aware of the problems of literature and art and their peculiarities, the leading comrades of the League, far from fighting alien influences, have often encouraged them through their stand.

The Writers' and Artists' League should thoroughly analyze its work, detect any distortion of the party line in literature and art, and take serious and responsible steps to prevent any further manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist ideology within the sphere of its activity.

In order to fight successfully against alien influences and manifestations, our Party should do a great deal of work with writers and artists, not only to further develop them ideologically and aesthetically, but also to have them lead an intensive ideological life, live close to the masses, in contact with their preoccupations and struggle, and take an active part in the great economic and social mass actions of the working people. Building contact with the masses is absolutely necessary for the people of art and culture, but this should not be interpreted as simple slogans, as writing or sightseeing, but as work on which they will base their creative activity which should be positive, in compliance with the party line and norms. In this process the creative artists are educated and tempered in a revolutionary way, and a fight is waged against intellectualism and megalomania, against individualism and petty-bourgeois pride, against mistaken views that "we are above others", that "we are free to create what we want when we want to", above every social requirement and discipline, beyond all control, and outside every norm. In this way mistakes are corrected not only in words, not only through self-criticism, but through creative activity, through work, through will-power and through multiplied confidence in one's own efforts and the correctness of the party line.

The party organizations should do serious work to create a sound atmosphere of activity and comradely relations among the literary and artistic workers. They and the writers and artists

themselves should fight with determination against unhealthy passions, against bias in judging one another's work, which leads to gossip, and to dangerous divisions and groupings among the artists. There should be no division between the "young" and the "old" just as now we should not allow the spread of the view that "you were wrong, we were not", "you accused us of being conservative, now it is our turn to accuse you of being liberal". Of course, mistakes and faults must be discovered and admitted, they must be criticized. But, as the Party teaches us, it is essential that the criticism should always be right, constructive and never denigrating. Wherever mistakes have been made, they should always be viewed from a party angle, and corrected by joint efforts. We communists do not correct mistakes by taking revenge and showing petty-bourgeois spite, but in the spirit of communist principles and partisanship. People should be helped and encouraged, especially the young writers and artists, towards whom we should show warmth, tact and care along the correct party course.

Our Party demands a lot in this direction, especially from the communist writers and artists who should set an example of partisanship, of principle, of communist ethics and social discipline. For the communists there are not two kinds of attitude, one within the basic organization and another outside. The norms of the party line are binding on all in work and in life and no one can be allowed to violate or evade them.

We are fully confident that while fighting against alien influences, our writers and artists, and all the creative workers in the field of culture and art, will further tighten their ranks around the Party, to which they are bound like flesh to bone. With the aid of the Party and by their own revolutionary efforts, they will clean out those noxious weeds which have appeared in our literary, artistic and cultural life, and will courageously advance the great cause of our socialist culture, literature and art.

While discussing at this Plenum alien ideological influences and their manifestations in literature and art, it is essential to point out once again that, in general, our literature and art are sound, that they have developed along correct lines, and have been inspired by the line of the Party and the interests of the people and socialism. This is verified by the living reality of the

development of our literature and art in general, and of the recent period in particular.

The good works of our writers and artists are greatly liked and followed with great interest by the masses, and have made and are making a valuable contribution to the general education of our youth and of the people as a whole. These works which have increased the golden treasury of the new socialist culture are a very valuable reflection of the spiritual creativity of the Albanian people, with its patriotic, progressive and democratic content. Portraying the glorious epoch of the National Liberation War, the great revolutionary transformations and the construction of socialism, and taking an active part in these magnificent battles, our present literature and art will certainly be a source of inspiration for the younger generation and those of the future.

We are certain that just as up to now, in the future too the creative activity of our writers and artists will be inspired by our marvellous socialist reality, by the heroic struggle of our people, the working class and our labouring peasantry, by the high revolutionary ideals of the Party. They will always receive their nourishment from the age-long struggle of our people for freedom and enlightenment, from their powerful democratic and progressive traditions, from the inexhaustible spring of their artistic experience and genius. Guided by the great principle of communist partisanship, our writers and artists will certainly turn out even worthier works about this heroic struggle our Party and people are waging today for the cause of revolution and socialism, works clear and understandable to the masses, with high communist ideas, clear national features, and an ever higher artistic level.

WE SHOULD FORM REVOLUTIONARY CONCEPTS ABOUT TASTE, CONDUCT AND THE WAY OF LIVING

The socialist revolution has brought radical changes in the spiritual life of society and of our people, in their thinking, psychology and way of living. Our Party has devoted continuous attention to the formation and tempering of the new man with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with a high spirit of patriotism,

proletarian internationalism and socialist collectivism, with the spirit of sacrifice and heroism, with new concepts about work and life, and with high revolutionary ideals. Today, we can speak of the rich spiritual life of our people, a pure life that develops impetuously, displaying devotion to the cause of the revolution and socialism, heroic deeds, high moral virtues and sound tastes. This is an intricate and constant process taking place through an ideological class struggle against every alien influence. Our Party has always waged a frontal battle against all the ideologies of exploiting classes.

But in recent years when a hard blow was dealt at the old, religious, feudal, patriarchal and conservative concepts and prejudices, the struggle against the present influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and their manifestation in our life were somewhat neglected and underestimated. Liberal concepts and attitudes appeared, giving rise to certain harmful phenomena among some people, and especially among some of the youth.

Those influences to which we referred in literature and art cannot be viewed apart from certain alien manifestations which have been observed in the tastes of some young people, in their conduct and unseemly behaviour. These, and the continuous pressure from outside, account for the spread of certain vulgar, alien tastes in music and art, the adoption of extravagant and ugly fashions, and improper conduct in defiance of the socialist ethics and the positive traditions of our people. Our social opinion was justified in forcefully condemning the bastardized "importation" of long hair, extravagant dress, the hullabaloo of jungle music, arrogance, shameless behaviour and so on. If the influences and manifestations of the bourgeois-revisionist way of living are not nipped in the bud, they open the way to the moral decay and degeneration of the people, which is so dangerous to the cause of socialism.

The all-round spiritual development and the moral image of our new man cannot be conceived without the formation of sound ideo-aesthetic tastes for what is beautiful in art, in nature, at work and in life. The problem of tastes is not a purely personal problem of individuals, which allegedly cannot even be discussed. Despite the presence of the individual element in

them, tastes always have a social character, being formed under the direct influence of social and economic relations, ideology and culture, and social psychology. Hence their class character emerges clearly. Therefore in essence our tastes are entirely opposed to bourgeois-revisionist tastes. Our communist taste is imbued with the revolutionary ideal, with proletarian simplicity, with noble sentiments and pure moral virtues.

While fighting against the penetration of low, commonplace bourgeois-revisionist tastes, we have at the same time fought and continue to fight against outdated and anachronistic tastes inherited from foreign occupations and the old feudal-bourgeois society, interwoven with the old way of living and backward patriarchal customs and traditions. We support every natural evolution of taste under the conditions of rapid socialist development, in compliance with the requirements of this development, in the spirit of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and our sound national traditions. We are opposed to conservative attitudes of some who fail to understand this process and consider it as a negative phenomenon and an alien influence.

The formation of sound tastes with a clear socialist content also requires the all-round cultural development of the new man, and especially systematic efforts to educate him ideologically and aesthetically. This objective is also achieved through a continuous fight against a superficial, narrow cultural horizon, for a deeper appreciation of the valuable heritage of national and world culture.

Major opportunities have been created today in our country for the continuous uplift of the cultural and ideo-aesthetic level of all the working masses, and of our youth in particular. Along with schools, a broad network of specialized cultural and artistic institutions has been set up and consolidated, along with other means of mass propaganda, which play a role of primary importance in this process. But these means, which have been spread to the farthest corners of the country, are not utilized in an intensive and qualified way.

The party committees and state organs should strive continuously to raise the ideo-artistic level of the activity of the cultural institutions, and fight against any tendency to consider this activity as merely entertainment, depriving it of its basic

educational objective.

We must also draw attention here to the fact that alien manifestations have penetrated especially into our cultural and artistic institutions. Alien liberal and modernist influences have passed from literary and artistic works to the stage of dramatic and variety theatres, to the cinema and television, and to the various activities of clubs and cultural centres. The tendency to underestimate and not rely on the sound national and popular tradition in cultural activities has also been encountered in many cultural institutions which have been set up at the base.

The work which has begun to rid the programs of alien influences and to invigorate and intensify the activity of cultural and artistic institutions should be continuous and carried out more intensively. It is essential to increase the demand for the expansion and improvement of the quality of all our mass cultural work, to place it better in the service of the communist education of the masses.

We have also met with disturbing phenomena in ways of behaviour and living. Many breaches of social discipline have been observed, at work and in school, as well as disregard for the norms of socialist ethics and the state laws, infringement of public order and personal rights, cases of immorality, and the ignoring of the social obligations people have as workers, citizens, parents and family members. Especially among a number of young people, certain very negative phenomena have begun to appear, such as giving up school, remaining without work, hooliganism, theft and so on. All these have nurtured inclinations towards parasitism, individualistic and avaricious inclinations to the detriment of society and unjust claims. The bearers of these alien manifestations, staying aloof from the struggle of the people, have been the contingent most susceptible to acts of hooliganism and crime, since it is well known that parasitism and avaricious inclinations are one source of people's moral degeneration.

Of course, if we take into account what happens in the capitalist and revisionist world, in our country these phenomena are very limited. But for our healthy society such phenomena are and should be a matter of great concern, even if they are few or isolated individuals, for we fight to keep the thinking and moral

image of every worker pure and healthy, in order to keep our socialist society as a whole pure and healthy.

Certain distorted theories of an openly liberal nature have played a large role in promoting these phenomena. Their roots lie in the biased and entirely erroneous understanding from a bourgeois-revisionist position of the broad democracy which exists in our socialist society, of our efforts to emancipate the people, and especially the women, of the relationship between rights and obligations, between the freedom of the individual and social discipline.

For us Marxist-Leninists the way of living is an integral part of our whole socialist social life, which develops in close connection with our whole revolution, in conformity with our socialist ideology and the norms of communist morality. This is how we conceive the material well-being and the spiritual world of man, the assertion of his personality, emancipation, personal happiness and family life. The revolutionary communist ideal is the one and the only one which guides us in all our activities and life. Totally alien to us is the bourgeois-revisionist conception of life, the most typical manifestations of which are individualism and unbridled egoism, aimlessness and vanity, running after luxury and fulfilling all whims, dissipation and degeneration, parasitism and criminality, which have become incurable moral and social ills of the present-day capitalist and revisionist society.

We see the way of living in constant development, conditioned by all the social, economic and cultural transformations, and by the raising of general well-being. In particular, the rapid social and demographic changes, the expansion of the existing cities and the construction of new dwelling centres, the growth of the working class, the all-round development, especially social and cultural, of the countryside, the break-up of the patriarchal family, the great development of education and culture, and the evolution of social psychology have led to radical transformations in the way of living.

A very important role in this respect has been played by the great ideological actions against religion, backward customs and outdated traditions, which have dealt a heavy blow at anachronistic concepts and practices. These positive and revolutionary developments have also been accompanied by the

emergence of new problems, by increased demands of the masses in material and spiritual life, and especially for culture and education. In order to respond to these demands and fulfil them gradually according to the actual conditions and possibilities, it is necessary to broaden our concept of cultured life in all its aspects, from the intellectual development of man to the environment where he lives and works.

Our Party also strikes heavily against all those who, in the name of fighting conservatism, and in the name of meeting the demands of the times and of youth, of freedom and democracy, attempt to introduce among us the spirit of bourgeois corruption and degeneration. Now, our working masses and our youth have launched a campaign against this degrading influence, against any liberal stand that paves the way to its infiltration. This struggle is being waged by revolutionizing public opinion, by raising its vigilance and sensitivity. Liberal attitudes towards alien influences cannot be rooted out without fighting against manifestations of indifference in public opinion, against passivity, toleration and negligence. These are open and typical petty-bourgeois practices, and have nothing in common with the revolutionary spirit of communist irreconcilability with all negative phenomena and alien manifestations.

But it is a fact that we come up against indifference not only among the ranks of workers, but also among communists and cadres. How can our people keep silent and look on when they see that the norms of communist morality and state laws are being broken, and public property is being damaged and misused, when they see some young people who do not work but try to live off their families and society, when they notice acts of vandalism, immorality and hooliganism, manifestations of alien fashions and ways of living? Ideas that "there are others who can deal with this" that "it is none of my business", "why should I get on bad terms with my friend or my neighbour?" are entirely alien, and should be firmly fought against.

We should create an atmosphere which stifles any breach of our ideology, morals and laws, by setting up a unified front of education merging into a single whole the joint efforts of the school, all the means of mass culture and propaganda, social organizations, the family, and public opinion as a whole.

The results achieved in the struggle our Party and the masses are now waging against alien influences and manifestations are an important step ahead. But the Party has the task, relying on these results, of continuing to fight against liberalism on all fronts, of implanting revolutionary concepts deep in the consciousness of the masses, and making them part of their world outlook.

We view and should always view the work for the communist education of the working people, for the formation of their communist tastes and conduct, for the triumph of socialist morality and the new way of living, as a very important aspect of the class struggle on the ideological front. It is through this prism that we should assess all the educational activity which is conducted under the direction of the Party, all the activity of its levers and of the various educational and cultural means.

A particularly significant role in the communist education of the masses is played by the press, radio and television which have made an outstanding contribution to the political, ideological and cultural education of the masses, and to organizing and mobilizing them in the struggle for the socialist construction of the country.

Ideological purity has been and remains the fundamental principle of our popular and partisan press. But in recent times, in certain organs like the newspapers "Drita" and "Zëri i Rinisë", the magazines "Nëntori" and "Ylli", in certain books issued by the "Naim Frashëri" Publishing House there have appeared a series of literary and artistic works and critical writings with alien ideas, concepts and theories, with liberal modernist tendencies and other decadent manifestations incompatible with our ideology and culture. These have created confusion in the minds, sentiments and tastes of the working masses, and especially of the youth. The concessions made in various press organs cause great damage, because through them the alien bourgeois-revisionist influences which have infiltrated not only gain, so to speak "the right of citizenship", but spread speedily and on a mass scale into all categories of the population.

The line and directives of the Party should be implemented with intransigence and consistency in the organs of the press. Marxist-Leninist ideology should run through every work and

all material published in the columns of our newspapers, magazines and books, to serve the general communist education of the masses, and the formation of the new man of the socialist society. The press, as it has done up to now, should inspire the masses to the noble task of building socialism and protecting the Homeland. It should promote the revolutionary militant spirit and strike strongly at alien influences of every kind, from whatever side they may come. It should expose the bourgeois and revisionist order, their anti-popular and aggressive policy, their decadent ideology and culture, revealing their social ills and pointing out the all-round rottenness of their system.

We know the special place radio and television occupy in the Party's propaganda system. Under the guidance of our Party our radio and television have made progress from year to year. As a whole, its work has been characterized by the endeavours of the communists and of all the working people to enhance the role of this institution in the political, cultural and artistic life of the country, to propagate the Marxist-Leninist line and stand of our Party, and the progress of socialist Albania.

In spite of this, it should be pointed out that, especially last year, the revolutionary spirit, the socialist substance and national character of the musical, cultural and artistic programs of our radio and television were gradually weakened. These deviations were reflected in the copying of alien forms of structure and presentation of various television programs, in the transmission of foreign songs without a political and ideological-aesthetic criterion and in the encouragement, production and propagation of modernist songs imitating western music. Thus, the radio and television programs began to ignore the spiritual requirements of the broad working masses, especially the youth, and become a vehicle for alien tastes and morality which were liked by only a certain kind of elitist. This manifestation, alien to our life, ideology and culture, was expressed in condensed form at the 11th festival of Radio-Television.

A major responsibility for these deviations from the party line in Radio-Television is borne by Comrade Todi Lubonja, former director of this institution, who as a right-wing deviationist has displayed and supported pronounced liberal opportunist views and modernist aesthetic tastes, and has applied alien methods of

management. He tried to give radio and television a purely informative and cultural-recreational direction, quite at variance with the orientations of the Party on their political, ideological and cultural-educational character. Both formerly as secretary of the Party Committee of the Korça district and as director of Radio-Television, Todi Lubonja stood out for his arrogance. Being on the same anti-party road and following the same anti-party aims as Fadil Paçrami, he was opposed to the party line and strove to distort it. He deprived the basic organization of Radio-Television of the ideological, political and organizational leadership of the institution, pursuing a personal policy on cadres, gathering around him persons he himself judged to be suitable to apply his views and tastes. In this way he did great damage to the activity of this important institution and in general to the Party's work for the ideological and aesthetic education of the masses, especially the youth.

Our Party has taken steps to do away with alien influences in Radio-Television. The situation there has improved, but much still remains to be done so that radio and especially television may fully carry out the tasks the Party has assigned to this great propaganda and cultural centre for the all-round educational uplift of the masses and for the formation of the features of a revolutionary, socialist and Albanian television.

Our young television will not create these features by imitating and copying the programs and forms of presentation of foreign television broadcasts. A clear line of demarcation must separate our television from that of the bourgeois and revisionist countries. The course of its development is that of the Party, of the people, of socialism and of revolution.

The Party and government will back and encourage, as always, the efforts of the working people of Radio-Television to promote the new, the beautiful, the variegated, and programs which will really portray the rapid dynamic development of our society, programs which will respond to the ever growing educational and cultural demands and aesthetic tastes of the working masses, especially of the youth.

The all-round improvement of the communist education of our younger generation is closely bound up with the work of the schools, the teachers and lecturers. In recent years, our schools,

fighting to apply the orientations of the Party for their further revolutionization, have taken important steps ahead. Parallel with an unprecedented extension of education, attempts are being made to introduce the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis into all teaching and educational work, to combine classroom teaching with productive work and physical and military training, to revolutionize the methods of teaching and education, and to further democratize school life. Really good work has been done and continues to be done in compiling and improving new school texts.

In spite of this, the general result of the teaching and educational work of our school does not yet meet our requirements. In the schools and the university there are pronounced weaknesses both in the teaching staff and in the pupils and students. The Ministry of Education and Culture has not properly done its duty in this direction. Heavily burdened with the great work called for to reorganize education in line with the decisions of the Central Committee, it forgot and failed to follow up properly the principal objective of this reorganization, namely, the consolidation of the educational aspect of the school. There is still a lot of formalism in the activity of the schools, and this discrepancy is striking particularly in their educational activity.

The ideo-aesthetic and ethical formation of pupils and students is one of the fundamental aspects of communist education, which is being carried out with some weaknesses in the schools. It is not a question only of those weaknesses observed in this field in the teaching of various subjects, but especially of the inadequate work being done during and outside lessons for the development and extension of the cultural horizon of pupils and students, for the formation of their ideo-aesthetic tastes, a critical stand towards different cultural values and for the cultivation of new moral features and civic education.

We cannot but notice that the struggle for the democratization of school life, for the greater activation of the pupils and students, for correct teacher-pupil relations, has not been conducted in close connection with the enforcement of proletarian discipline in the life of the school. Here there have been many concessions, a pronounced spirit of irresponsibility

and liberalism. The youth organizations have often placed one-sided emphasis on "the rights" of youth without viewing them in unity with their obligations. At the same time, the organs of education have also greatly weakened the correct requirements of school rules and regulations, and many teachers and lecturers have maintained a passive and conformist stand. Placing the accent one-sidedly on fighting conservative tendencies in the methods of educational work, they did not fight with the necessary force against indifference and liberalism. All these serious factors have their influence on the still low level of scientific and pedagogical discipline in the work of the school.

Now a fight is being waged in the schools against these shortcomings and weaknesses. But we should never be content with those correct measures which have been taken for the immediate regulation of the situation. We should make sure that these measures will not have only a purely administrative character. Without giving up the correct organizational and administrative measures to enforce discipline in school, but fighting insistently for them to be carried out in full, it is also essential to work towards a more profound solution of these problems in the future. The Party's program for the further revolutionization of the school cannot be carried out in full without intensifying the struggle to raise to a higher level the results and quality of all its activity, without a radical improvement of the whole system of its educational work. The most acute and relevant problems in this sphere are the strengthening of ideo-aesthetic training, civic education, communist taste and conduct, and the spirit of communist social discipline.

I want to speak rather more extensively on the work of the youth organization. As a lever and militant reserve of the Party, throughout its existence it has played a very important role in educating and mobilizing the younger generation for the reconstruction and defence of the Homeland. The Party has always entrusted the youth organization with responsible tasks, and it has always fully justified this trust with its struggle and tireless work in the service of the people and of revolution.

Nevertheless, it is not permissible for us to fail to see the defects in the work of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, the

distortions and faults that have occurred especially during these recent years, which are directly connected with those alien liberal modernist manifestations and phenomena which the Party is criticizing today.

The youth organizations, particularly in the schools, but also in the villages and work centres, have not been on top of the situation as they should have been, due to the weakness of the leadership of the youth, including the former First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth Union, Comrade Agim Mero. Comrade Agim is a young cadre, a good comrade, who slipped into liberalism, who became swell-headed, promoted wrong views about youth and weakened the norms which governed the organizational life of the Labour Youth Union of Albania. When he was appointed to the university, he retained certain erroneous liberal concepts with regard to the rights of students, without putting the proper stress on their obligations. But it is a positive thing that Comrade Agim acknowledged his mistakes at a number of party meetings, and is now working to put them right.

The exposure by the youth organizations of the mistakes made and their self-criticism are a very good sign, showing that under the guidance of the Party they will soon improve their situation, and will stand at the head of the youth's impetus as their militant detachments. But our Party as a whole, and the cadres and militants of the youth organization, should draw lessons from the mistakes that have occurred, and not allow them to be repeated.

The leadership of the youth organization did not properly understand and apply the directive of the Party to fight on both fronts at the same time. This was the source of many of the mistakes in the work of the youth organization. While correctly fighting against patriarchalism and conservatism, which cramp and hinder the development of the creative energies of the youth, they failed to assess correctly the danger of the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Many evil manifestations and phenomena have been justified and minimized, by saying "there's nothing to worry about" and that "they are transitory and are connected with the age of youth." Although the saying goes, "don't judge by words but by deeds," the leadership of the

youth organization has not been disturbed by poor educational results in school, by the fact that thousands of young people repeat a year or leave school, that young workers and cooperative members are often absent from work, that crimes committed by young people keep increasing and so on.

In the leadership of the youth organization there has been a tendency to deal more with the rights and demands of the youth, which the Party has always stressed should be carefully attended to. But, at the same time, it was not seen or stressed sufficiently that the youth must also carry out to the letter their tasks at school and at work, that they should not expect everything on a platter, but that they themselves should also work and toil to create the conditions for an active cultural, sporting and recreational life, and that they should guard and try to utilize the means which the state has placed at their disposal.

Our youth should be educated so that they themselves are active and militant, so that they do not blame their weakness in school, for example, on the "inability of the teachers", or blame their failure to reach the plan targets in mass actions on "technicians and managers", and so on. They should fight against self-satisfaction and conceit, which lead to noise and show.

Another serious mistake has been that of undervaluing educative work with youth, even of discontinuing the study classes organized for the education of the masses of youth after finishing the cycle of lectures on the history of the Party, thinking that the school does this with the pupils, that in work centres the youth are educated in the trade unions, and in the countryside in the Democratic Front.

Manifestations of liberalism also affected the internal life of the Youth Union and its forms and methods of work. The very correct directive of the Party to fight officialdom, bureaucracy and rigid forms in order to apply flexible forms of work with youth was interpreted in a liberal way. It was interpreted as freeing the organization from necessary rules, which led to the violation of certain fundamental norms stipulated in the Constitution of the Youth Union. In fact, meetings began to be held infrequently, while absences from them became more frequent, and the life of the basic

organizations and the ties among them began to weaken.

In addition to the leadership of the youth organization, great responsibility for the weaknesses that have appeared in its organizational work also lies with the party organizations and committees and with all the communists.

The party Central Committee has always rightly stressed the need to allow the youth organizations more initiative and independence of action. But does this imply that the Party should care less about youth, that its constant supervision of the organizations of the Labour Youth Union of Albania is not necessary? Our youth find in the Party their strength, guidance, and inspiration. The best cadres of the Party should be charged with the task of speaking to the youth, of explaining to them clearly the directives issued and the decisions taken by the Party. And it should not happen that a candidate who has just been admitted to party membership from the ranks of youth leaves the youth organization, or, when he does take part, gives no assistance there.

We should never forget for a moment that the youth have been and always remain a target of the activity of all our enemies. Therefore the youth must be continually tempered and moulded as revolutionaries, both by speaking to them about the past, about the struggle and the difficulties that have been overcome, as well as by launching them into actions and making them work seriously when they are pupils and students, when they leave school, in production work or wherever they are appointed. In the work the Party is doing today for the general consolidation of the situation, a special place should be occupied by the strengthening of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, and the strengthening of the work with youth in general. We must see to it that our schools, artistic and cultural institutions, all the means of propaganda, sport, etc., are better placed at the service of the revolutionary education of our youth.

As always, this time too our youth have understood correctly and are applying with all their strength the advice and teachings of the Party. This is another proof of the close links of our youth with the Party. The question now is to intensify our work with the youth so that these problems may be better understood from the ideological standpoint, so that they may be involved more

broadly and actively in the class struggle, in studying to master Marxist-Leninist theory, science and technology, in work and mass actions to build socialism, and in physical and military training to defend the Homeland. And, on this sound basis, we have to temper them further as an insuperable revolutionary force in the struggle the Party is leading for the construction of socialism in our country.

FOR A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF CENTRALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY

So far we have spoken of the problems of art and literature, as well as of the ideo-aesthetic and ethical education of the masses. But, as the discussions have shown, the front of the struggle against liberalism is much wider. We also come up against such manifestations in the important field of the economy.

The general characteristic of our economy is its rapid, ceaseless development. During the last two years industrial production has increased at an average rate of 10.5 percent, hence at a higher rate than envisaged in the five-year plan. A dynamic increase in production has also been maintained in agriculture. The successes attained so far, and the mobilization and enthusiasm of the working people, are a clear indication that the tasks set for this year will also be accomplished.

The victories achieved so far constitute a sound basis to accomplish the tasks which arise from the historical necessity of building socialism, and to cope with the consequences imposed by the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. But, viewing our work with a critical eye, in the practice of management and administration of the economy there are also anomalies and faults which are neither new nor unknown. Thus a one-sided attitude and leniency towards obligations, responsibilities, and state laws has often been noticed, as well as weakening of checking up and demanding account, and the slackening of revolutionary vigilance and the class struggle. Such liberal manifestations cannot but have a bad effect on such important issues as the discipline of the plan and of work, the self-supporting system, monetary control, setting norms and wages,

the administration of collective socialist property, etc.

Of course, anomalies and faults in the field of the economy do not stem either from our system of management or from the economic policy of our Party, the basic principles of which have always been and remain correct, as time and our reality have proved. But they stem from the influence and pressure which the capitalist-revisionist encirclement exerts on our people, from the old petty-bourgeois mentality, and a narrow interpretation of the Party's directives.

In some of the issues related to the management and administration of the economy, we observe a kind of liberalism of a more or less voluntarist and subjectivist character. We often come across an underestimation of economic laws, and the failure by the relevant economic and state organs to take properly into account the requirements of these laws. No sooner was labour productivity defined in our new planning method as an index for accounting, than attention towards it slackened. As a consequence, in a number of enterprises, districts and ministries there appeared signs of inflating plans for manpower, considering it a normal thing to maintain and to request extra workers above the plans. Hence another negative phenomenon appeared: while the wage fund was exceeded, the production plan in certain enterprises was not fulfilled, or not fulfilled properly, thus causing inequality between the increase in purchasing power and the fund of goods required to cover it. The failure to pay sufficient attention to the requirements of economic laws accounts for the weakening of the self-supporting economic enterprises, for inefficient control over the use of the basic funds and means of circulation, and inadequate concern taken to calculate in detail the economic profitability of every product, and of every expenditure and investment, following the idea "let us first produce, then the other things will fall into place." The underestimation of the economic levers accounts for the temporary lifting and the weakening of control over the wage fund and over investments.

The Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance and other departments must re-examine in a thorough and critical way the practice of their work so far. The organs of finance should intensify their financial control on the expenditure fixed in the

budget for the economy and every other field, with a view to raising their efficiency. The central departments should also specify concrete measures for a further consolidation of self-supporting economic enterprises, and for the increase of productivity in general, especially in branches and enterprises which are backward or which operate at a loss. Last year 208 enterprises came short of realizing the planned targets of profits or exceeded the planned losses. During the last three years, from 100 to 110 enterprises on the average ceased to be unprofitable, while from 90 to 100 others fell behind. At the same time the ministries should intensify their demands for the increase of labour productivity and for a rational use of manpower, especially in the auxiliary sectors of production and in the social and cultural sectors, by constantly improving the rigorous setting of norms and the organization of work.

Ours is a small country, but one which has taken upon itself major tasks and objectives for the complete construction of socialist society. If we also keep in mind the well-known political and economic factors arising from the capitalist-revisionist encirclement, then the necessity for that high norm of accumulation which we apply in our country will become even clearer, as well as the necessity for the very large investments which we are obliged to make, for the high rates our socialist construction must maintain, and the need for a strict, all-round program of economization.

Many facts and figures indicate that survivals in people's minds, and the alien bourgeois-revisionist tendency to take a narrow view of the momentary personal, departmental, local and group interest, even when it is in opposition to the general and long-term interest, have paved the way in our daily practice to many distorted activities which hinder the correct revolutionary combination of these interests.

Viewing local and departmental interests narrowly and not in a political way has encouraged some cadres to make demands for investments, manpower and materials which our economy cannot meet, or which are not justified by a corresponding increase in production, labour productivity and income.

At the time when plans are drawn up, many enterprises in the districts and at the centre present numerous arguments and

calculations about the alleged necessity of this or that investment. But before the ink dries on the approval, they begin making requests to alter funds or to replace one project with another not envisaged in the plan at all. Last year, nine districts, including Tirana, Durrës, Korça, Fier and Gjirokastra, asked for a 30 percent addition to the funds that had been initially approved, in order to complete a number of planned projects. During the last quarter of last year, the Peshkopia and Gramsh districts alone demanded an increase or reduction of funds for 65 projects. The investors, designers and administrators cannot be allowed to go on trampling the approved plans underfoot, and changing the funds allocated to each project, as well as their financial limits.

Other things also occur. A project is begun with the best intentions and pledges that it will be carried through by the enterprise relying on its own resources, and then requests pour in and pressure is exerted even on the government for imported materials and equipments, placing before the state the alternative of either meeting these requests or accepting as an accomplished fact the blocking of monetary funds and materials for an uncompleted project.

There are enterprises, regional executive committees and central departments which irresponsibly demand or keep to themselves more materials than they need or have planned for. Who gave the Ministry of Industry and Mining the right in 1972 to use, without the approval of the government, more crude oil for its enterprises than planned for, at a time when many enterprises of other departments were not supplied with their planned quotas? These activities and practices are not only a flagrant violation of the discipline of the plan and of the requirements of economic laws, but they also indicate a liberal interpretation of the internal and external political and economic situation under which we live and strive to build socialism. Therefore, these things should be thoroughly looked into from the political point of view of the Party. The phenomena we are criticizing not only bring damage and disorder to our economy but also have a bad effect on the minds of our people. Therefore, an end should be put once and for all to these harmful practices, and the necessary steps should be taken to prevent them from

being repeated in the future.

Our working class works and accomplishes its tasks with ever greater inspiration and enthusiasm, with an ever higher sense of duty. And these marvellous qualities which it has are seen in the magnificent results which our country has achieved and is achieving in its socialist industrialization, in the advancement of agriculture, in the development of culture, in the uninterrupted increase of well-being and the continuous improvement of the standard of living. These qualities are a general characteristic of most of our working people. But there are also backward working people who, because of their social origin, limited length of service in production or some other reason, are not yet free of many petty-bourgeois concepts and have not yet acquired the true attributes of the working class. It happens that certain managers of the economy maintain a sentimental attitude towards these people, an attitude which is incompatible with a principled revolutionary spirit. Many criticisms and observations have been made about this during the discussions held in work and production centres. Why should we maintain low work norms which are easily exceeded without much exertion, so that individual workers and cooperative members then take from society more than their share, and more than they have really given it? To whose advantage is it to raise job categories in an artificial and groundless way, allegedly so that there will be no pronounced differences in pay between workers of enterprises and branches? Although clear-cut decisions have been taken not to allow salary increases for people working in administration until a study has been completed, there are ministries which, with a view to raising the salaries of people working in the administration, submit proposals to the government to raise the categories of some of their enterprises. Such tendencies should be attacked as harmful to our economy and unacceptable to our socialist society.

Not uncommonly, alien manifestations in the economy are the result of a superficial interpretation and application of the relations between centralism and democracy, between unified management and the line of the masses. This has led to the weakening of the demand to render account, and of the strict supervision of the performance of tasks, and to a flagrant breach

of discipline. These are also the most obvious and widespread consequences of liberalism in the economy.

The Central Committee has more than once insisted that plans should be fulfilled not only in quantity, but also with regard to range, and in full conformity with the requirements of technical standards and conditions. In general now from year to year there is a perceptible improvement; greater efforts have been made to conform strictly to the state plan and its requirements, and a more correct understanding of the need to fulfil completely all the indices of the plan and production is evident. But in practice, it happens that production is aimed at and carried out only in overall figures while thousands of tons of chromium and coal, thousands of metres of textiles, several thousand pairs of shoes, and many ready-made garments have been produced contrary to technical conditions and standards, burdening our economy with stockpiled goods, surplus products and rejects. Although there are also shortages in the range of consumer goods, at the beginning of this year the trade enterprises had about 250 million leks of goods above the norm. The unsold textiles, clothes and shoes on the market have a tendency to increase. Even though over 46 million leks worth of goods have been priced below cost during these last two years, certain enterprises and branches still continue to turn out low quality goods.

Taking advantage of our socialist democracy, certain unconscientious people gravely violate work discipline. They go to and from work whenever they please, stop work whenever they like and hang around the enterprise having no regard for the rules and regulations of work. Last year an average of 3,000 workers were absent without reason every day; thousands of peasants did not report to work, while a quarter of all cooperativists completed less than 200 work days, at a time when much of the work in agriculture is not done in time and is not of good quality. The work time is not fully utilized in the state administration either.

There are people who, in the name of democracy and the line of the masses, oppose the attempts of the leaders of the Party, the government and the economy to establish order and discipline. Democratic centralism requires, as Lenin explained, and as our

Party has continually emphasized, that decisions should be taken jointly after discussions and free exchange of ideas in the most democratic way and in a revolutionary spirit. But once they have been taken, each person should be fully responsible for the tasks assigned to him, and carry out and respect the discipline of the plan, technical and work discipline. In demanding this account, democratic centralism is expressed in the constant implementation of unified management, and obedience to the orders of the superior, the director who has been charged by the state, by the class in power, to see to it that the economic policy of the Party is carried out consistently and without errors. Any lenient or sentimental attitude is harmful and alien. The greater rights and competences become, the greater become the tasks and responsibilities of everyone to carry them out.

During these recent months, when the working class rose up and sharply criticized the faults and shortcomings observed, better order was established everywhere, work discipline was considerably strengthened, control and the demand for account increased and in general mobilization and determination to reach the planned objectives increased. Does not this indicate that all the possibilities and all the objective and subjective conditions exist for the speedy and determined elimination of all difficulties and obstacles, so that all our work may be raised to a higher level, and our economy always forge ahead incessantly at a fast rate?

From every point of view, the working class constitutes the foundation of our socialist construction and its decisive factor. It is up to the working class to direct, to exercise its control and influence on the general framework of the state as well as directly at all levels of the economy and state administration. The results achieved in this direction are evident. The struggle of the Party against bureaucratism would not have had such breadth and depth if the working class had not risen up with revolutionary courage, if its mass, direct control had not been exercised everywhere and over everybody. Therefore it is absolutely essential for us to extend and enforce this control over all the manifestations of liberalism in the economy. As the Party has emphasized, workers' control should cover all spheres of our social activity. But it should also be exercised as self-control

within the ranks of the class. The more powerfully and irreconcilably the class struggle is waged within its own ranks against liberalism and any other manifestations of alien ideology, the more effective will be workers' control from the bottom up, within and outside the enterprise.

Placing the stress on direct workers' control neither excludes nor replaces state control, which is an inseparable attribute of the leading organizational activity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In recent times, however, there have appeared at various levels of the state and economic apparatus a number of indications of underestimation of the need to demand account, and a failure to face people with their responsibility. This tendency, both harmful and dangerous, has opened the way to alien stands and activities in economic administration, and to a spirit of concessions and weak discipline in the performance of tasks, and to a certain extent has encouraged these.

Practice shows that anti-state economic activities are not only rarely denounced to the relevant organs, but even when they are, the culprits get by unscathed, no administrative measures are taken against them and a mild, opportunist stand is maintained towards them. Why does an economic manager turn a blind eye when unconscientious people damage socialist property, receive more than their share and appropriate the people's property? Does he not understand that through such leniency and liberal attitudes he causes great harm to the interests of socialism and to those who perpetrate such damage and abuses?

It must also be said that the organs of justice themselves have not always carried out well their duty of applying economic legislation against any anti-socialist activity. They have made concessions and have shown themselves to be sentimental and indecisive, opening the way to repeated actions which harm our economy and our society.

The Party has always instructed us not to forget for one moment that our socialist construction develops in the course of class struggle, of contradictions, and of various difficulties and obstacles. To overcome them requires without fail the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, organization, order, discipline and responsibility. Therefore state control, combined as well as possible with workers' control, should be

enforced at all levels, from the centre to the base, in all its forms — administrative, juridical, financial, banking, etc. It should be systematic, thorough and effective, in order to fight alien manifestations and prevent shortcomings and faults.

A fundamental principle of our socialist construction is reliance on our own resources. This principle has deeply penetrated the spirit and heart of our working people, who are characterized by their boundless faith in their own energies and in their revolutionary initiative and activities. Boldly applying the principle of reliance on their own efforts, our workers, cooperativists, engineering cadres, technicians and economic managers have honourably carried out difficult and complicated tasks, and have surmounted many difficulties. This great principle and this revolutionary spirit are also being forcefully expressed during the accomplishment of the tasks of the 5th five-year plan. From the major undertakings down to the smallest workshops, the workers have multiplied their efforts to simplify designs and work processes, to set up new machinery and equipment in the country, and to reduce imports. Reliance on our own resources is expressed especially in the general growth of the creative spirit of rationalizations and savings, in the increase of emulation for the purpose of building and producing quickly, well and cheaply. There is no doubt that the experience gained in this direction will be further enriched, and will be taken well into account, especially during the working out of the draft plan for the 6th five-year period from 1976 to 1980.

But we would be overcome by an unpardonable sense of self-satisfaction if we failed to see, behind what has been attained, those alien manifestations which have appeared in the question of the correct interpretation and application of the principle of relying on one's own efforts.

For the sake of over-fulfilling the production plan, raw materials and other materials are consumed above the plan by using security reserves, contrary to the regulations laid down. In spite of the instructions issued by the Central Committee and the government, according to which the efforts of the working collectives should be centred, primarily and above all, on over-fulfilling the plan for those articles which can be produced with raw materials that are available and not scarce in the country, in

many cases this is not done. Why should we allow the possibilities created by the lower consumption of scarce or imported materials to be used for the purpose of exceeding plan targets and not for the purpose of adding to and strengthening operative reserves, as the Party has repeatedly emphasized? It goes without saying that those economic managers and party organizations which allow such acts have not grasped the essence of the principle of relying on one's own resources and the special conditions which the capitalist-revisionist encirclement imposes on us.

It is from this angle that we should view those cases and individuals who, for all equipment or machinery needed, for every problem they have to solve in the enterprise, in the cooperative, in the district or in the ministry, do not rack their brains, but resort to the easier course and turn their eyes abroad. They have on the tip of their tongues the request for hard currency or to go abroad, allegedly for the purpose of getting acquainted with advanced experience, instead of turning to the possibilities of local experience, instead of multiplying their efforts to solve with their own resources the problems which arise. It is especially disturbing when such inclinations are supported without profound study by certain cadres in the leading organs of the economy and state. In addition to the economic harm, to the spending of hard currency without a criterion, they wittingly or unwittingly cultivate erroneous concepts among people, spread a spirit of inactivity, a spirit of turning our eyes towards imports and being free when it is a question of the money of the state.

The government has taken steps and set aside funds so that our people may have the possibility to get acquainted in one way or another with the achievements of science and technology outside the country. But these funds should be used in the most efficient way, to acquire and learn first and foremost those things which our economy needs most, which can be applied under our conditions and which have a speedy and considerable economic effect. In this sense it is necessary to block the way to the initiatives of people who, without a knowledge of our reality and possibilities, only because they have seen something somewhere in some book, submit reports and "big projects" without

stopping to think that to carry these out would require hundreds of thousands and sometimes even millions of dollars.

An analysis of these faults and shortcomings shows that to a considerable extent they are also the results of concessions on the part of many leading cadres, from the base to the centre. Everyone is punishable for violation of the laws and norms which regulate all the activity of our society and are firmly based on our Marxist-Leninist ideology. But when these laws and norms are not respected and applied to the letter by the cadres, great harm is caused to our economy and to the whole work of the Party. Therefore our cadres coming from the ranks of the masses, imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology and tempered on the anvil of the Party, should properly understand and assess their role and responsibility, draw correct and rigorous conclusions and duties for themselves and for the masses, and weigh up all their day-to-day activity in the balance of class consciousness.

Establishing order and proletarian discipline everywhere and in everything is primarily a question of the consciousness, education, conviction and tempering of the working masses, a question of organization and the strict application of state laws and norms. In this direction, the need also arises for the trade unions to review and further improve their work. Progress in this direction is evident. But the shortcomings that have been observed must also be faced squarely, assessed properly and fought against without hesitation.

In the activity of the trade unions a sense of self-satisfaction is evident, and this has fed some manifestations of formalism in their work. The fundamental duty of the trade unions is to educate the working class, to raise its political and ideological awareness, to organize and mobilize the workers in the struggle for socialist construction, and to involve them actively in the running of the country. The trade unions should not yield to various pressures to deal with current economic issues on a technical and administrative level, for that would alienate them from their fundamental task, as has occurred in some cases. From this standpoint, the trade union organizations should not be content merely with the general results the working class achieves in production, but should be seriously concerned and fight even better against alien attitudes towards work and

property, such as breaches of discipline, damage and misuse of collective property, low quality products, the maintenance of low norms, etc., which also express a lack of effective educational work.

On the other hand, the trade unions should not view the worker only in his work relations, but also in his social and family life, as a citizen and parent. A worker should set an example not only in the factory and at work but outside it too, at home, in the street, in society and everywhere.

The accomplishment of this task requires careful and specific work. It does not tolerate either formalism or ostentatious work. In their struggle to integrate themselves with the masses, the trade union organs should in no way yield to the petty-bourgeois pressures of workers or individual groups of ideologically immature workers, but should strive to raise the masses to be at the height of the mission of the working class. The Party has emphasized that the working class must be taken as it is. Within its ranks there are also people who have not yet acquired the real features of the class, who violate work regulations and the norms of society. Therefore, without giving up in any way their method of persuasion and education as the only method in all their activity, the trade unions should fight to enforce respect for and strict application of the state laws and established regulations. On the other hand, they must also protect in a better and more determined way the basic interests of the working class. In this context, they should fight against any bureaucratic distortion which violates the rights of workers, rising up determinedly against anyone who violates state laws, be he a director or a worker.

In particular the trade unions are called upon to eliminate their deficiencies and further improve their educational work to temper the working class ideologically and politically. Parallel with strengthening the system of workers' education, the political life of the trade union organization should be further invigorated, educational work should be more closely linked with the problems that arise from practice and the spirit of irreconcilability with shortcomings, criticism and self-criticism should be developed broadly within the organization. All this work should help develop socialist emulation, and strengthen

initiatives and political, ideological, economic, cultural and social activities, using a variety of forms.

The discussions that have recently taken place about these problems have been a new stimulus for the organizations of the Party and of the masses, for the organs of the economy and of the state power, for all the working people of town and countryside, for those who think deeply and denounce in a sound spirit of criticism and self-criticism alien manifestations and trends of liberalism in the economy, and take steps to intensify the battle against them.

Throughout our country, in town and countryside, within the ranks of the working class and the labouring peasantry, criticism of shortcomings has turned into a mobilizing force and has aroused enthusiasm and optimism. A general rise has been observed in all sectors of the economy. A perceptible improvement in work and in the performance of duties can be seen everywhere. The results attained so far are very encouraging. The state plan is being fulfilled successfully. While substantial deficits had been created during the first two months of this year in many enterprises, by the end of May the industrial production plan for five months was fulfilled by 101 percent, while for six months it is expected to be fulfilled by 101.4 percent. All these results testify to the high political awareness of our working people, of our working class and cooperative peasantry, who are carrying out in their work the correct line and stand of our Party. But all these and other results achieved should be viewed only as a new, encouraging advance in the continuous struggle which the Party and all the working people should wage incessantly in order to advance the economy and the whole socialist construction of our country.

THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND THE COMMUNISTS SHOULD STAND IN THE FOREFRONT OF STRUGGLE AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS OF ALIEN IDEOLOGY

Our Party has never concealed shortcomings and weaknesses, it has not been afraid to denounce them openly and courageously before the communists and people. It has acted in this way in the

past, and it is acting in this way today. Our criticisms in no way obscure the magnificent successes the Party has scored in all spheres of socialist construction of the country. They are further proof of the seriousness of our Party, of its strength and its close ties with the people. The authority of the Party and the people's trust in it have never been higher or stronger than they are today.

The party line has been and is a correct, revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist one, but its directives on certain important issues dealt with in this report have not always been interpreted and implemented correctly, and have even been distorted. All this has happened before the very eyes of many communists, cadres and party organizations and committees. But why has it been allowed to happen? Why have certain comrades tended towards a one-sided interpretation of the party directives? Why have many alien manifestations been disregarded and the struggle against them slackened? The principal source of the evil should be looked for in the liberalization of concepts and attitudes on a number of important issues. And this evil should be rooted out.

Liberalism does not fall from the sky, it is the product of the ideological pressure of internal and external enemies who aim to undermine the people's state power and socialism. But the appearance of this phenomenon and especially the extent to which it spreads, depends a lot on the work of the Party, on the understanding of its danger, and on the struggle the Party wages for the revolutionary education and tempering of the communists and working people. The fact that this phenomenon has not become a widespread disease in our Party is a clear indication of its vigilance and the correct fight it has waged and continues to wage. Nevertheless, the manifestations of liberalism in the life of our society which we are criticizing today must be viewed in close connection with those manifestations of liberalism which have appeared in the life and activity of the Party itself. It must be stressed that this problem has been dealt with only very little in the meetings of the basic organizations.

Where is liberalism expressed in the life of the Party?

In the first place, in the fact that in many basic organizations there does not always exist a full sense of responsibility, both on the part of the organization as a whole, and in each individual

communist, in applying the party line in all the spheres of life within its jurisdiction. In certain sectors like that of art, culture and education, the party basic organizations have not always played their leading role at the head of the work. They have not dealt with the fundamental problems of the content of the activity of these institutions, and have not exerted their influence and control to see whether the party line is being correctly interpreted and applied. Harm has been done in this direction by erroneous concepts according to which the problems of art and culture are questions which mainly concern specialists, and the party organizations have no need to bother much about them.

Undoubtedly the opinion of the specialists should be listened to and respected, for they have emerged from among the people, they are people of the Party, educated with its teachings. But the basic organizations bear full responsibility in all cases for the correct application of the party line. The communists cannot be required to know in detail the technical and artistic aspects, but it is their fundamental duty to protect the line. Every communist should be a specialist of the party line. And it is a fact that when the party organizations of the cultural-artistic institutions seriously involved themselves in analyzing the work of these institutions, they showed that they are fully capable of treating thoroughly and solving correctly the problems of the ideological content of the activities of their sectors.

It is essential for it to be thoroughly understood in principle and realized well in practice that the consolidation of the leading role of the basic organizations is a permanent and vital task of the Party, for its leading role is realized through them. The improvements are great, but there are still many organizations which lead a lukewarm party life. Routine and daily practice cause certain basic organizations to engage in current issues, like the agricultural calendar, and not become involved as they should in the fundamental ideological and political problems, in the education of the people.

Then there are basic organizations which, even when examining problems, be they ideological and political, or economic, often do not treat them politically, do not go deeply into ideological causes when faults and shortcomings appear, do not specify the right measures to eliminate them, and do not do

enough to open up opportunities for the working people.

Liberalism in the internal life of the basic organizations also has its source in the failure to implement the norms of the Party. Not all are well acquainted with the Constitution in which the norms and principles of the Party are synthesized. Precisely here lies the source of the absence of militant criticism and self-criticism, the inadequate concern about and responsibility for party meetings, weaknesses in calling for account and so on.

In many cases very little has been done in taking decisions. There are even basic organizations which take no decisions whatsoever, while others take them in general terms. This prevents the communists from being active and drawing up tasks, and as a consequence discipline in the Party leaves much to be desired. In this way too the control over the performance of tasks is greatly weakened.

A perceptible, positive change is evident now that the basic organizations have discussed the recent party materials. Many important problems have been raised and a thorough analysis of the work has been made at their meetings. The communists spoke openly, and with courage made self-criticism for their faults and shortcomings, and forcefully criticized alien phenomena and manifestations. This stirred up many party organizations and placed them in a sound revolutionary position.

But one thing should concern us here. Why are so many problems allowed to accumulate, why is a meeting needed for everything to come pouring out, why should we wait for a stimulus from the top in order to grasp and deal with the problems that preoccupy us? Many communists have noticed alien manifestations in literature and art, in schools and work centres, and even in their own families. But some have maintained an indifferent attitude, they have not spoken out, they have not come to grips with them, but have waited for someone else to solve them, just as there have been others who have reconciled themselves with these manifestations.

These are not revolutionary attitudes, and they do not conform to party norms. The Party requires that not only every communist, but every working person should say his word openly and without fear, not be an onlooker but react and take

action when he sees that the directives of the Party and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat are violated or distorted, when freedom and proletarian democracy are subject to abuse and speculation.

Liberalism in the work of the Party is also manifested in an incorrect understanding of the vanguard role of the communist in carrying out his task. In many basic organizations, the communist is not called upon to render account about how he carries out his task as a political militant and social activist, or how he does his duty in the job assigned to him, whether he stands out among the non-party workers, or whether he sets a personal example and inspires the non-party workers around him so that they too work as they should to carry out their tasks fully.

The communist, whether a worker, peasant, soldier, or intellectual, should be an ardent fighter for the defence and implementation of the party line. No communist, whatever his profession may be, can be different from others, nor can this be justified by any kind of specific features of a job or sector. But there are communists, especially in the sectors of art and culture, who allow themselves all kinds of pretensions, who, unlike others, do not render account for work done, feel offended when criticized, and become revengeful. There are also some communists employed in central institutions who reduce the work of the Party solely to their participation in the meetings of the basic organization, and think they have done their job merely by fulfilling their state functions.

It is not enough for a communist to be correct and in the vanguard only at work. He should be so in all his activity, in all his life. How can communists whose children turn into hooligans, vagabonds, and purveyors of extravagant bourgeois fashions and tastes, be in the vanguard and set an example for others? The image of a communist is unified and indivisible, and as such it should be manifested everywhere and at every time.

Within the ranks of the Party, due to alien influences, to admissions sometimes made without a sound criterion, and to inadequate educational work, there are inactive communists who do not carry out the tasks of the Party, and who by their conduct exert a bad influence on the masses, and lower the

revolutionary moral image of the communist. These communists should be shaken out of their lethargy, criticized and assisted to correct themselves through struggle and work, and steps should be taken against those who keep lagging behind, going as far as expelling them from the Party, for they infect the life of the Party and hinder its revolutionization.

Our Party has brought up and educated a whole army of cadres devoted to the cause of socialism and revolution, loyal to the people and to Marxism-Leninism. Cadres make up a great treasury of the Party and of the people. They bear heavy burdens on their shoulders, and have successfully solved and continue to solve major problems of socialist construction and the defence of the country. In the future, too, the Party should continue to show concern that the cadres should always be politically and ideologically pure, closely attached to the masses, and firm fighters for the progress and strengthening of our socialist Homeland.

The bitter experience of the Soviet Union shows that the danger which comes from a weakening of the revolutionary spirit of cadres is very great. It also proved that the possibility of the degeneration of cadres comes from two sides, both from bureaucratism and from liberalism, two phenomena which are closely related and influence each other.

It must be admitted that in the discussion of the recent materials of the Party, the basic organizations have not attached the necessary attention to the analysis of the work of our cadres in connection with all those manifestations of liberalism which have been denounced. Alien phenomena in the economy, art and culture, in the life of the Party and of society, etc., have rightly been criticized. Are these connected with the work of the cadres? Can responsibility fall only on the worker who showed himself to be undisciplined or who tried to keep the norms low, or only on the peasant who did not turn up for work, and the pupil or student who abandoned school and studies? No, the cadres who have permitted these alien manifestations and have not fought against them are also to blame. And this has happened because the spirit of liberalism, leniency and toleration has also appeared among the cadres themselves. This is what should preoccupy the Party most, because the views, attitudes and activities of the

cadres subsequently have serious consequences among the masses. When a cadre makes one concession, when he shows himself to be liberal on one issue, others allow themselves ten. If a cadre, whatever reasons urge him to it, violates the law or the written or unwritten norms of the Party, shows favouritism, or treats the property of the cooperative as though it were his own, then he cannot be surprised when others also carry out such harmful activities. Facts show that alien influences also affect cadres, that their consciousness also becomes dusty. Therefore, this dust must be eliminated. The best thing is not to do it once with an upheaval, but by brushing it every day, just as we brush our clothes every morning.

Our cadres should always abide by the state laws and party norms, they should be exemplary at work and in their personal life, listen to the voice of the masses and live among them. The Party has always demanded that cadres render account for their activity regularly to the masses, and that the latter should exercise constant control over the work, conduct and attitude of the cadres.

Taking into account the important role the cadre plays in the advancement of work in all fields and at all levels, it is necessary to fight firmly against those manifestations of liberalism and subjectivism which are often met with in the selection and appointment of cadres, when judgement is often made about them on the basis of an occasional contact or a discussion at a meeting, when the tastes and personal inclinations of certain directors predominate, directors who want to have subordinates in their own image, prepared to do whatever the person in charge orders, and when cadres are selected on the basis of nepotism, family relations and friendship.

Special attention should be devoted to the strict application of the party directives on the circulation of cadres and their participation in productive work, because manifestations of liberalism have also been met with here. We must reject all those justifications, obstacles and difficulties which are brought up to hinder the circulation of cadres and their participation in production work under the pretext of the specific features and particular nature of certain jobs, or of the alleged impossibility of replacing some people, which are in fact expressions of

intellectualist and technocratic concepts.

In this report we have already spoken of the weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the mass organizations, and especially of the youth and the trade unions. Of course, the mass organizations and their leading organs themselves have responsibility for these shortcomings, but greater responsibility falls on the Party, which guides and directs these organizations. In reality no party organization or committee has submitted to the Central Committee any report or information about the situation in the youth organization. Since the directives of the Party about work with the youth have always been correct and clear-cut, why have the party committees and organizations allowed them to be violated and distorted? Why have they allowed a situation where many youth organizations do not meet for months at a stretch, meetings of plenums and conferences fail, admission into the youth organization becomes formal, and the ideopolitical and educational work becomes weak?

Lessons should be drawn from this. The fact that the mass organizations have their own leading forums from the base to the centre in no way excludes the duty and the responsibility of the party organizations and committees to direct and guide these organizations. The Party is in favour of the development of initiative and independent activity in the mass organizations, but this should be done according to the line and under the leadership of the Party. We are opposed to tutelage and to dictatorial methods, but at the same time we are opposed to any weakening, however slight, of the Party's leadership in the mass organizations. Just as in the whole life of the country, the leading role of the Party should also be enhanced and strengthened in the mass organizations.

Apparently there still exists a wrong idea in many party organizations and committees about the place and role of the mass organizations, about the problems that concern these organizations and the various strata and categories of working people that they represent. Therefore the care and aid given to them by the party organization is often below the necessary level. Horizons are not opened to them, the party directives are not fully explained and the necessary control is not exercised over their activities.

During the discussion of the recent materials of the Party, many comments were made about activating the communists in the mass organizations. Many communists are absent from the meetings of the Democratic Front. Many young people sever their relations with the youth organization once they have become members of the Party. We have thousands of women communists, but they do not militate as they should in the women's organization. There are also communists who try to avoid being elected to the leading organs of the mass organizations.

Here we have to deal with a serious phenomenon, with a manifestation of indifference and with a kind of feeling of superiority and conceit which is created among certain communists once they have been admitted to the Party. Apparently the need for the Party to be linked with the masses and for the communists to be outstanding social activists is not thoroughly understood. Social labour as an unpaid job is an element of communism, and it is precisely here that the communists should distinguish themselves first and foremost.

The Party should take a special interest in educating the activists of the mass organizations, on whose work the activity of these organizations greatly depends. They make up a great army of social activists who work tirelessly and with devotion for the cause of the Party, and who constitute an inexhaustible source for the extension of the ranks of the Party and for the training of its cadres.

The party leadership, as we have stressed at other times, is primarily a political-ideological leadership. This means that the Party must engage in broad ideopolitical work for a correct understanding of its directives and to make workers conscientious in carrying them out. This is a very wide field of party work, with decisive importance. Many weaknesses and shortcomings which we are criticizing have their source precisely in the weaknesses of this work, in its superficiality and one-sidedness, lack of contact with life, formalism, and frequently general character. If there have been narrow and one-sided interpretations of the capitalist and revisionist geographical encirclement, of centralism and of democracy, of state control and workers' control, of rights and obligations, of the

emancipation of women, if there have been misunderstandings and distortions of certain issues in the field of literature and art, education and culture, this shows that in many cases the directives of the Party have not been analyzed in a full and all-round way, theoretically and practically, and hence they have not been properly embodied in the daily activity of the communists and working people, and there have been vacillations from one side to the other, taking up one aspect and neglecting the other.

In our country these one-sided interpretations and attitudes, the passage from one side to the other, from conservatism to liberalism and vice-versa, also have a real basis in the petty-bourgeois character inherited from the past, which we cannot say has been totally eliminated.

The petty-bourgeoisie is inclined to leave one problem and take up another, to seize upon one aspect and neglect another, and to pass from one extreme to the other. Petty-bourgeois ideology and psychology, which are deeply rooted in our country, are a basis of support for both the old patriarchal, feudal and religious ideologies, and for the present bourgeois-revisionist ideology, and the bridge which connects conservatism and liberalism, and nourishes and encourages them.

This means that the party committees and organizations should delve deeper into ideological problems and deal with them better, for we see that in practice the party directives are not explained and understood properly, problems and phenomena are not deeply analyzed from the ideological and political point of view, few issues of this nature are taken up for discussion, and often the committees and organizations are overwhelmed with the daily routine of minor issues. It is here that we should see one of the main faults of the work of the Party regarding the problems we are discussing. If this fault is not properly understood, it is difficult to correct the defects and weaknesses we are criticizing, and to have our affairs run smoothly.

It is necessary to form a more correct understanding of the work of the Party in general and of its educational work in particular. Despite the great role education plays, it cannot be made an absolute. In fact, overestimating educational work and the level of consciousness has led in many cases to the weakening of organizational, administrative, technical and economic

measures which became the cause of various liberal manifestations in attitudes towards work and property, towards learning and carrying out duties, towards organization and control, demanding account and so on.

The work of the Party is very complex, because the life which it directs and leads is complex. This means that various problems cannot be solved by appealing only to people's consciousness, and even education cannot be achieved only through lectures and conferences. In life problems are solved through a complexity of political, economic, educational and cultural, organizational and administrative measures. It is in this complexity that people are educated, and their revolutionary consciousness is tempered.

The duty of the Party is to raise the masses to its level of consciousness. But we should be realists, taking into account the degree of consciousness reached by the masses, and not confounding it with the consciousness of the vanguard, or demanding of them what we can and should demand of the most advanced section of the class and of the masses, which is organized in the Party. This should never be forgotten when we set new tasks, otherwise the vanguard marches very far ahead, and detaches itself from the masses, which in turn leads to serious consequences.

Like all the work of the Party, its directives form a single unity, and should never be taken apart from each other. It would be a mistake to think that previous directives of the Party on the struggle against bureaucratism and the development of democracy, on workers' control and the fight against arbitrariness, on the correct relations that should exist between the Party, the class and the masses, on the revolutionization of the school and the army, etc., have been left aside and are no longer valid. The stand of the Party is consistent, and there are no contradictions in its directives. It would be an entirely erroneous practice in the methods of our work if, when a new directive is issued, a new decision taken or a new speech delivered, all the previous ones are left aside. This leads both to work by campaigns, and to a one-sided view of problems.

Therefore, the struggle against liberalism and conservatism, too, must be waged in a correct way. Conservative elements would like to wage the struggle against liberalism from their

position, just as the liberal elements tried to exploit the struggle against conservatism in order to spread liberalism. The only right stand on this issue is that both the struggle against liberalism and that against conservatism can be waged successfully only from a principled Marxist-Leninist position.

If this problem is not rightly understood, there is a danger that now when we are fighting against manifestations of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and against liberal attitudes, we may make mistakes and maintain an inflexible, sectarian and extremist attitude. We emphasize this because there are certain people, including cadres, who think that the time has now come to tighten the grip, who are inclined towards administrative measures, who want to revive arrogance and arbitrariness and to substitute them for the persuasive educational work of the Party.

In talking about the weaknesses in the work of the Party, important tasks also emerge for the apparatus of the Central Committee, for all its sectors. In its work, the apparatus has made perceptible improvements and achieved good results. But the manifestations of liberalism and the spread of alien influences show that it also has many weaknesses. Often engrossed in current affairs, the apparatus of the Central Committee has not shown the necessary concern to see broadly how the party policy is being implemented in various fields. The lack of deep, all-round analysis of the party directives, especially in their political and ideological aspects, has had an influence in this, as well as the failure to organize systematic and qualified control over the implementation of the decisions of the Party. The task of effectively improving the method and style of work lies before both the party organizations and committees, and before the different sectors of the Central Committee.

The issues we are raising at this Plenum are closely related to a major cardinal problem, the correct understanding and development of the class struggle. The Party has long made it clear that class struggle is one of the principal motive forces of our socialist society, that it is a very broad struggle which is waged in all fields, both against external and internal enemies and within the ranks of the people and of the Party, and that under the present conditions the class struggle on the ideological

front assumes great importance.

In our country the class struggle has developed correctly, and that is why all the plans of the enemy have failed and our revolution has always forged ahead. It is in this struggle that the Party has been strengthened and tempered, that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been consolidated, that the solidarity of the Party with the working class and the working masses has been further strengthened, and that the revolutionary awareness of the people has been raised. But this does not mean that there are not faults and weaknesses in the understanding of class struggle and in its development. In practice we have come up against many superficial, narrow and one-sided interpretations, moderation of the class struggle, underestimation of the enemies, an inadequate knowledge of their present tactics, and indifferent and opportunist attitudes.

A lot of carelessness has been noticed in the work of military training. Many absences from training occurred, and it was very formal, both on the part of those who participated, and of the officers who directed military drills. Now this primary duty must have been better understood, for in recent drills participation has been over 90 percent. In a number of districts defence work which had been left undone for years on end has been completed through mass actions within a few days. This interest and mobilization must be kept up in the future, and raised further.

In some cases there have been quite unpardonable occurrences in the field of vigilance towards internal class enemies. From the discussions it emerged that opportunist attitudes were maintained towards elements with a bad political attitude. There have been cases when even communists have gone "to congratulate" a person who has just been freed from jail after being imprisoned for hostile activity! Formerly, especially in the border regions, every foreigner who came in was asked to produce documents, while now in many cases no one is interested in doing this, etc.

To adhere or not to adhere to the class struggle, to have a full or superficial knowledge of it, to wage it frontally or in a one-sided way, to wage it in a correct revolutionary way or to weaken it and make concessions, is a vital problem on which the future of socialism depends. Our enemies want us to weaken our vigilance,

to relax our class struggle. But what should we do? The opposite. We should intensify our vigilance and consistently wage the class struggle in order to protect the victories we have achieved, and to make our Homeland, socialist Albania, even stronger and more invincible, for the good of the people and the cause of socialism.

* * *

The Party did not invent the problems it has raised — they were the preoccupation of the working class and of all the working people. The Party did nothing but analyze these preoccupations which the class and the masses had expressed in various forms, and bring them before them, showing both the danger and the way to overcome the negative phenomena which had appeared in the healthy life of our socialist society.

During these months, great work has been done by the Party. The discussion of these problems has become a veritable school for the education of communists and of the masses. But let us not think that now everything has been settled once and for all. If we were to judge in this way, we would make a grave mistake. The struggle against the manifestations of alien ideologies is not a campaign but a continuous, protracted struggle. Our Party, the working class and all the working people should never stop this struggle. If our vigilance is weakened, these or other alien manifestations will crop up again tomorrow. There is not nor can there be an ideological vacuum. If our ideology fails to fill it, the vacuum will be filled by alien ideology.

The struggle we are waging against manifestations of alien ideology and liberal attitudes towards them is further enriching the experience of our Party and the method and style of its work. In the future too, we will lay openly before the masses the problems that preoccupy us, and solve them together, just as we have always done. We should by no means stop at long discussions, but should take concrete steps and exercise strict control over their implementation. We should arouse the masses and subject the activity of the Party to the open criticism and self-criticism of the communists and the working people.

All this experience should serve us to keep always high the revolutionary spirit in the Party and among the masses, their vigilance and military preparedness, their drive and mobilization

at work, in order to accomplish successfully the major tasks that lie before us, to consolidate our independence, to protect our Homeland, develop our economy and our national culture, and always promote the cause of the revolution and socialism.

Speeches, 1971-1973

GREETING TO COMRADE MAO TSETUNG

*Message on the Occasion of the 80th Birthday
of Comrade Mao Tsetung*

December 1973

Comrade Mao Tsetung,

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of China,

Very Dear Comrade Mao Tsetung,

I feel extremely happy, on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA, of the communists, of the entire Albanian people and in my own name, to extend to you the most ardent greetings and best wishes stemming from our hearts on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of your birthday.

The Albanian communists and people see in your person the glorious leader of the heroic Communist Party of China and of the fraternal Chinese people, the most beloved and respected friend of the Albanian people, the great Marxist-Leninist, the tested and unbent fighter against imperialism, modern revisionism and Soviet social-imperialism as well as against the reactionaries of all hues.

You, dear Comrade Mao Tsetung, founded the great Communist Party of China, you led it and the fraternal, valiant and freedom-loving Chinese people through protracted legendary class struggles, in the great historic victory over the forces of internal reaction and imperialism and in the construction of the great People's Republic of China. Under the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party of China, headed with wisdom by you, new China was transformed into a powerful colossus of socialism and fortress which cannot be conquered by the enemies; she became defender and inspirer of the oppressed and exploited peoples of all the world.

You, Comrade Mao Tsetung, launched and led personally the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the triumph of which is a great victory, not only national, but also international, of Marxism-Leninism, of the cause of socialism and communism, and a source of inspiration to the entire revolutionary movement of the world. The Cultural Revolution smashed the treacherous line of the renegade Liu Shao-chi and consolidated the victories of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. Under your direct leadership, the Communist Party of China also discovered and smashed the dangerous counter-revolutionary plot of the anti-party clique of the bourgeois careerist, plotter and renegade Lin Biao.

The great Chinese people, implementing your instruction "*grasp revolution, promote production*", have achieved magnificent successes in the creation of a modern industry, of an advanced agriculture, of a science and technology of a world level, of a flourishing education and culture and of an invincible defensive potential, equipped with the most powerful weapons. Today, People's China enjoys an incomparable authority and plays a great role and exerts a great influence in the international arena. She rises as a granite-like mountain, as an impregnable barricade of revolution, of freedom of the peoples and of socialism. The Chinese communists and the entire Chinese people, illuminated by your great Marxist-Leninist ideas, tempered in the fierce class battles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and resolutely implementing the decisions of the historic 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China, are advancing by giant strides on the brilliant road for new, still greater victories in the uninterrupted development of the revolution and in the socialist construction of the country.

You, dear Comrade Mao Tsetung, as a great theoretician and strategist of revolution, in an irreconcilable struggle with the various opportunist trends, "Rightist" and "Leftist", especially with the dangerous preachings of the Khrushchevite revisionists, who have betrayed the cause of revolution and communism, loyally and courageously defended the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. As an outstanding follower of the great teachers of the world proletariat, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, you further developed and enriched creatively, in compliance

with the conditions of China and the features of the present epoch, the Marxist-Leninist science in the field of philosophy, of the development of the proletarian party, of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle and of the struggle against imperialism, of the problems of the construction of socialist society. Your teachings on continuing the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry to final victory the socialist construction and bar the road to the danger of the restoration of capitalism, in whatever form and wherever it comes from, constitute a valuable contribution of great international value to the theory and practice of scientific socialism. Your works are a real revolutionary school for all the Marxist-Leninists and working people.

The Albanian communists and the entire people highly estimate your outstanding contribution to the strengthening and steeling of the great revolutionary friendship between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, between our two countries and our two peoples, who will always be connected as one body and one heart in their common struggle for the cause of socialism and revolution. They will always find in each other the revolutionary strength and inspiration for victories over our common enemies. A great source of inspiration will remain for the Albanian people your unforgettable words in the message to the 5th Congress of the PLA that *"come what may in the world, our two parties and our two peoples will certainly be together, will fight together and will win together."*

On this occasion, dear Comrade Mao Tsetung, we wholeheartedly wish you good health, long life, live as long as the mountains for the good of the Communist Party of China, of the fraternal Chinese people, of progressive mankind, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and socialism and communism throughout the world.

Enver Hoxha

First Secretary of the CC of the Party
of Labour of Albania.

*Albanian Telegraphic Agency
News Bulletin, December 24, 1973*

**THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT ARE OF THE
OPINION TO ENTRUST TO THE YOUTH THE
CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW FIER-BALLSH
RAILWAY**

*Greeting to the Volunteers Who Took Part in the
Construction of the Elbasan-Prrrenjas Railway*

March 8, 1974

To all the volunteers who took part in the construction of the
Elbasan-Prrrenjas Railway,

Dear women and men comrades,

I learned with great satisfaction the happy tiding on the successful conclusion of your great action — the construction of the Elbasan-Prrrenjas Railway. This is another brilliant victory of our wonderful youth, of our construction workers, engineers and technicians, it is another great achievement of our people's power. On this occasion, on behalf of the party Central Committee, of the Council of Ministers and of the entire people, I congratulate and extend to you my warmest and revolutionary greetings.

The construction of the Elbasan-Prrrenjas Railway is a new manifestation of the ardent patriotism of our youth, which has put all its mental and physical energies in the service of the socialist Homeland, of our heroic people. Such work in an uneven terrain, in a narrow river valley, where rocks must be split and hillocks have to be levelled, where there were difficult technical problems to be solved which are rare even for other countries having numerous technical means and large manpower, became possible to build even for us, for a Marxist-Leninist Party is in the lead, for the whole people have risen to their feet and with their sweat are building their own happiness.

Your voluntary work, men and women comrades, is a great

contribution to the construction of socialism, it is work honoured by the society, it is communist work. To work voluntarily means to strengthen socialism, to build the communist future, and this future belongs, first of all, to you, young boys and girls, therefore build it with your clear minds, with your golden hands.

Actions have become second nature to the youth. In their long chain, especially distinguished are the railways, which constitute a very important element of national transport, a powerful artery of it. These railways have been built by you, dear young men and women, they bear the seal of your enthusiasm, of your revolutionary vigour and your high patriotism. And now, you have also concluded the Elbasan-Prrenjas Railway, which is not only of great economic, but also political, importance. It will bring the iron-nickel to the giant metallurgical combine which is majestically going up in Elbasan with the fraternal aid of the great China of Chairman Mao Tsetung. This railway will play likewise an important role in the all-round progress of the Librazhd and Elbasan regions, where it will help in the further development of industry, agriculture, education and culture.

Much fatigue, much toil and many sacrifices were needed to build this railway. But our brave youth accepted with will and consciousness every difficulty and selflessly fought to overcome them. The beautiful valley of Shkumbin and the Prrenjas plain, which have witnessed the historic centuries-old events, from Ignatia road, the legendary battle of Domosdova, where the national hero, Skanderbeg, fought against the Turks, and up to the glorious battles of the national liberation struggle, have now also become witnesses to the colossal work carried out for the construction of this railway, which, with its tunnels, bridges and numerous works of art, will always remain a monumental work.

The Elbasan-Prrenjas Railway became a great school for the revolutionary education and the political, ideological and physical tempering of 140,000 young men and women workers, cooperativists, school pupils and students who took part in its construction. Their arrival at this undertaking from all parts of the country deprived the economic sectors of a great labour force. But this was not felt, because the work of those who volunteered in the construction of the railway was replaced

everywhere by other working people, who raised still higher the spirit of mobilization, organization and discipline in the implementation of the tasks. This once more demonstrated the high patriotism, the spirit of selflessness and the great readiness of the working class, cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia to devote everything to the lofty interests of the people. This once more manifested the high qualities of the communist morality of our new man, the mastering and the implementation of the teachings and the correct line of the Party.

Together with you young volunteers, also aged people, men and women, veterans and pensioners worked at this undertaking. This was another brilliant achievement of the steel-like unity of our people, who have been tempered in the trenches of the national liberation struggle and continue to be tempered still more at present, on the anvil of the struggle for the country's socialist construction.

All of you, men and women comrades, volunteers of the Elbasan-Prenjas Railway, constitute a whole army of social activists. Your high patriotic and revolutionary spirit has penetrated into schools, factories, the countryside, cultural institutions and everywhere. In the great struggle being waged by the Party for the revolutionization of the whole country's life, you have made and are making an outstanding contribution. Our youth, under the leadership of the Party, will carry the red torch of the revolution always onward towards the high peaks of socialism.

The work and the struggle of our youth is seen not only in the construction of the great works, but also in all the fields of social life and activity, one of which is ideology. In this field our youth constitutes a great shock force. Moulded with the Party's ideology, it constantly fights against old remnants, against the present-day influences of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology. Our youth counterposes to the poisonous spears of the enemies, the revolutionary ideology of its mother, the Party of Labour.

While our country is living in a brilliant situation of revolutionary vigour and constructive work, where the life of the working people is becoming ever happier and more prosperous, the capitalist world has been swept over by numerous most grave crises, by a great degeneration, by powerful class conflicts and an

all-round decline. This comparison suffices to show the strength of socialism, the correctness of the line of our glorious Party, which is leading the people on the sure road towards the brilliant future. Socialist Albania, though she lives and works in a savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement, is advancing non-stop. She is raising every day the well-being of her people. Through our steel-like strength, through the monolithic unity of the people around the Party, the heads of our enemies, the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and their satellites, have been broken and will always be broken, wherever they are.

We build up railways and a number of other large and small works in industry, agriculture, health service, education, culture, etc., but above all, throughout the country there is being forged the new man, with communist morality and qualities, capable of building socialism and defending his victories through to the end. In work, at school, in actions, in the construction of the projects of the five-year plans, you young men and women are being tempered like iron in fire, you become more conscious so that, under the leadership of the working class and the Party, you fight tirelessly for the flourishing and defence of our socialist Homeland.

The Party and the government are now preparing the new five-year plan, for the realization of which you will play a great role. In the letter you addressed to me you pledge that you will go from action to action. Knowing well your high patriotism and readiness, the Party and government are of the opinion to entrust to the glorious youth of socialist Albania, for the year 1974, the construction of the new Fier-Ballsh Railway.

I express the full conviction of the Party and of the people that you, as always, will successfully accomplish this undertaking as well.

Today the siren of the train echoes in Prenjas; tomorrow let it echo in the basin of brave Mallakastra.

Long live the Party! Long live our glorious youth!

Yours,
Enver Hoxha

*Albanian Telegraphic Agency
News Bulletin, March 9, 1974*

OUR POLICY IS AN OPEN POLICY, THE POLICY OF PROLETARIAN PRINCIPLES

*Speech Delivered at the Meeting with the Electors
of the Tirana N° 209 Precinct*

October 3, 1974

Dear comrades, brothers, and sisters

Thank you for having assigned me, the soldier of the Party, your son and brother, for deputy to the People's Assembly, and I assure you that I will serve the Party and the people as long as I live. Everything we do in common, we owe it all to the Party, to its correct Marxist-Leninist line which constitutes the basis of all the victories and the guarantee for the socialist future of our country. Glories and hymns should be sung to nobody else but to the Party and the people.

With us, the Party, the class, the masses and the leadership make up an inseparable whole. Therefore, it is only natural that elections in our country have always been and are indicative of the steel party-people unity, of the unbreakable unity of the working masses in the ranks of the Democratic Front, of the compactness of the working class, labouring peasantry, and our people's intelligentsia.

The elections to this legislature of the People's Assembly are taking place on the threshold of a significant event, the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution. On this occasion, the Party, the people's power, and our entire people can draw with pride the balance-sheet of the victories achieved so far, and view the future optimistically. The years that have elapsed have all been glorious, each leaving indelible imprints on our land, each constituting a memorial in itself.

On the marked jubilee of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland we can observe with great satisfaction that the

program of the Party for the industrialization of the country, for the collectivization of agriculture, for the promotion of the cultural revolution, and for the education of the new man, has been carried out with success through all stages and links. Today, from a thirty years' distance, we can view in its full glory and clarity the correct course steered by the Party from the very beginning in connection with these questions, the correctness of the economic policy it mapped out and implemented, the vitality of the principle of self-reliance.

Within a relatively short period of time, our people have set up a multi-branched economy which grows stronger continually and extends uninterruptedly through new sectors of modern production. A complex extracting and processing, heavy and light industry, an advanced and all-round developed agriculture, have been set up.

As a result of the colossal self-sacrificing work of our people in these thirty years, it has been possible to satisfy entirely or to a great extent the planned needs of the national economy and of the people for electric power, fuels and motor fuels, raw and auxiliary material, spare parts, and for various equipment. Our needs for home-made consumer goods are being ever better satisfied; likewise exports have assumed greater proportions not only for raw materials, but also for finished and half-processed products.

Great development has been made especially in the mining of chromium, iron, copper and other ores. The utilization of these treasures of our soil opens up new prospects for the future of our economy. We boast an advanced oil industry, with numerous and modern oil refineries. These constitute the basis for the setting up of a petrochemical industry in the not-too-distant future. Almost all local raw materials are processed at home and transformed into material goods, into fabrics, footwear, various ready-made items, alimentary products, and so on.

Outstanding achievements have been made also in the development of agriculture — this very important branch of the people's economy. Its development has been channelled along a correct line, beginning with the land reform, land improvement schemes, mechanization of work, the creation of the chemical fertilizers industry, the utilization of selected seeds, improvement

of livestock breeding, and, above all, the collectivization of agriculture up to the setting up of the higher-type cooperatives. This road led to the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which were bound to each other not only spiritually, but also economically and materially along the line of the Party, along socialist lines. Nowadays, our cooperativist countryside is making progress with each passing day, and the gap between city and country is growing ever narrower.

All this development and progress has conditioned and enabled the extension of a broad highway network which now links all the corners of the country, down to the remotest villages. Along with motor and railway transport there has also been created sea transport which links us to numerous countries of the world.

From a country in which people used to live in darkness, today Albania is a completely electrified country. Gigantic hydro-electric and thermo-electric power-plants are being added to our country from one five-year plan period to another. These plants, which utilize the internal water resources, etc., now set in motion factories and mills, and tomorrow will set in motion the big metallurgical mill which is being built in Elbasan with the fraternal aid of the People's Republic of China.

Culture and education, which have assumed a great unprecedented impetus, have been developed on Marxist-Leninist scientific bases. From our schools have already graduated an entire army of cadres emerging from the midst of the people. We boast many distinguished personalities in science, technique, and the arts.

The line of our Party has been and is directed towards having the entire superstructure of the society set up in keeping with its economic base, and serve in full the all-round development of the country towards socialism.

Of course, we cannot say that we have reached perfection in everything, but it is a fact that all our people of arts, culture, and science are closely bound with the real concrete development of socialism in our country, with the line of the Party. Not a single germ of evil experience has found breeding ground in this sound body and, whenever some evil person or enemy has endeavoured

to envenom our pure atmosphere, the prevailing lofty revolutionary spirit has exposed and done short work of him.

All these are the fruit of the labour, thinking, and sweat of the people, who are the creators, guides, and consumers of all these blessings. This is what socialism is, which the people are building and enjoying for themselves.

A clear reflection of this impetuous socialist development of the country is found in Tirana, the capital of our glorious country, which is growing and being embellished with each passing day. You are all eye-witnesses of the great transformations and realizations which have been and are being made in Tirana. The workers of our capital are coming to these new elections greatly respected and holding their heads high for the results they have achieved in all walks of life. This is a source of joy for us all and a guarantee that in the future too the workers of Tirana will certainly uphold the revolutionary spirit characteristic of them and their impetus at work.

Brilliant successes have been achieved by all workers of socialist Albania. Now, we can gladly declare that the objectives set under the 5th five-year plan are being achieved in general lines. Ours is a stable economy which experiences no crises, inflation, unemployment, etc. This is the result of the superiority of socialism, of the correct line of the Party and of the self-denying work of the people.

See what is happening in the world at present! A grave economic and financial crisis has swept over all the capitalist countries. Inflation is working havoc everywhere, and assuming threatening proportions. The treasuries of major banks are being exhausted, they are head over ears in debts, and the currency exchange speculations have multiplied extraordinarily. Similarly, unemployment is growing and prices have been incessantly rising. The cost of living has been raised and the working masses are in a continually deteriorating plight. The so-called consumer society, so much trumpeted and praised to the skies by the bourgeoisie as "the society of the future", is nothing but a rotten declining society which is revealing with each passing day the old permanent wounds of capitalism which the bourgeoisie seeks to dissimulate.

Such things will never happen with us. However, in these

turbulent situations, we must go all out and exert our efforts to be ready to cope with any surprise. It is up to us to defend every day and in every sector the economic and political stability we have created for ourselves. This calls on us to carry out every single task of the state plan in time, and to the letter, because any failure to do this breeds difficulties which weigh heavy on the economy and the life of the people.

The present situation in the world is such that the interests of our country and of its defence call for putting sacrifices and savings on the order of the day. The Party and the government will do their utmost to preserve intact the supplying of the people with the necessary goods, and to keep prices from rising. However, at a time when the purchasing prices of various steels and equipment we import have been considerably raised, we are faced with the imperative task of carefully maintaining our machines, and of utilizing them in the most rational manner. Another sector in which we should make great savings is that of fuel and electric power. The work begun in this direction should be kept up, and new ways and resources should be found in order to save as much as possible.

Our people want more sugar, meat, oil, etc. You are aware that we are as yet incapable of satisfying all needs for such items with the present availabilities of the country. Similarly, you know that the prices of these items in the world market have been greatly raised and tend to rise still higher. Therefore, great tasks emerge for our agriculture, which should provide more to fulfil these requirements, and overfulfil the planned targets. In the first place, we have to increase yields of bread grains and of all other agricultural and livestock products. In order to be able to get more meat and dairy products, we should increase the heads of cattle, sheep and goats, improve the fodder basis for the livestock, improve the state of the pasture grounds, increase the productivity of the livestock.

In the present developments we should fight ruthlessly, especially against the tendency of waiting for everything to come from abroad. Therefore, we are faced with the task of putting to good use all our availabilities and resources, relying on our capacities and efforts, so as to produce at home as much equipment, spare parts, and machinery as possible, and thus cut

down their import. Besides this, we should take all-sided measures to increase exports, to extend their range, and to improve the quality of the goods we sell abroad. It should be clear to all that in order to import it is necessary to export.

We will have to overcome fresh difficulties and obstacles, originating from the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement, from the financial and monetary crisis which have gripped the capitalist-revisionist world. Therefore, let us exert all our efforts and go all out with all our energies, wisdom, and creative spirit so as to make a success of the tasks lying ahead of us.

At present the Party and the government are working out the principal indices of the economic development of our country under the 6th five-year plan period, 1976-1980. New prospects are opened before our people, greater victories and successes are in store for their future. Our economy will develop at rapid rates; it will be lifted to a new, higher level. Our industry will assume a greater development; new branches and enterprises will be set up; the structure of the industrial production will be further improved by giving priority, as always, to the development of the heavy and processing industries, without neglecting the light and food industries, to the end of ensuring a better and more rational utilization of the resources and wealth of the country.

Our socialist agriculture will develop and make further progress. Its material and technical base will be still more consolidated; up-to-date agricultural technology will be put into extensive use; its organization and management will be further strengthened and improved and, on these bases, a more rapid growth of agricultural and livestock production will be ensured.

New railways and motorways, schools and hospitals, centres of culture and dwelling houses will embellish our towns and villages. The achievements of science and technology will be extensively introduced into all the branches of the economy and culture. The socialist relations will be incessantly improved towards perfection; the material and cultural well-being of the working masses of the town and countryside will be further raised; the gap between town and countryside, between the lowland and highland areas, will tend to grow more narrow. The life of our people will be more prosperous and more cultured. The defence of the Homeland and the victories achieved so far

will be further consolidated.

Comrades,

Our system of socialist democracy, which comprises also elections to the supreme organ of the state power, has been born from the people's revolution, and rests strongly on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. It has grown and developed through a severe, internal and external class struggle, and has been tempered and raised towards perfection thanks to the great practice of our socialist construction.

Only the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat enable the masses to have a share in the direction of social life, to have their say regarding the internal and external policy of the state, to really enjoy democratic freedoms and rights.

Democracy is spoken of also in bourgeois and revisionist countries. Their theoreticians and propagandists make a great noise, attributing to it almost "celestial" merits, presenting it as the acme and supreme form of social organization. But, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, democracy has had and will always have a class character. The system of bourgeois democracy and its entire apparatus are employed by the capitalist class to rule over the working people; they exist to preserve the exploitation and the egoistic interests of this class.

Chile is a quite fresh example. The bourgeoisie of this country was not in the least restrained by the moral of bourgeois democracy and by its traditions, to bring fascism to power when it saw that its class positions were being endangered. It crushed with iron and fire not only the workers and peasants, but did short work of all those who believed in the "unshakable foundations" of bourgeois democracy.

Another clear example of the falsity of bourgeois democracy and of that internal degeneration which the bourgeoisie seeks to dissimulate behind misleading and demagogic slogans is the so-called Watergate scandal in the United States of America. The revelation of the manipulations on the part of various groups in power regarding the presidential elections, the interference of powerful financial groups, the corruption of the state apparatus, and so on, indicated also that the so-called American democracy is rotten from head to toe. It is a gilt facade deliberately built to

hide the real aspect of a savage dictatorship of the capitalist class, to impede the workers from seeing and realizing their real situation.

The revisionists also speak of democracy, and a "socialist" one at that. But what democracy is it when the workers and peasants are oppressed and exploited by the bureaucratic caste in power, when tanks are ordered out against the workers as in the case of Poland, or when the government and the Parliament are disbanded and reformed by the foreign invaders as in the case of Czechoslovakia, when nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union are suffocating under great-Russian chauvinism?

Our system of socialist democracy is quite different from that of the bourgeois countries. With us, the deputy is not a professional politician, imposed upon the masses, and beyond the reach of their influence. Our representative to the People's Assembly fills at the same time the functions of the deputy and works directly in production, in his office, or in some other sector of social activity. He takes part not only in drafting and passing bills but also in putting them concretely into practice. Therefore, he is situated in the objective material and spiritual conditions to carry over to the Assembly the opinions and wishes of the masses, the voice of the people, as well as in the conditions to carry to the masses, and to work for the fulfilment of, the will of the people which is expressed in the activity of the People's Assembly. The deputy in our country enjoys no material privilege. According to the Constitution, he cannot be arrested, or prosecuted without the consent of the People's Assembly or its Presidium. People are entitled to revoke him at any moment if he fails to live up to the confidence placed in him.

In our country, not only the deputies but also all cadres and functionaries, of whatever rank, are under the daily control of the masses, under their severe and just supervision. This is neither an expression of a situation of dread and mistrust, nor a formal practice. Cadres are loyal sons of the people, the blood of their blood, therefore their interests are not opposed. In line with the instructions of the Party, they exert all their efforts to listen attentively to the voice of the masses and to see to the prompt and correct application of their just suggestions and proposals. They fight against arrogance and overbearingness, as well as against

servility and conformism. However, the masses call them to give regular account of their activity, so that those steel links binding the cadres with the masses are maintained strong, the popular spirit in them is never extinguished, their pulse beats at the same rhythm as that of the people, their mind works along the same lines as that of the people.

The Party has educated and educates the masses in the spirit that the cadres, functionaries, or any person of whatever responsibility, should be highly thought of and respected as long as they work and act in keeping with the line and the directives of the Party, the laws of the state and the norms of socialist ethics. The Party was the first to set the example so that no one should lack courage to criticize anyone who deviates from the correct line of the Party and of our people.

We have succeeded in coping with various hostile pressures and in overcoming the innumerable difficulties raised on our road, because we have waged the class struggle in an uninterrupted, principled and consistent manner in all fields, both against hostile activities and against alien manifestations, whether in the society, in the ranks of the Party, or in the consciousness of people. But the **Party instructs us to hold always in view and never forget the great Marxist-Leninist teaching that the class struggle, as a motor of history, is a great driving power which leads onward the work for the construction of socialism, guarantees the independence of the Homeland, safeguards the well-being of the people. It is a powerful weapon which purges us from evil, tempers us and makes us revolutionaries, which safeguards the Party, the state and the whole country from degeneration and the re-establishment of capitalism. In the present conditions the development of class struggle assumes special importance and significance, for it is the surest shield to beat back the ideological aggression of the enemies, to stamp out all endeavours for the revival of alien ideological leftovers, and to de-activate the impact of the confounding bourgeois-revisionist propaganda.**

The principal objective of the activity of our enemies has been and is the disruption of the unity of the ranks of the Party, the wrecking of the unerring leadership of our people, the disruption of the unity and compactness of the people which constitutes that

granite rock against which all sinister endeavours of various enemies have been smashed to pieces.

Their aims have failed and will fail ignominiously because the unity of the Party, people, and people's power in Albania is erected on unshakable groundwork. On the basis of this unity rest our major revolutionary transformations: the socialist ownership of the means of production, the common fundamental interests of all workers, the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the proletarian ideology which is irreconcilable with everything alien to our socialist order.

In the future too, we should counter the numerous pressures of the enemies, their encirclement and blockade, their diabolic propaganda, with our monolithic unity, the unity of the entire people around the Party. Just as we have done so far, we shall cope with difficulties by tempering ourselves politically and ideologically, promoting our economy uninterruptedly, consolidating and steeling the defence of the country, conserving and cultivating our socialist and national culture.

The construction of socialism in Albania, which is being carried on under the conditions of imperialist-revisionist encirclement, has always been viewed by the Party in close relationship with the strengthening and invigoration of the defence of the Homeland. Loyal to, and abiding to the letter by, its Marxist-Leninist line, it has educated its members, the working masses, the entire people and army, in the spirit that they consider the defence of the Homeland as a fundamental, permanent, and continuous duty. It has spared nothing for the consolidation of the defence potential of the country, for the ever better training of the army and of the entire soldier people. Our army and people are equipped with up-to-date means, they are trained and continue to be trained in handling them in any situation and to the highest efficiency.

The imperialist and social-imperialist enemies endeavour to frighten us with their numerous and powerful weapons. But real strength does not lie either in the number of soldiers or in the amount or kind of weapons. History has proved the invincibility of countries and peoples, however small in numbers and inferior in armaments, who fight for a just cause and who are determined to defend it to the end. There is no stronger army than an armed

and militarily trained nation, and there is no such powerful weapon that can have the better of the people's warfare, in which all aggressors are burned and done with.

Our Party and our people have never been intimidated by threats, just as they have never been waylaid by flatteries and pacifist demagoguery. The enemy will never catch our people unawares. They are prepared in an all-sided way, politically and militarily, economically and organizationally, to cope with any surprise and to deal telling blows to everyone who would dare touch in the slightest the sacred borders of our Homeland, the achievements of revolution and socialism.

The Party, people and army in our country constitute an indivisible whole. Our army is strong and invincible, because it is bound like flesh to bone with the Party and the people, because it defends and carries out faithfully the line of the Party, because it is always ready to make the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the Party, people, and Homeland.

Comrades,

The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania is the policy of a socialist country where the proletarian dictatorship is in power, and which is led by the Party of Labour that inspires itself from and remains loyal to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The People's Republic of Albania maintains its own opinions on different matters and implements its constructive policy in an open way, in the light of the sun. It does not feel itself unconcerned by any problem and does not allow anyone to shut its mouth. Any state, any nation has a right to express its opinion freely, to oppose the opinion of others it does not agree with, just as the others have the same right to oppose the views they do not approve of. It is utterly erroneous to sit with folded arms and keep mum when others act to the detriment of people and nations, or to nod approval to such actions, as some people would like us to do, pretending that it is sheer arrogance for small nations to try to have their say, to defend their or their friends' rights and come out with their opinions before the "big ones". False modesty and the slavish opportunist spirit are alien to the policy of the Albanian state and proletarian dictatorship.

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are aggressive imperialist powers. They are dividing the world into spheres of influence and proceeding to the division and occupation of world markets. Their ultimate aim is to dominate the whole world, to rule over all nations and states; hence, their irreconcilable contradictions which may lead them to another world war. Their hegemonism, their reckless arms race do not take place in a quiet atmosphere, but through great upheavals that our world is seething with.

The two superpowers face today a great economic, cultural and spiritual crisis. Their regimes and ideologies are ridden by corruption. No one holds them in trust any longer, but by means of demagoguery they impose themselves on the other capitalists who have got desperately entangled in the snares of the two imperialist superpowers and who, but for a general uprising of the people, will never be able to shake off their yoke. Quite understandably, the two imperialist superpowers and those caught in their snares, try to make the people of their countries pay for the terrible consequences of those crises. Here lie the roots of the conflicts among states and between rulers and peoples. But the peoples who have to put up with all sufferings cannot expect salvation from the others. It is only through their own efforts that they can save themselves, for the capitalist-revisionist rulers, when it comes to defending themselves against the people's revolution, are always at one with each other.

When they see that they have lost their game, the capitalists throw their masks into the gutter and establish their fascist dictatorship. That is what some states are doing now, whereas some others have done it long ago. There are plenty of slogans and demagogical tricks, but one must judge people according to their deeds, not by appearance.

The two superpowers have armed themselves up to their teeth while trying through their propaganda, to convince the others into disarmament. On the other hand, they have become the biggest arms dealers. This seems sort of contradictory, but it is not. True, they sell weapons to others, but they keep modern weapons for themselves, always preserving due proportions so as not to affect their supremacy. The more so as they give weapons only to those whom they trust and consider as their clients. They

use arms deliveries, on the one hand, to suck the blood and plunder the wealth of the other nations, posing as their friends so as to intrude themselves into, and rule over, those countries, while, on the other, inciting them to fight against their neighbours.

The United States and the Soviet Union stir up quarrels everywhere, resuscitate centuries-old feuds, try to break all possible resistance to their plots. In the meanwhile they stir up conflicts to their own interest over which they take this or that side, beating their chests and swearing themselves hoarse to make themselves more credible, demanding with great noise the convening of the Security Council, until eventually everything ends up like a soap bubble.

"Peace" was allegedly restored in Vietnam, but war still goes on in that country. The Vietnamese question was supposedly solved when war flared up in the Middle East. There, too peace is claimed to be re-established, but war continues in many other ways! The Arab-Israeli war was allegedly ended, only for the Cyprus question to flare up. This process we mentioned above goes on further. Who arouses all these conflicts? The two imperialist superpowers, the Soviets and Americans, which play with the fate of the peoples of the world.

The Soviet Union and the United States of America go into outer space and launch innumerable earth satellites. There are people and states who proclaim that those inventions "belong to mankind, are made for the good of mankind". In themselves, they are inventions of colossal importance, but one cannot help asking: In whose hands are they? Who enjoys them and to what purposes does he use them? Are they employed for the good of mankind, or as a means for the superpowers to spy on the peoples and states? Is the danger of aggressive wars ever being diminished? Not in the least! Is the state of hunger and misery in the world being wiped out? On the contrary, it is becoming worse. Is the living of the poor being improved or the power of the rich liquidated? The contrary is happening. To sing praise to the "successes of mankind" means to become the mouthpiece of the capitalist and revisionist superpowers.

Where does the security of the peoples of Europe or of the peoples of the world lie? Does it lie in the public or mysterious

travels of a certain Kissinger, of a certain Gromyko, or in the tricks of a certain Brezhnev who is bleeding the Soviet and other peoples white, in the travels of a certain Nixon, who drowned the world in blood and guided the American Mafia to the Watergate bugging and cover-up, a most shameful scandal which shook the whole of America? And the future of the world should be entrusted to this kind of people! A fine future, indeed!

Of course, those who have placed their trust in those tragic illusionists are free to attend the meetings in Vienna, Helsinki and anywhere they like. Let them have their pow-wows. But, on our part, we too are free not to go to those meetings, and we will not go there. And it is not only we, but also the peoples who are absent at those meetings. This is significant for us. But someone will say: What do the Albanians propose, what shall we do? The Albanians state every day their views, all those who wish to listen to them have a clear idea of them. The Albanians say: Poisoned food should not be eaten, for it would spell death, it should be rejected and thrown away. There are people who say: "How should we treat the Americans and the Soviets? They are strong. Should we leave them outside the door?" The Albanians say: "We should not only leave them outside, but also isolate them and put the straight-jacket on them." "This is a pious wish", they say, "but reality looks different." However, we Albanians say that this wish should be turned into reality. If you submit to the Soviet-American dictate, then you cannot escape their yoke. We Albanians admit neither their dictate nor their yoke. We are determined to fight on until victory.

When listening to us some people grin or cackle and say: "How arrogant these Albanians are! They pretend to set the world right!" But who are those who speak in this way? They are the sort of people who wish to rule over the world and the peoples, they do not want the peoples to raise their voice against them, they are wont to look down on the peoples and order them around with bullets and whips. And it is they who pose as the most unpretentious people on earth!

We tell them that we are not arrogant but the soldiers of that big and powerful army which carries out the revolution, which strikes terror into their hearts and which eventually will spell their death! This is not a revolution of yes-men and slaves, of

people bending their backs and wallowing in the mud, but a powerful strike, the continuation of the Great October Revolution, it is the Great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is the liberation struggle of the peoples. They call all this "pretensions and arrogance"; they hate it, for it saps the foundations and demolishes the building they have set up on the corpses of people.

In the grip of internal contradictions and grave all-round crises, under the relentless blows of the forces of revolution, of national liberation, of democracy and social progress, the capitalist-revisionist world is staggering towards its ever greater degeneration and decomposition.

The bourgeoisie tries to stop the present crisis and to save itself from catastrophe by throwing the burden onto the working class and masses, and preserving its profits intact. This line is bound to bring about the revolt of the proletariat and of all those oppressed and exploited by capital.

The working masses, their more conscious section, will most certainly rise to their feet to defend their vital interests, and turn this critical situation to the advantage of furthering the cause of the revolution.

Revolution, the struggle for political and economic independence make up a non-stop historical process. The present conditions of the social development in the world urge them ahead with ever greater force and make them indispensable. This also constitutes a guarantee for their triumph.

The Albanian people and all the people of the world nurture an ardent love and place deep trust in great socialist China, in her glorious Party and in Mao Tsetung, the great and beloved leader not only of the Chinese people and communists, but also the dear and respected leader of all the peoples and communists of the world. This infuriates modern revisionism which, with the Moscow renegades at its head, and in collusion with U.S. imperialism, is waging a fierce and diabolical struggle to oppose the peoples and China. This comes to us as no surprise; this is in conformity with their logic. The greatest enemy of U.S. imperialism and of Soviet social-imperialism are the peoples of the world, with great Mao Tsetung's China at the head. The struggle is being waged between freedom and socialism, on the

one hand, and slavery and aggressive imperialism of the two superpowers, on the other. All the peoples of the world have pinned their hopes of liberation, independence and well-being on their efforts and on Mao's China. They are not mistaken, and their conviction is not based on propaganda, but on a great reality, which shines like the light of the sun on the construction of socialism in China, which is being carried on in a correct way, according to the doctrine of Marx and Lenin and the teachings of Mao Tsetung; it is based on the determined political stand of the People's Republic of China in the international arena, on the concrete moral, political, and economic help it gives the peoples of the world.

This reality wrecks and exposes the bandit-like and fascist propaganda of Moscow and Washington. The peoples of the world who feel and suffer on their back the oppression of the two superpowers, see and feel that Mao Tsetung, the great Marxist-Leninist, is on their side, they see that socialist China stands them in good stead with sincerity and fraternal love. The unity with People's China is a great achievement for the cause of mankind. Old and young should feel and realize that socialism, revolution, the liberation of the peoples make headway because great socialist China marches unswervingly along this road. This is to the liking neither of the Soviet and American imperialists nor of world reaction. They have declared war on us, but we are stronger than them and will defeat them. The wheel of revolution cannot turn backwards.

In these days the People's Republic of China celebrated the 25th anniversary of its founding. It has come to this glorious jubilee with a series of colossal achievements in all fields. Great China, relying on its own efforts, has made continual progress towards the development of socialist economy, and today has set up a modern industry, an advanced socialist agriculture, and is forging ahead with each passing day towards ever higher peaks. This most unprecedented progress ever recorded in the life of the Chinese people has not been achieved without overcoming innumerable difficulties and obstacles. To achieve these successes, the fraternal Chinese people have had to make heroic efforts and wage a severe class struggle at home and in the international arena. An unparalleled revolutionary situation

has been created in the People's Republic of China following the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution initiated and led by Comrade Mao Tsetung in person. In the course of this revolution, the hundreds-million-strong masses exposed and turned to dust the traitorous band of Liu Shao-chi; they did short work of the counter-revolutionary, traitor, careerist, and agent of the Soviet revisionists Lin Piao; they defended the victories of the revolution, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and have now gone down to the implementation of the historic decisions of the 10th Congress of their Party and the non-stop development of the struggle against the reactionary ideas of Confucius and Lin Piao. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tsetung, People's China has been transformed into a powerful socialist state, with a great economic and military potential and a high international prestige and authority. Our people and Party wholeheartedly greet these brilliant achievements, and wish to see them increase and multiply for the good of the fraternal Chinese people and the revolution in the world.

The People's Republic of Albania, our people, our Party of Labour are loyal friends, close friends and comrades, faithful allies of the People's Republic of China, of the fraternal Chinese people and of the glorious Communist Party of Mao Tsetung's China. We are united by our common ideals, we are united forever by Marxism-Leninism, we are united by the common road of the socialist construction, we are united by the struggle against the common enemy, by the common tasks in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Our socialist collaboration is being developed as it should be between good comrades, with the sincerity and understanding of Marxist-Leninists. We mutually help one another in all fields, by all manner of means. This help and collaboration bears good fruit for our people and our country. China helps unsparingly and disinterestedly to develop our industry, intensify our socialist agriculture, all-round strengthen our country and raise the well-being of our people. Every day we are witnessing this reality at our hydro-electric and thermo-electric power stations, our factories and workshops, in the tractors and railways; we see it in the harmonious and mutually beneficial development of our

cultural, commercial and other exchanges. The situation in our country is such that everyone, young and old, hold dear in their hearts the Chinese people and the beloved Chairman Mao. The same can also be said of China: everywhere you go, you have only to tell people that you are Albanian, and you will find all hearts and doors open, will feel everywhere their warm love for the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania. We are charged with the great and vital task of preserving and tempering this friendship more and more with each passing day, on the Marxist-Leninist road.

The Soviet revisionists see with a jaundiced eye our unbreakable friendship with China. They resort to every means to harm it, but they will never be able to attain their goal. The Moscow renegades keep trumpeting in their broadcasts that we allegedly are China's satellites, that we depend on her, that the Albanian people are detached from their leaders, etc. This is the stand taken by each and every imperialist. The Albanian people tell the Moscow renegades: However you keep barking, the Albanian people hate you, and their hatred is an important factor of strength for the construction of socialism and an anvil on which the Albanian-Chinese friendship is forged.

The People's Republic of Albania pursues a foreign policy in defence of the interests of our country in the international arena, defends and struggles together with the socialist and progressive democratic countries for freedom, progress and genuine democracy all over the world, for the freedom of workers and intellectuals.

The People's Republic of Albania opposes U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, all other imperialists and reactionaries in the world who are responsible for the miseries of mankind, for the wars of plunder and oppression, for the quarrels and dissensions, diversions and plots hatched up all over the world, for famine and poverty on a world scale. Socialist Albania makes its modest contribution to this struggle and these relentless efforts of mankind, a modest help, true, but rendered openly, undauntedly and fearing nobody. And these "nobodies" may be great and powerful, but the strength of the policy of our People's Republic consists in the fact that it defends its just cause, the sacred and dear cause of all the peoples. You should know

how to make it your own and defend it with all your forces. But to defend it with all your forces means, first of all, to accept all sacrifices. The People's Republic of Albania has chosen this road thanks to its glorious leadership, the Party of Labour, and no storm was and will ever be able to make it swerve from this road.

The policy of the Party of Labour and of the People's Republic of Albania is an open and above-board policy; it states its truth to all and everybody's face, however harsh and unpalatable it may be to someone. Our policy complies with the interest of the peoples, not with those of the cliques and ideologies that oppress the peoples. It seeks friendship with the peoples, not with their oppressors. It is not a conjunctural policy, but a principled proletarian policy. It does not stem from behind-the-scenes secret diplomacy, from mysterious talks, from putting its own and other countries' interests up for auction.

The policy of our country is not the policy of those states with a hundred flags in their pockets. Our People's Republic does not lower its flag either before blackmail and terror, or before the ruble and dollar. Should we follow this just, principled and bold policy or go down on our knees, lick the boots of the Americans and Soviets, become a state-prostitute? It is the first course that we must follow while mercilessly exposing the second.

Such is the policy of our Party and government. Therefore, hundreds and hundreds of millions are at one with us, and Albania stands on the side of those hundreds and hundreds of millions in close unity of thought and action.

We, the people of the People's Republic of Albania, of a small country in the Balkans which has suffered much at the hands of the barbarous imperialist occupiers through the centuries and which has won its freedom and everything it enjoys today, arms in hand, call on all common people of the world: Look out! U.S. imperialism and Russian imperialism are leading the world into another world war, more terrible than the two previous wars! These two superpowers are responsible for the present great crises, they are vying with one another for world hegemony, they are fighting to occupy markets, that is, to oppress and enslave the peoples. It is precisely the two superpowers that arm anti-popular cliques and governments to use them as watchdogs and their peoples as cannon fodder for the inevitable shambles they

are preparing, if they are given a free hand.

See what is happening in the world! The peoples of the Soviet Union are being oppressed and nursed in an aggressive nationalist spirit, the peoples of the pseudo-socialist countries of Europe are also being oppressed, and their ruling cliques submit the interests of their peoples to those of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty. The Kremlin oppresses and threatens them: "Either you act the way I want and order you, or I will invade and suppress you as I have done with Czechoslovakia". This was the way of Hitler; he began with Austria, then went on to Czechoslovakia and to the other countries. It was in the same way that Soviet social-imperialism began, and it is in the same way that it will end. Like Hasha began and ended, in the same way Husak, Beck-Gierek, Zhivkov-Filov and others have begun and will end.

U.S. imperialism is crushing the peoples under its bloody heel. It has trodden down on its "allies", trying by every manner of means to keep them under the constant menace of the economic crisis, the atomic bomb, the Soviet threat, intrigues and diversion. It tries to preserve the Atlantic alliance by stirring up rivalries in its midst, always in its favour, and creating a climate of uncertainty in the countries and government of its so-called "allies".

The United States attacks Vietnam and Cambodia. In complete solidarity with one another, the Americans and Soviets provoke wars in the Middle East, manipulate the Chilean and Cyprus tragedy, intervene in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Everyone waits in anguish. Where will they strike next? The world is now full of noise and rumours spread by parlour and club diplomats, all of them *agents provocateurs*, sold-out scribblers, people in the service of the two superpowers who try to fish in troubled waters through blackmail and intimidation. Tomorrow, they say, it will be Yugoslavia's turn! What will happen after Tito? Yugoslavia will be annexed either to the Soviet or the American sphere of influence; Rumania will be gobbled up by the Soviets; Albania will not go unscathed. Which side will Greece take now that it has withdrawn from NATO? etc., etc.

All these rumours express the wishes and plans of the two

superpowers; they are not only a psychological campaign to demoralize the people of those countries, but also a real military preparation to weaken their resistance and drown them afterwards in blood.

The psychosis of fear and war is fostered by the two superpowers. This psychosis of threat is used to proclaim the two umbrellas, one Soviet, the other American, as the sole way of salvation. According to them, there is no other choice, if you want to be saved. "Don't think with your head, your freedom and fate are dependent on these two monsters". Over all this psychosis of blackmail, intimidation and terror hovers a thick smoke of meetings, contacts, talks, bilateral and multilateral commissions. Everything is put under discussion, but no question is solved, or, when allegedly settled, nothing is certain. Even the implicit bourgeois "moral obligations" of the diplomatic acts of former times have today been affected by a horrible corruption and rottenness. The policy of the superpowers and their allies is ridden by degeneration, falsity, deceit.

Should the peoples sit idle in face of the catastrophe these criminal bands are preparing for mankind? Certainly not! What should be done, then? We say that we must fight. But how should this fight be waged? Through messages, telegrams of congratulations to those who try to dig our grave? Should we publicly praise the Soviet revisionists who resort to all means to bury and gobble us up, should we throw flowers to the U.S. imperialist butchers, seek and accept enslaving loans from the two superpowers, and afterwards pretend to fight against them? No, there is no one to be taken in by such deceit, such demagoguery! In order to conduct a just and realistic policy towards your country and the other countries you should rid yourself of the complexes the two imperialist superpowers and their agents have created and continue to create.

These powers of darkness accuse us Albanians of having isolated ourselves. But who do we isolate ourselves from, and what is the meaning they attach to our isolation? And then, what do they advise us to do? They counsel us not to isolate ourselves from the imperialists and revisionists, to accept their loans, and to make partners in our country of those who used to oppress our

people and suck their blood. They advise us to turn our country into an inn with doors flung wide open to pigs and sows, to people with pants on or without pants at all, to the hirsute and long-haired hippies to supplant with their wild orgies the beautiful dances of our people. They try to corrupt our people, poke their spy's noses into our affairs, organize putsches and plots, occupy the strategic spots of the country, establish military bases, turn our country into a colony of the foreigners and our people into slaves. If you do not accept all this, they say, then you will have isolated yourselves from "this magnificent world, this astonishing civilization". If you make such concessions to those monsters, they will allow you even to insult them, call yourselves communists, even pose as adherents of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung. But all this is bluff, for they have gripped you by the throat and you cannot budge: you have become their slave, their agent, have sold out your country and people.

This is the sort of slaves they want us to become, for otherwise we would not be called "civilized", would not be regarded as "fashionable". We reject with contempt this mode of living and thinking, and there should be no hope that we would act differently. A sure guarantee to that are our glorious people and the heroic Party of Labour of Albania, both acting in absolute unity of thought and action.

Rascals, enemies, agents of the foreigners have emerged now and then with the aim of impeding the construction of socialism, of sabotaging the brilliant and steel-like defence of our country, but they have been exposed and eliminated as soon as they have raised the tips of their ears. The class struggle that is being so successfully, determinedly and vigilantly carried on by our Party and people uncovers and mercilessly roots this rottenness out of our society.

When the iron broom sweeps our ranks clean of them, the external and internal enemies prick their ears, spread such rumours as: "They are down and out, they are split and gnawed at by the worm of dissension", etc. But what does our Party and people say? "Let us do short work of them, for it is in this way that we'll wax a hundred thousand times stronger!" The rumours spread by the enemy are but wailings of their defeat. Our people and Party are neither astonished and puzzled, nor

frightened by such rumours, for they have become used to them. Our people and government know only too well those who spit poison when the enemy has been dealt smashing blows, they know also how to administer the appropriate remedy to such individuals. And this goes a long way towards strengthening our situation, because the diabolical plots of the enemy, both external and internal, are failing, and those who carry them out are being caught red-handed. It is here that the strength of the proletarian dictatorship lies, the strength of our socialist country, the power of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of our Party.

The revisionist Kremlin and its stooges are crying themselves hoarse, saying: We want to establish links, diplomatic relations, we want friendship with the Albanian people, with a people we love so much. The wolves in lamb's skin swear to god that they wish to hug us. But their hug is meant to stifle us. They want to kiss us thrice, according to the usage of the Russian Church, to send us to Christ in heaven. But we tell these enemies of socialism and Leninism, these avowed enemies of our people and of the Party of Labour of Albania, that we will never reconcile with them, will never make friends with them, we will always be their enemies! And they should not think that this is the opinion of some Albanian leaders who today are alive but will be dead tomorrow. No! The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania will never die! We are their soldiers, there are millions of us with a sole thought, with a common unshaken stand. Neither your cannons, nor your rockets, nor your planes, nor your atomic bomb will make us change our stand either today or tomorrow.

Our Party and people are not deceived by the demagoguery of Radio Moscow which every night weeps nostalgic crocodile tears over the old Albanian-Soviet friendship. What we cherish is our friendship at the time of great Stalin. We have never hidden and will never hide that friendship, which was violated precisely by those who betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism, of Bolshevism, who betrayed the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, who betrayed proletarian internationalism and the friendship with the Albanian people. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people will never be at peace with them, but at war, and we are prepared to win this war without fail, if not today, then

tomorrow.

They should realize yet another thing, and if I say so I speak on behalf of the Albanian people and of the Party of Labour of Albania. We are intimidated neither by them nor by their weapons. We tell the Kremlin traitors and their stooges that we know how to differentiate between the Soviet people and the revisionist leaders but we will not differentiate between those leaders and their running dogs. In our opinion all traitors are in the same boat. They will not be able to treat socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania the way they treated Prague and the party of Dubcek.

With the megalomania and overbearingness of a great fascist state the Kremlin rulers, knitting their histrionic bushy brows, may say: Where do those lilliputs find the force to oppose the Soviet Union? Do you want our answer? Take up Marx, Engels and Lenin (for you have discarded Stalin), read them aright for a minute (for you read them the wrong way around), and there you will find where our strength lies. Do you agree, dear electors, with the answer we give those treacherous enemies? (*The audience bursts into a powerful "Yes!", applause and ovations.*)

The Soviet revisionists, just like in Khrushchev's lifetime, now too with Brezhnev, pursue the same ends, adopt the same tactics, and maintain the same propaganda position. In pursuit of the Khrushchevite traitorous line, the revisionist CPSU is now organizing a meeting of the revisionist parties of Europe with the end of imposing on them its own views, of holding them in check, and of showing that allegedly it is not isolated, that it is the "centre of world communism". The other parties which will attend this meeting are bound to prove that they are on the road of treason, they will become complices of the malevolent and counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionist leaders. The Party of Labour of Albania condemns with severity such a plotters' meeting; however, this meeting will be a success insofar as the peoples and communists in the world will have occasion to see once again the true face of these parties which are meeting to plot.

The Kremlin chiefs and their running dogs pretend that they stand for Marxism-Leninism, that their countries stand for socialism. Whoever joins their course receives the communion as

such, whoever is against them is labelled as an anti-Marxist-Leninist linked with, sold out to, and in the service of U.S. imperialism. In other words, they say: Either with us, or with them. But to be both against U.S. imperialism and against Soviet social-imperialism is unacceptable to them.

Khrushchev accused us Albanians of having sold ourselves to imperialism. But who was sold, we or he? Seeing that we did not submit to him, Brezhnev accuses us of playing into the hands of the Americans, when he himself and his followers are friends and close collaborators of the Americans, they are kissing and sleeping partners of the Americans, whereas we, who are at drawn daggers with them, are the accused. Nobody believes these lies of traitors, since honest and wise people are able to see the policy and the attitude of our People's Republic and of the Party of Labour of Albania, to see the implementation and development of this policy. We rely on these people and we thank them for their correct assessment of our policy. They constitute the overwhelming majority, whether communists or non-communists, people holding different political opinions, among whom there are also some who may differ with our course.

But there are also some who believe the calumnies of the Kremlin imperialist renegades. What can we do? Such people are bound to exist. Hitler too had such people, both inside and outside Germany. Through demagogy and terror he regimented the German people. You can see this happening today in the Soviet Union.

But, is Albania an isolated country as our enemies are trumpeting? Not in the least! Socialist Albania is known throughout the world, it is visited by numerous people, by friends from all countries. We maintain diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with 65 countries. The frank and loyal policy of the People's Republic of Albania towards its friends and well-wishers is respected, just as our people's arts and culture are respected, just as our country's all-round achievements are correctly and positively assessed.

Are we ever isolated because we do not maintain diplomatic relations with the United States of America? It is true that neither Truman, Nixon, nor Ford have spoken in the U.S. Senate about establishing diplomatic relations with Albania or about their

"ardent love" for Albania, as the Moscow hypocrites are doing. But now and again the State Department flies a test "balloon" and waits for an answer. We are giving this response every day to U.S. imperialism.

Following the Second World War, when we fought together against Hitler, Albania expressed its wish to establish diplomatic relations with the United States of America. But they did not condescend to establish relations with a government born in the mountains, they wanted a parlour and coca-cola government to be established in Albania. However, the Albanian people did not bother themselves about it; they enjoyed their place under the sun and prospered, whether the United States of America liked it or not.

They refused then to establish diplomatic relations with us. It is us today who refuse to establish such relations with them.

Many people may say that the United States of America does not care a farthing if we do not want to establish diplomatic relations with them. It is true. But to the same degree it is true that we do not care a farthing for it.

The British government, too, which maintains towards us the same stand as the U.S. government, now and then flies a "balloon" for diplomatic relations. But we say to them: Before you fly such balloons, you should release the gold which you robbed the Albanians of, and return it together with its interest to Albania. We address these words also to the Bonn government which carries on a revanchist policy and which owes Albania billions of marks for war reparations.

Perhaps they are expecting us to bow to them and kneel down to their governments that have been the cause of so many misfortunes, so many injustices to us? No, never! They are wrong, together with all those accusing us of being obstinate.

We sympathize with the American, British and German labouring people, but not with those treading on peoples' rights, freedom and sovereignty. We fight against those governments and people who harbour enslaving aims. We have many friends and well-wishers in France, Belgium, in the Northern and Scandinavian countries and in many other countries throughout the world. We respect them and they respect us, despite the differences of regime and ideology.

We respect those peoples and governments that do not kneel to the dictates and wishes of the two superpowers, and make an independent and sovereign policy. The well-wishers of the People's Republic of Albania respect our policy, in spite of the fact that they may not agree with us in all matters, but they understand that, just as they themselves have a right to conduct their own policy, we too have the same right to conduct ours. Distinguished persons have emerged in the past from the bosom of these peoples, they have spoken and written with sympathy about the Albanian people. At present, too, workers, professors, physicians, philosophers, diplomats and journalists speak and write with sympathy about our small and brave nation that has never harmed anybody.

We are friends with the Yugoslav and Greek neighbouring peoples. The imperialist powers and their espionage agencies have made all preparations to undermine our friendship and set us at loggerheads against each other. But we, the Balkan peoples, have drawn lessons from these things and, in face of the common danger, even if we may not agree with each other in many respects, we have found and we can find a common language. Historical facts cannot be forgotten. After attacking the one, the same enemies have afterwards attacked also the other. The same enemies have supported the one or the other to make the third one weaker. Our people's enemies and the cliques sold out to them held the fuse of the powder barrel.

The foreign enemies have never succeeded in subduing the Albanian, Yugoslav and Greek people. These peoples have no slavish spirit, and they have shown this continually during their centuries-long history. The Albanians, the Yugoslavs and the Greeks are the kind of people who make a point of keeping their pistol at the ready in case the Americans, the Soviets or any others try to deprive them of their freedom and sovereignty. Therefore, however the two superpowers or the aircraft-carrier states in their grip may dream in broad daylight, neither the Yugoslav, nor the Greek, nor the Albanian people will ever allow themselves to be trodden underfoot by the Soviet, the American, the Italian or German fascists. In case they engage themselves in such adventures, they will find their grave in our countries.

We have already told and we tell again the Yugoslav and Greek

peoples that Albania's borders with them will always be quiet. The enemy will first have to face us Albanians, it will be routed here and it will manage only with difficulty to reach their borders. We believe that they will take the same stand towards us.

We want to live a free life in our countries. Let the enemies not think they could deal with us easily. We Albanians wish the Yugoslav and Greek people well. Let us promote friendship in the most appropriate way with each other, without intervening in each other's internal affairs and without allowing within our territories anything which, for one reason or the other, may violate or threaten the interests of good neighbourliness. Albania, Yugoslavia, and Greece are not only living without the Warsaw and NATO treaties, but their life is also free and independent. We congratulate Greece on its withdrawal from NATO. The Greek people did not allow themselves to be trodden underfoot, and anyone thinking that Washington State Department secretaries and Moscow foreign ministers may strike bargains and plot at the expense of the Greek people is grievously wrong. The world will never forget how Greece shed its blood for liberation at a time when some others were hanging about.

We tell our neighbours: In our country there are and will be no foreign military bases, but we wish that they too will get rid of the foreign military bases in their countries. No reason can be adduced for the fleets of the two superpowers to be permitted not only to maintain permanent bases, but also to have the right to anchor, to get repaired and supplied there. This is very dangerous, both to the country which extends such facilities and its neighbours. We cannot agree with anyone carrying out such actions. We have declared our stand towards the aggressive U.S. and Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean, and we remain loyal and consistent to this policy.

We wish the Bulgarian people well, we have been and are friends together but this friendship is being threatened, and this is not our fault. The Bulgarian people should wake up, because their rulers are turning Bulgaria into a real colony of the Soviet social-imperialists. The Moscow chiefs and their Bulgarian espionage agency, with Theodor Zhivkov in the lead, have turned Bulgaria into a military base against our countries. The

Soviets want to use the Bulgarian people as cannon fodder against our peoples. In the hand of the Soviets, Theodor Zhivkov and his clique have become dangerous provocateurs in their activities against Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, Turkey and other countries. The dreams of the ancient czars coincide with the wishes of the new Russian-Bulgarian czars, and Theodor Zhivkov, dreaming of Great Bulgaria, does not launch the slogan: "Through the centuries with Russia" in vain. We say to the Bulgarian people that friendship is friendship, and we remain loyal to the friendship with the Bulgarian people of great Dimitrov, but this friendship has its laws. If the Bulgarian people shelter bandits in their country and allow them to attack us from there, then that sincere and pure friendship will cease to exist.

We want to have good and friendly relations with Italy. But we are observing that the fascists there are raising up their heads, conducting a broad campaign of crimes and threats and seeking to revive the old spirit of Mussolinian adventures. Fascist terrorist acts have been carried out in Rome against the embassy of the People's Republic of Albania, which is inviolable. All those actions hindering the normal development of relations of good neighbourliness between our two countries should be condemned and thwarted.

A close fraternal friendship binds our people with the heroic people of Vietnam. Our country continues to support with determination the just struggle of the Vietnamese people for the liberation of South Vietnam, the defence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the reunification of the Homeland. The Party, the government and the entire Albanian people forcefully condemn the aggressive Vietnamese policy of the United States of America which is going on with its military involvement, urging the administration of Saigon to violate the Paris Agreements and inciting it to grave provocations against the Vietnamese people. We express our unshaken confidence that the fraternal Vietnamese people, through their resolute struggle, will fulfil all their national aspirations, and carry out their just struggle to final victory.

We congratulate the valiant Cambodian people on the historical victories achieved under the leadership of the National

United Front, with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk at the head, in their struggle against the U.S. aggressive imperialists and the puppet regime of Lon Nol. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is the sole legitimate government of the Cambodian people. It enjoys all the necessary attributes and is fully entitled to represent Cambodia in the international arena. We are convinced that the ultimate victory of the Cambodian people against the foreign invaders and the Phnom Penh traitors is inevitable.

Friendly relations of close collaboration exist between our country and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, which keep on strengthening and developing. We deeply rejoice at the successes the fraternal Korean people are achieving in the construction of socialism. We have sympathized and sympathize with the just struggle of the Party of Labour and the people of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, with Comrade Kim Il Sung at the head, against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism for the defence of the victories of socialism and the great cause of people's liberation. Our people approve of the just stand of the Party and government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and the country's reunification.

At present, the Middle East constitutes one of the problems preoccupying not only the peoples of this area, but the entire world public opinion. As a result of the interference of the superpowers, the establishment of genuine peace there is far away. There is no rapid solution in view which would fit in with the genuine sovereign interests of the Arab peoples, that would totally return to them the land they have been deprived of, and restore the negated rights of the Palestinians.

The so-called peace plans fabricated in the chancelleries of Moscow and Washington aim at burying the genuine Arab cause. Any initiative the United States of America and the Soviet Union take in the Middle East aims at strengthening the position of the imperialists and enhancing their influence there.

But a curtailed and anti-Arab peace, like that which the United States of America and the Soviet Union seek to impose, cannot be long-lived. The four Arab-Israeli wars waged so far have proven this.

We are convinced that the Arab peoples, with their ancient traditions and their freedom-loving and progressive spirit, will foil all the intrigues and anti-Arab plots of Israel and the two superpowers and, through their united forces, will attain all their lofty national objectives.

Recently Cyprus too was gripped in the flames of war. A fresh threat to peace and security in the East Mediterranean and in the Balkans emerged. The development of events so far showed that the new Cyprus tragedy took place in the background of Soviet-U.S. rivalry, in the atmosphere of intrigues and plots that the two superpowers, individually or jointly, hatch up against the peoples. The U.S. imperialists seek to settle themselves politically and militarily on the island, while the social-imperialists try to fish in troubled waters. They are availing themselves of this issue to revive the old Turkish-Greek feuds and create a situation which would make their expansion easier or would justify their intrusion.

The problems of Cyprus are numerous and, certainly, not easily soluble. But we are of the opinion that the Cypriot people, Greek or Turkish, have the possibility and capability to settle their own destiny by themselves, free of external pressure and according to their sovereign interests. Cyprus is an independent and sovereign state, recognized by the majority of the states of the world, a member of the United Nations. It should remain so, and nobody has the right to attack it, whatever the pretext, to interfere in its internal affairs and impose on it such solutions as do not comply with the freely expressed will of the Cypriot people.

These events, which take place not far from us, impose on us the necessity of a still deeper revolutionary vigilance, a broader mobilization for a firmer all-round struggle against all the enemies on all fronts.

The People's Republic of Albania will stand in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, and will back up all those peoples and countries that fight for national freedom and independence, for emancipation and social advancement.

In the future too we will follow the same foreign policy that has so far ensured our country sound international positions,

numerous and powerful friends and well-wishers, that has won it a name and a lofty prestige.

Comrades,

In conclusion, allow me to express the conviction that our labouring masses will always keep aloft the revolutionary spirit that has continually characterized our people, will mobilize all their forces to completely fulfil the planned targets, will fight with determination against alien influences and ideologies, and carry forward, as always, the great cause of the construction of socialism in Albania.

Participation of everyone in voting, and voting of all for the candidates of the Democratic Front, will be another brilliant victory of our people on their triumphant socialist march, another significant proof of political maturity and deep ideological conviction, a brilliant contribution to the strengthening and further consolidation of the steel-like foundations of the People's Republic of Albania.

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALBANIA!

LONG LIVE OUR PEOPLE'S POWER AND MAY IT BE STRENGTHENED!

LONG LIVE OUR PARTY OF LABOUR, OUR OUTSTANDING LEADER OF ALL OUR VICTORIES, THE GUARANTOR OF OUR SURE FUTURE!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

*The "8 Nëntori"
Publishing House,
Tirana 1974*

WRITERS AND ARTISTS ARE AIDS OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF OUR MEN AND WOMEN

*Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of
the PLA (1)*

December 20, 1974

I think that when we report here, at the Secretariat of the Central Committee, as in every party forum, attention should be paid to raising problems which have been thoroughly studied. It is better that these reports give us a clear and full picture of the work being done in connection with the analysis, the grasping, and the further creative development of a direction given by the Political Bureau, or the Central Committee of the Party than to confine ourselves to a schematic listing of a few data.

I asked the comrades of the Ministry of Education and Culture, as well as the comrades of the apparatus of the Central Committee engaged in problems of literature and arts, how they activate the writers, poets and artists, because they should not burden them with office routine, getting them involved in one way or another in the machinery of bureaucracy. I asked this question because I think that the Writers' and Artists' League should not be turned into a bureaucratic organ; on the contrary it must be a centre where there is a lively threshing out of philosophical, artistic, esthetic and other thoughts. We should not allow the Writers' and Artists' League to be turned into an organ for checking the various writings of all the writers and poets of the country, but primarily, it should work in many ways and forms to inspire them to write better and better.

It is for this reason that I advised our distinguished

1. This concerned the fulfilment to date of the tasks for literature and the arts arising from the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA.

revolutionary poet Dritëro Agolli, who is also the chairman of the Writers' and Artists' League, to give up the routine and bureaucratic work of the League and I asked him to tell us at this meeting about the situation of the development of our poetry. And he spoke to us with full competence about this problem.

Over these thirty years of a free existence in a country where socialism is being built as it is in our country, we have achieved many successes in the field of the economy and culture. There is no doubt whatever that these successes would not have been achieved without the existence of the Party of Labour, without its correct Marxist-Leninist line, without the establishment of the people's power, without the dictatorship of the proletariat and without the continuous waging of the class struggle. All these factors have resulted in great transformations being carried out in the socio-economic field, and, linked with them, in the all-round education of the working people. The economic and cultural life of our people has changed, it has progressed. Our people work, produce, create, learn, and consume.

In all this development the Party has continually made all-round analyses of key moments, which have helped the communists and all the working people to see the good aspects as well as the weak ones during the process of this development.

Some people have not appreciated these analyses made by the Party, as they should. They have not seen in them the essence of the policy and philosophy of the Party to point out that the results of a particular period have their good aspects but that they also have weak aspects associated with them; there are positive and negative factors and these factors are both objective and subjective. In the opinion of these people social life develops outside their will, because, they allege, events will take their "predestined" course willy-nilly. Such people differ in appearance from those who philosophize in an idealist and mystical way, but they do not differ at all in their world outlook. At one time, people said and believed that this or that thing "had been written", "it was bound to happen like this", "there is a supernatural power, the decisions of which cannot be opposed". They called this force "God, Heaven, Christ, Mohammed" and all kinds of saintly names. Even now, there are people who think metaphysically and believe in certain "forces" which they raise as

factors that allegedly set development in motion, such as "the bureaucracy, the administration, selfishness, the feeling of private property, ambition, position, etc". For them heaven has been transformed and taken root precisely in those world outlooks and sign-posts in life which consolidated the idealist inspiration and the life of the capitalist, merchant or money-lending bourgeoisie. Naturally, under our regime the sphere of action of such people has been narrowed and is becoming narrower, but their harmful mentalities are not without effect in life. In life and in various forms, these views act. Often they appear as entirely harmless, normal; they lie hidden behind a mentality which allegedly conforms with the laws, the customs and even with the new "patriotism" of the epoch of the Party. This is that petty-bourgeois mentality, these are those bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants which the Marxist-Leninist Party fights and will continue to fight until the dawn of classless society.

It must not be thought that the people have shaken off these remnants, we should not think that after a few moralizing articles these dangerous vices and world outlooks disappear without a trace, we should not think that, with the improvement of the living standards of the people, our men and women become immune to these "diseases". On the contrary, we may have a reminder of them, and this time shouting "long live the Party" which created abundance for us. But together with the abundance and well-being, *the Party must create in people and in society precisely that world outlook, those customs, those feelings, those tastes, those ethics, that revolutionary philosophy which will not permit either the revival or the spread of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois world outlooks.*

Of course, this is not an easy task and this is just what the bourgeoisie and capitalism are relying on when they hope for the "failure of socialist society", "the defeat of communism". It is precisely that philosophy, those world outlooks and those economic relations on which the development and consolidation of its state power are based, that capitalism is counting on. Its whole structure and superstructure have, of course, oppressed man in a double way: both spiritually and physically, during the entire course of history, the kingdom of capital, of religion, of the

aristocracy and the bourgeoisie has clashed with the progressive forces, with progress, and has lost many limbs in these wars. Now it has reached the stage of its decay. Capitalism and imperialism have lost their economic, political and ideological positions one after another. The revolution and the peoples are eroding its foundations. Marxism-Leninism is leading the peoples towards the new life, socialism and communism, but we must not think that in face of the defeats it is suffering, world capitalism has laid down its arms. In its objectives, it relies precisely on its barbarous attacks and on predatory imperialist wars against the liberation of the peoples from its yoke, but it also counts on that world outlook and on those remnants which burden the consciousness of men and have kept them as its slaves for centuries.

In this direction the propaganda of imperialism for the degeneration of men and women and of society as a whole, to revive every form and every aspect of the former vices, feelings, sentiments, appetites, selfishness, robbery, gangsterism of those people and of those societies that supported its power, has never known such a broad extension and development as it has at the present time. All this is a reflection of the savage face of capital, a reflection of its degeneration. But with this way of life it is striving, nevertheless, to prolong its existence and domination, by influencing the peoples with its propaganda in order to demoralize them, to divert them from the road of the revolution.

Capitalism and imperialism are afraid of the revolution, of the proletariat, and not of the lumpen elements or of those democrats and socialists who fight them with kid gloves, nor of the modern revisionists, like those of the Soviet Union and others, who have betrayed the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. All these, dressed up in various pseudo-revolutionary ideologies, are forces and means of the counter-revolution used by capitalism and imperialism for their own aims.

In view of these things, aware of their danger at every moment, our Party teaches and educates the people, launches them into struggle for the building and consolidation of the socialist society and the victories achieved, and to prepare the ground for those new objectives which should be achieved. Every citizen of our country must, therefore, reflect deeply on what the Party means when it says that "we must fight with all our strength against the

external and internal pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology". This double, and at the same time single, enemy is not imaginary, but real. The struggle should be waged daily, it should be active and take place in all the manifestations of life, in the philosophy of all these manifestations. The struggle must be waged with all the means, through education at schools, in factories, in fields, at work and at home, with the family and *tête-à-tête* with the mother, with the wife, with the sister, with the children, with the neighbours, in all their manifestations, pointing out and encouraging the good things and condemning the bad things. If we act in this way, we have triumphed step by step over the enemy. We must not allow his evil seed to germinate, and, as soon as it puts up a sprout we must nip it off at once.

Our writers and artists have an exceptionally great role in this direction. Our people and the Party need them. Through their creativity and talents they should give more help in eliminating those remnants I spoke of earlier, from the dark corners of human consciousness and should throw into relief the majesty of the socialist world and the virtues of its new men and women. Under the leadership of the Party, our workers in literature and arts should do that profound ideological, political, moral and ethical work which is needed to combat the influences and poisons of the old world and of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world, to point out the lofty communist virtues and implant them in the character of our men and women. They should struggle to always play the role of the auxiliary of the Party in moulding the new man. I must say with regret that many communists and leaders of party committees and state institutions do not properly understand the importance of literature and art. In their reports they repeat Lenin's golden words about the role of literature and art in educating the masses, but when it is a question of practice, they undervalue or forget them.

In the direction of the development of literature and art, the Party has helped in making a great qualitative leap forward. Life in our country is so great, so broad, so diverse, so beautiful and so open that if you immerse yourself in it you cannot fail to be inspired to write whatever you like, novels, poems, plays, music,

comedies, etc.

The comrade writers, poets, musicians, artists, actors and directors of drama, opera and ballet theatres, cinematography, etc., drawing inspiration from the work and heroic feats of the people, have made very great progress in the development of literature and arts in our country. This was shown at its best by the literary-artistic creativity realized on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland. Inspired by the decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, our artists and writers came to this great jubilee with all those beautiful works. These achievements, in a series of others, bear witness, among other things, to the possibilities created when the people are in power and are led by a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, such as our Party of Labour.

From among the works of foreign authors of various countries, which I have read, there are some that I have liked, for instance, the works of classical poetry and outstanding French and other prose writers, but there are also writings which I have not liked at all, such as many new novels which I have happened to pick up and tried to read, but to tell the truth I have thrown them away, because they are worthless. Let alone the modern "poetry" which I have read, which is so awful you can't imagine. Reading such "poetry" I ask myself: Who are these people who write such stuff? Meanwhile compared with this confused and worthless creativity, the magnificence of our literature and art of socialist realism, the value of our exceptionally beautiful folk songs and dances becomes ever greater.

Among our poets and prose writers there are authors who turn out literary and artistic creations of value, others who produce works of less value; then there are those who write materials without any special value. With regard to these latter, particularly the young poets and writers, who is going to help them progress? We must pay great attention to this question, we must encourage and help them, and our affirmed writers and poets, as well as those who have had more training than the young ones, have a special duty in this direction. But the first and continuing aid we must give them is to *open the eyes of their consciousness to the reality of our country and people*. They themselves must learn to see with their eyes and feel with their

hearts the vigorous development of the life of our people and faithfully reflect it in their diverse creativity. We must understand the most profound and diverse aspects of this development which are discovered through knowledge of the material life and the feelings which arise in each period, through the clash of ideas created by internal and external antagonism, which are inseparable in the life of a people in whatever period and in whatever corner of the continents this people may live and fight for its existence, for a better life, in freedom and economic and political independence.

If we find Dritëro Agolli's poems good, this is because they express the pure feelings of the people, are connected with reality, with the men of work, with the soil, the products and flowers of this land, with the high chimneys of the combines, and with the troubles and joys of the men and women in their family homes. A poet who does not know reality, no matter how developed his imagination may be, is quite unable to produce a powerful poem. But if he properly integrates his imagination with the objective reality of the country, with the life of the people, if in his writings he fights expressions full of pompous phrases, he too, can become a talented writer. For example, in my opinion, Xhevahir Spahiu, and some other young poets have many ideas, but the way they express them is not always real, vital. It is up to them to make efforts to link themselves better with the people, but it is also up to their comrades and the Party to encourage these young talents in this direction, so that they do not see the people mainly through their imagination, but get deep into life, in the flow and continuity of this life, in all the turns and zigzags the people make in order to achieve those aims the Party sets them and clearly understand that everything in life is not a bed of roses.

We must not be discouraged that, alongside the recognized poets and writers, we do not see new talents of high calibre as was said here. We must bear in mind that it is not easy to create worthwhile literary pieces, poems, novels, etc., in a short time. You need time to write valuable works; besides, you must link yourself with men and women, with the people, you must go deep into the heart of the masses, not just to find the subject for your novel or poem and then immediately leave the village or the

factory, considering the birth of the idea to be sufficient. No fine hard-hitting work can come out in this way, that is why it is required of the writer to really get to know people, to know their lives, difficulties and worries, their pleasures and hopes, etc., as I said earlier.

The majority of our young writers have a cultural horizon, but it is their duty to link this culture thoroughly with the life of the country, with the directives of the Party. I am convinced that by drawing inspiration from the life of the people and the correct line of the Party, in time the young writers, too, will mature and succeed in winning recognition.

There are two ways of viewing the development of life: one is the idealist, mystical, pessimistic and conservative view, *and the other is the realist view, with a revolutionary spirit, fruit of a materialist analysis of events and history, full of optimistic feelings for a change and a further positive development of history and of the development of society, of a classless society.* This view becomes the property and world outlook of those men and women with pure and revolutionary virtues, who, uniting with the progressive classes, strike hard at the entire abhorred ideological and politico-moral arsenal of the reactionary forces. *In order to educate and help the young writers and artists, it is essential that we teach them, make understandable to them, the ideology that guides our Party and our working class, Marxism-Leninism.*

We must teach our young writers and artists how to read the open book of the socialist life of our country, how to study and grasp the content of this wonderful book. We must make them love every "letter" of this book of life, make them see and feel the powerful pulse of the strength, feelings and ardent desires of our people. We must work to make them see and touch the colossal achievements of our people in all fields, see how our new man of socialist society, led by a Marxist-Leninist party, has transformed the plains, the mountains, has harnessed the flow of rivers, and built entire cities out of nothing. We must make these young people see all these beauties, all this rich colour of our people and nature, and from this wonderful book, which is the life of the people, they should make deductions and put all these great treasures of our socialist life in their books, novels, and

poems, in their songs and plays, in the paintings and sculptures they create.

If our artists and writers proceed in these directions and are moulded with these teachings, if they immerse themselves completely in the revolutionary current of life with all their strength of character and the depth of their pure and ardent feelings, they will certainly give the people and their Homeland wonderful works which will be a reflection of the mighty work being done in our country for the construction of socialism and formation of the new man. As to their usefulness and magnificence, their works will be like the giant hydro-power stations, factories and combines, the beautiful wheat fields and the hills covered with fruit trees; they will be like the beauties of our cities, schools, and creches, where the happy children of our socialist country laugh and sing, where our working class, cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia, with their minds and skills, are creating and building a new, happy, and prosperous life.

I think that another special sort of help which should be given to the young, less experienced, and as yet unformed writers, apart from friendly advice of the outstanding poets, writers, painters and musicians, or the comments they will make about the creative work of the young people, will be the beautiful and rich creativity of our great talents, the splendid writings and compositions they bring to light, which will inspire the younger ones and those with less training from the ideological and artistic viewpoints. The works of poetry, prose, music, painting, etc., provided by our well-known writers and artists, should become major subjects for study to inspire all those engaged in literature and art in regard to their ethics, content, the treatment of problems, etc. This creativity is, and will remain, a great school and aid provided for the young by the recognized artists, from whose works not only those who have just begun to write, but also the readers, all those who are not engaged in writing, learn and gain education, because they inspire us too.

The fine works of the outstanding writers, poets and artists please us because they are permeated by valuable ideas and thoughts, which do not drop from the skies, but stem from knowledge of the real state of things, of our reality, of the

development of the political and social life of our people. These ideas and thoughts correctly and accurately reflect the desires, joys and sorrows, the life and depth of the thinking of the people; they are connected with our prospects, therefore they not only please us, but they inspire us and invigorate our work. Hence the successful works of the outstanding authors should become the main source of assistance to the young creators rather than any schematic organization of giving help on their part. When the works of the writers and artists, their paintings and musical compositions express the profound thinking and great-heartedness of the people and throw into relief real characters from life, this makes those who are reflected in these creations think: With the work we carry out do we deserve this honour? And this question which they ask themselves, inspires them and multiplies their strength to work even more.

The works of our writers, be they young ones, contain inspiration, ideas, tastes, art. All these things may not be always profound, they may not be perfect. It is known that the tree does not yield its fruit as soon as it appears above the soil. It is like this with the young writers and artists too, but in time they, too, will grow up, will mature in their thoughts and will know how to create works which are more beautiful, of greater and more lasting value.

In their creativity the young writers must draw inspiration, primarily from the line of the Party and the colossal activity of the men of labour, but, as I said, they must also learn from their older and more experienced writer, poet, and artist comrades. Among the young artists and men of letters, indeed also among the older ones, through systematic educative work, we must patiently fight and eliminate conceit, ambition, and arrogance, which remain with us as stains from the society with antagonistic classes. Such a thing is indispensable for a massive development and blooming of the beautiful fragrant, multi-coloured flowers of a socialist garden such as ours. But, I think, we cannot expect that all talents should reach that level of development at the same time. Therefore we must not make thoughtless comparisons between individuals engaged in creativity saying that the productions of this one or that stand high, while those of the others are nothing! No, we must not act in this way. The

literature, art, music, even the economy, sciences and the entire culture of the countries and peoples of the world have not developed all at one time, they have passed, step by step, from the lowest stages to the highest ones. Differences, of course, have always existed, not only when high levels of science, literature and culture have been attained, but even when such things have not existed. Time and life themselves will make the differentiation.

In world literature of the different epochs and centuries, mention is made of men who, in their time, have been among the most renowned, but in the later centuries their value has fallen right away and they have been forgotten. In a book about the French Academy there is mention of those outstanding French and world authorities who were never admitted to the Academy, such as Molière, Rousseau, Diderot, Balzac, etc. It says that many of them, when they presented their candidatures for membership of the Academy, were turned down. But who turned them down and who was chosen in their stead? The authors of the book show that those who were elected instead of these authorities were men whose creativity had no great value, therefore, with the passage of time, many of them have been forgotten and some of them have disappeared without a trace. In this book one of these authors, himself an academician, presents the grandeur and immortality of Molière who was never admitted to the Academy. In the final account, what did Molière want with the luxurious armchair of the French Academy when even today millions of men and women go and respectfully touch the old armchair in which he died, playing his immortal comedies?

I mentioned the instance of the French Academy to illustrate the idea that time is what does the sorting out of many people and works. Those which are of the greatest value, the masterpieces, last through centuries as immortal monuments which never fade out. Others, of a certain mediocre value, are talked about for a time, whereas those which are worthless, are entirely rejected and nobody even mentions them. Thus, you may make whatever efforts you like to impose a valueless work, but it will be short-lived. The opposite is just as true; do whatever you like, organize cabals, invent baseless criticisms in a spirit of ambition and

denigration about a fine work, but nevertheless it will not disappear, its worth is not reduced, but resists even action, and, finally, it imposes itself through its great values.

I think that a work, of whatever genre, has its good aspects, but is has also its weak aspects. This is precisely why criticism is necessary, but not the denigrating criticism, impelled by ambition and other unhealthy feelings, but the just, objective, constructive criticism.

I make no claim at all, through these few elementary thoughts I am expressing, to place myself in the role of a literary critic and pose as such. No, I am not in that category, but I think that a work, of whatever genre it may be, *must have its essence in the correct political, ideological, moral road and present the situation, its general and typical aspects realistically*. First of all the work must inspire, educate, and enthuse the reader. The force and intensity with which it will do this, depends on the profundity of its ideological content, and on the forms, style, figures, colours, etc. used by the author.

In their colossal work our great classical teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, have dealt with the problems of literature and arts, too. The revisionists and Trotskyites are striving to minimize this major contribution of the great teachers. They do this with a view to opening a broad field for their filth of all genres which they are pouring out in all directions.

I advise the comrade writers and artists, particularly the literary and art critics, that along with the study of Marxist-Leninist theory, they should read with especially great care those more than a few instances, in which our great teachers make criticisms of writers and artists. They are profound analyses and a model of how we should judge a literary-artistic work.

I do not want to go into detail of what a critic should be as I said above, but I would like to make a criticism of our literary critics and I hope they will excuse me for this. Sometimes criticism is neither simple nor understandable, thus it cannot always be grasped by those who read it and who want to learn. Many of these criticisms are verbose; what should be pointed out is drowned in a flood of analysis and frequently abstruse and "specific" phrases and terminology are used to give the

impression of "competence" and of having thoroughly studied the work. But in acting in this way, they forget the reader, on whom this kind of criticism has no great effect. If I may give some advice, this is that our critics should abandon any inclinations, if these appear among some of them, to imitate the bourgeois modernist critics of the present time who make their obscure, confused, and disorienting criticisms, under the mask of allegedly adapting their criticisms to the works of the times.

In the field of the literary and artistic criticism of the bourgeoisie in various epochs, too, we shall see various stages and forms of it. Without aspiring to the heights of the criticisms of Voltaire, which were as slashing and profound as they were simple and understandable, but just taking the criticisms of the early decades of our century, we shall notice that they were not so "double-distilled", so tangled and twisted, to the degree to which the present bourgeois and revisionist art, literature and criticism have degenerated.

Our literary-artistic criticism must draw inspiration from and pursue the principled road of the great classical teachers and our Party. Our criticisms should be realist, like the works they analyze; they should be simple, understandable, concise, and able to be grasped by the public. Criticism must be educative, therefore he who makes it must not consider himself to be speaking from the "top of Mt. Olympus", but he should consider the author of a work as a comrade, that he is talking to his comrade, always advising him for his good.

We should also show a little tact, comrades, in the help to be given to those who create. We should bear in mind peoples' psychology, their feelings. The observation made here concerning subjective criticisms is correct. Sometimes the criticisms passed on literary or musical works are exaggerated and subjective. We must require from our writers, poets, and artists, that the content, the essence of the work should be on a correct party road and be inspired by a sound revolutionary spirit in the service of socialism. This is the main thing which our authors must bear in mind in their creativity. As to how the one or the other will construct the theme he has chosen, the characters, this is the business of the writer, the poet, or the musician. He, better than anyone else, finds for himself the

artistic figures which please him, knows which moment must be underlined to further strengthen the ideological and political axis of his work, and so on. On questions like these, each must decide for himself. It would not be advisable at all, for example, to say to a writer or someone else: "If you will remove this idea or line and add that other one, if you will shorten it a little here and extend it there, remove this artistic figure and put in another", etc. In such a case the writer would have the right to retort: "Then why don't you write your own verse the way you want it and stop messing me about?" We must not overdo things by interfering with uncalled-for criticisms of literary-artistic works for such subjective interference is not assistance, but massacre. Criticisms should not be made in this way. If we allow others to make one comment after another, endlessly, about the publication of a poem, a play, etc., the work will end up a disaster and be turned into a "Russian salad". We should be particularly careful to pursue a correct policy of aid and criticism with the young writers, in the sense that we should neither befuddle nor intimidate them by telling them baldly: "Your poem is worthless", "Your writing is very poor", etc. We should also bear in mind the other aspect, that is not to praise them groundlessly, for in this way they may "take off". The aim is to help them advance, so that they, like all the others, may serve the people with devotion.

In a few words, when a work is correct in line, and does not lack artistic values, but in which there may be something amiss with regard to this or that aspect, there should not be too much hesitation to publish, exhibit, execute, or stage it. But I would like to reaffirm that it would not be right and proper, on the other hand, for the men of letters and arts to adopt a contemptuous attitude towards the fair criticisms and suggestions, of an essentially ideological and artistic character, made by the critics or the readers.

Our theatre, whether that of drama or of opera or ballet, has gained experience and has created a tradition, but we must never cease our efforts to find other, newer, ways and means with a revolutionary spirit to enrich and further improve this experience and tradition. Our theatre must reflect our revolutionary reality, the demands of our working class and

cooperativist peasantry to consolidate the new society. Of course, for us the theatre is a political and ideological weapon for the education of people, therefore it must be understandable and, in order to be such, it must express their feelings and desires.

It is necessary that our dramaturgy should be raised to the highest possible level of perfection, avoid banality, and not only respond to the present level of culture of the masses frequenting this theatre, *but it should be, at the same time, the inspirer of a further advance in the tastes and revolutionary impulse for a more cultured life.*

Naturally, we are opposed to the literature of the modernist dramatic art which strives to entangle and enslave people in the consumer society, to deprive them of their pure feelings and of a revolutionary human morality in thoughts and actions.

Of course our revolutionary theatre does not and cannot have the individual features of one artist, but the best features of our masses, of our socialist society. This does not mean at all, as the bourgeoisie and its "theories" about theatre claim, that our revolutionary theatre lowers, undervalues, or entirely eliminates, the personality and creative talent of the artist. On the contrary, our revolutionary theatre opens to the artists a very wide field of feelings and thoughts which greatly enrich the spirit of the theatre and their possibilities for creation.

The inner world of our artists does not know those limitations which are imposed on the artist in bourgeois society. Such artists in bourgeois society have only the illusion of "freedom of creation", while in fact their activity is conditioned and, of course, orientated by the bourgeois reality, by a life full of abnormal, amoral, extravagant phenomena. It is precisely these confusing phenomena and extravagance that give the bourgeois writers and artists the impression of "freedom to create". The dark halls of their cinemas and theatres are dominated by the aim of creating anguish in the hearts of the spectators, so that this anguish will stay with them the whole day and the whole week and become their second life. This content, this aim, this form, and these esthetics, are rejected and combated by our revolutionary esthetics, inspired by the pure feelings of our people and serving the masses of the people.

In this sense we should give a great impulse to our popular art

through the development of the amateur art movement, too; and by this we should not think only of our folk songs and dances. We must extend and enrich these two genres which the people love.

Now we have people who are masters of the pen. I am not saying that they should not write novels and poems, for these are a healthy and indispensable nourishment for the education of our men and women of the socialist society, but I notice that there is a marked inclination among the literary people to follow those who have blazed the trail in creativity with novels and poems, and a trend to underestimation or lack of interest in writing plays, film librettos and scenarios and sketches for variety theatre. I have heard people saying: "What can we do — one cannot write without the desire", "there are no inclinations, no talents for these genres." What groundless and harmful ideas! These people are making a great mistake, because they are neglecting or, what is worse, underrating these genres, which are also of incalculable importance for the education of our people. Little by little even those who have had inclinations for such genres and who have claimed distinction in this field of literary and artistic creativity have begun to neglect it. We see our theatres filled to capacity, so are our cinemas every night. But what can the spectators see? The repertoires are out of date, not in the sense that they are useless, but they have no new subjects. We make few films, very few. We should not expect to have theatrical pieces in perfect form. Such a requirement would certainly lead us to closing down the theatre and would make us see day and night, as we do, the dramatization of the novel "The Gadfly". Why should we not put on more of our own works but always persist with "The Gadfly" until our eyes are sticking out from watching it on television? "The Gadfly", with a subject from the history of the *carbonari* (2), has not so much value that it should be put on so often.

Our cinemas are screening bad foreign, capitalist and revisionist films. How do our people endure the showing of revisionist Czechoslovak, Rumanian or Hungarian films, for

2. Carbonari: A general term given to the anti-papal, anti-feudal revolutionaries of 19th century Italy. The term reflects the important role played by the coal miners in this bourgeois revolutionary movement.

example "How I Became a Policeman" and similar vile rubbish? Not only is the selection of foreign films done badly, which does great harm to the education of our men and women and youth, but hackneyed excuses are made. "What shall we do, we have no films", they say. My opinion is that the films produced by our film studio are very good, they are marvellous in comparison with those dished up to us from abroad, with bandits and cowboys.

We have wonderful artists, whom, without hesitation, I consider to be of world calibre. And here I have in mind not only veteran actors like Sandër Prosi, Pjetër Gjoka, Naim Frashëri, Tinka Kurti, Ndrek Luca, Pandi Raidhi, Skënder Sollaku, etc., but also younger ones like Rikard Larja, Demir Hyskja and several others, boys and girls, whose names I have not yet learned. With these wonderful actors and the talented directors we have, we can produce not two or three films a year, but many more, provided we prepare the scenarios for them and their working and living conditions. We have these treasures, but we do not know how to use them properly.

We have wonderful singers, who we say belong to the opera. This may be so, but these and the variety show singers, as well as singers from the ranks of the people, greatly please the public with the concerts they give. Well, these great artists and others a little less great, could they not play in films? Couldn't we use them in films in which they would sing to this beautiful life blooming before our eyes, to this life which we are building with our own hands? Of course we could.

In no way must our variety theatres in districts confine themselves to a few songs, a few sketches which they put on in the cities where they have been set up. My opinion is that the professional variety shows and theatres of the districts must be turned into powerful centres and means for organization and propaganda, to encourage a great development, both in breadth and quality, in the setting up of theatrical and variety groups in work centres, schools, and particularly, in the agricultural cooperatives.

We are filled with great enthusiasm when we see on the stages of the Opera and Ballet Theatre of the capital, in the concerts and variety shows of the districts, hundreds upon hundreds of

young girls and boys playing in such a perfect manner and singing with such harmonious, melodious, and fine voices, that we forget that they are lathe operators, workers of the "Migjeni" artistic products enterprise or the "Stalin" Textile Combine, wool workers from Kukës, girl students from Shkodra, or schoolgirls from Gramshi.

What a great development our art has achieved! These talented young people are capable of stage performances full of feeling and pathos, of playing important roles in films, of learning all sorts of songs and dances. I am speaking of all those who have no artistic schooling. We have opened schools and we shall extend them, but we should not forget, and should not underestimate the great art which is like a precious jewel in the bosom of the people, and which is developing from day to day towards new heights. We must organize this still better.

I am aware of the instructions given, according to which our professional variety shows and theatres of the cities must give performances in the villages too. But from what I have heard, these institutions are not yet properly implementing this directive of the Party, because even today, they give few performances in villages, and the greater part of them in villages near the cities. It is the duty of our professional theatres and variety shows to extend their activity even to the most remote areas, covering our entire countryside with their artistic performances.

Today in all the agricultural cooperatives everywhere in our country, there are groups of outstanding popular singers and dancers, there are talented instrumentalists who please and educate the broad masses of the cooperativists with their performances and new ones are emerging every day. There is no doubt that alongside them, there are also talents who prefer dramatic art, people able in this field, fine humorists, with whom variety groups could be created in every agricultural cooperative to give theatrical and variety performances there. Therefore, when the professional theatres and variety shows of the cities go to the villages, they should discover these talents in the ranks of the masses, urge them and encourage them, and organize amateur theatre troupes with them, help to organize and get them going, appoint artistic leaders from among their own company, who will look after these amateur groups and help

them until they are able to stand on their own feet. Thus, in our socialist countryside amateur dramatic art will flourish, too, new people and new talents will arise, who will enrich the stages and the repertoire of our professional theatres.

The teachers who work in agricultural cooperatives, communists and non-party people, art-loving boys and girls, must help in extending the artistic activity in the countryside. All around them are people with rare dramatic talents, capable people, with a keen, educative, and amusing humour. The houses of culture in the cooperatives should become real cultural centres in the full meaning of the term. See the great talent with which our people perform folk dances and songs! These cooperativists are able to play theatrical parts, they know life well, and if we organize them properly, they will find great satisfaction for themselves, and they will please others and make them happy too.

But we must go still further. In every period, talented artists have emerged in the ranks of the people, who, even though illiterate, have created works of a great artistic value, even some masterpieces. But now when all the young men and young women have seven- and eight-year schooling, can this not occur? Of course it can. Therefore we must work, look for them, encourage them, support them wherever they are, on the jobs, in production, in the villages, and then we shall have lots of cooperativists, lathe operators, textile workers and women workers like those of "Migjeni" who will create artistic objects so beautiful that they will enthuse and inspire the professional artists too. We should break through the frozen walls of academicism, of rigid forms, we should thaw the ice which keeps so many new talents locked away because, allegedly, you need school for this and school for that. The Party is not opposed to school, but even when we did not have special schools of poetry, music, painting, etc., our people created and continue to create, to produce wonderful talents from their ranks.

Personally I feel a satisfaction when I am listening to music, whether that of the great classical and progressive composers of the world, or the musical creations of our own composers. But, to tell the truth, the beautiful songs and dances of the people please me most, they move me with their power and, at the same time,

with their simplicity. I am not saying this just because I am an Albanian. No, but because our folk songs and dances are really beautiful, very beautiful indeed. The Party has performed a great deed in raising to a high pedestal and perpetuating all this exceptional wealth we have inherited from the past. Since the early years of liberation, when our people were still poor and living in great privation, it forcefully set about this work, insisting on the production of folk instruments, and that the folk songs and dances should not be neglected. Do you remember, comrades, when instructions were given on these matters? And today the folk songs and instruments have become a very healthy spiritual food for our working masses and our youth.

If the writer or poet desires to write, or the musician to compose a musical piece with a great inspiration, about the past sufferings of the Albanian people and their joys, let him turn to the songs and melodies of the people, in which he will find a powerful source of inspiration. Recall, for instance, the song "I Remained, Comrades", which even Dritëro Agolli has included in his poem "Mother Albania". This is a song of value not only for the words chosen with rare artistic mastery, for its great spiritual power, but also because its content is a profound synthesis and reflection of the past suffering of the Albanian people. You never tire of hearing this song interpreted with such rare mastery by the folk singers of the Skrapar district, Demir Ziko, Medi Kushi, and others.

Our people have always been optimistic. In sorrows and joys they have never lost their faith in the future, and this optimism, this majesty has been perpetuated in the rich heritage of oral literature, in their songs, in their dances, in their costumes and in their other wonderful traditions. This is something majestic which is perfectly realized in art only by the genius of the people.

Sometimes I see on television, concerts by the groups of folk singers of various districts. Among them there are many really lofty and beautiful pieces, with regard to content and melody. In many instances I have noticed that they have managed to achieve a logical and attractive integration between the form of the folk melody and the new content of the songs. Thus, for instance, I am very fond of the songs which the folk singer Fatime Sokoli sings with so much feeling and love about the hero of Dragobi, Bajram

Curri; and about the heroic feats of the warrior people of those regions. Another television program I liked very much, was some songs by folk singers from the town of Kavaja about the girls with golden hands who weave carpets, about the workers of the glass works who decorate vases with designs of such beautiful roses that when you hear the song, it seems their fragrance is wafting around you. I heard another program of songs with singers from Elbasan, a city with musical traditions, where 60 years ago the Normal School was established, one of the important educational institutions, which, besides a whole army of patriotic teachers, also turned out musicians and composers. But, to tell the truth, without wanting to underrate them, the "elaborated" melodies of the folk songs festival of this district seemed to me poor and frigid in comparison with the colour, freshness, and beauty, of the songs full of inspiration of the folk art. This does not mean that our composers should give up the "elaboration" of folk songs or dances, cultivated music, as it is called, but these "elaborations" and "cultivations" should always be based, not just here and there on a chord or motif in the national heritage, but they should have the soil of this land blended into them, they should be inspired by the creativity, the work and aspirations of this people, and be dedicated to them, please them and arouse their spirit. If you depart from this background, you neither serve your own people, nor give other peoples any reason to value you, because you are not bringing anything new to the common treasury of the world's progressive culture and art.

Another evening I heard on television the interpretation of some folk motifs on violoncello and piano. Not only was I greatly pleased, but I said: How beautifully our cultivated music can be developed on the basis of folk motifs!

On this correct road valuable works have been created like those composed by Çesk Zadeja, Tish Daija, and many others. Songs like the one entitled "For You, My Country", composed by Pjetër Gaci, and interpreted by the People's Artist, Mentor Xhemali, will remain immortal in the treasury of our new art. It is a hymn to our socialist Homeland, to our unconquerable people and Party. It was born at the difficult moments of the revisionist blockade and is permeated by a lofty revolutionary and

optimistic spirit. If not every day, at least every two or three days, in moments of joy or difficulties, I like to listen to it on my tape recorder and it always moves me and inspires me to work.

This is the case with many other beautiful songs too, such as those by Avni Mula and others, which the public love and sing so much, interpreted with such great mastery, pathos and feeling, not only by known and talented singers such as Ramiz Kovaçi, Gaço Çako, Vaçe Zela, and others, but also by new singers, professional and non-professional, such as Zeliha Sina, Ema Qazimi, Alida Hisku, Shyqyri Alushi, the young singer, Violeta Zefi and many others.

On no account must we neglect our folk songs; on the contrary, we should strive to have our composers base themselves firmly on these very songs. It is not right that in the "Jordan Misja" middle school of art the pupils should begin to learn foreign classical music first and Albanian folk music later. The remark made on this question by Comrade Ramiz is quite right. However much effort may be made to teach the pupils foreign music they will not reach the heights of Liszt, for example, who also became a renowned composer precisely because he knew how to revive the Hungarian folk rhapsodies. The same can be said of Chopin, Bizet, etc., who won renown with folk music as their basis.

The broad and variegated life of our country needs a multitude of people working in art, in music. We should discover them, support them, put them on the stage, and some among them who distinguish themselves there will be sent to special schools and then return in large numbers to the bosom of our art-loving people.

Our Party wants every work which comes to light to be as nearly perfect as possible in all aspects, and it strives for this, but perfection is not easy. It takes time, it requires experience, it requires ability, too, things which are not innate in man, but are developed and worked up during the process of the continuous education of his innate leanings. Our people have many leanings which should be utilized and developed, for the good of our socialist society. In this direction, as in everything, the Party must play the decisive role, not only from the material aspect, but especially from the aspect of ideas, by inspiring people with its

ideology, with Marxism-Leninism. Our poets, writers, musicians, etc., all our artists, should learn Marxism-Leninism not only from the books, but also from life, there where it is concretely applied by the people. Books have great importance for the information and education of man, therefore our people must have books and read them zealously. But to inspire people, to form their world outlook and their education, this cannot be confined to books alone. And in the case of people lacking in ideological and political development, who have extravagant inclinations, in opposition to the orientations of the Party, it is even more necessary that they should not be given books of any old kind, particularly those with harmful, poisonous content, for this has a negative influence on their formation. We must provide our readers with that literature which has a revolutionary character. However, we should bear in mind that there are writers of other countries who demand that the working class rise in revolution, but they do not conceive the revolution in the way Marxists do; consequently, they are unable to handle the question of the revolution, in prose or poetry, like our writers, poets and artists. Therefore, we should always be very careful to continually mould our young artists and writers with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, so that, under the leadership of the Party, they will mature, create for the people and think like the people. If we act in this way, what fine and healthy fruit we shall have!

In our post-liberation literature many Albanian writers and poets have distinguished themselves. In the long run a good many of them have won recognition; therefore, I think that the works of value which they have produced and which please us so much, should become subjects for study, not in a pick-and-choose way, but systematically. I remember how in the French school that I went through, we were given a thorough and systematic foundation knowledge of the works of the French writers and poets. But our poets and writers, who are closely linked with the people, who are inspired by and learn from them and on this healthy soil create popular works of ideological and artistic value, have wonderful talent too. Therefore, with their works it is essential that they should not be simply skimmed just to say we've read them, read once and then put back in the shelf, but they should be read carefully and attentively, for the mighty

reality of life, the heroism of our people who are building socialism, is reflected in them.

The beautiful works of our writers are welcomed not only by us, they are welcomed by foreigners, too. Here I am not speaking only of Ismail Kadare's novels or Dritëro Agolli's poems and those of some others of our literary men, which have been translated into foreign languages but to the works of many other writers and poets too. If we can manage to train our own really able translators in foreign languages (because foreigners have always ignored our beautiful language, this is why you do not find people in other countries who have mastered the Albanian language thoroughly), we shall have great success in popularizing Albanian literary-artistic works abroad. Therefore, let's get down to the job of training our own cadres who will really master other languages so that they are capable of translating the works of our writers into them.

We have been informed that the exhibition "Albanian Art in Centuries" which we opened in Paris, has aroused great interest among the French progressive public. We have been told that thousands upon thousands of people, including critics, literary men, philosophers, diplomats, etc., have gone eagerly to visit our exhibition which they have appraised as one of the best put on in the French capital. The visitors have been astounded at the development of our art, in the same way as foreign audiences were astonished at the second National Folklore Festival in Gjirokastra when they saw it on film, or a few years ago at our folk music and dances at the Dijon festival, where our wonderful folk art was presented. Imagine when the foreigners are able to get really good translations of the works of our poets and writers, — they will discover and get to know many aspects of the material and spiritual life of our people who are building the new life of a truly socialist society.

Thus, in this direction we must work very hard indeed. It is not sufficient to publicize abroad the grandeur of the Albanian people in this field of national traditions alone, but we must also make world opinion acquainted with the great struggle and work of the Party, of this Marxist-Leninist Party, which is building socialism in its own country quite unafraid of the all-round struggle waged against it by the bourgeoisie and the modern

revisionists. We must make the bourgeois-revisionist world see the great force of Marxism-Leninism in Albania, not only in the economic field, but also in that of art and culture. We are building in all directions with the maximum of our possibilities, and our friends can see this in the works produced and draw inspiration from the heroism of our people.

There are many foreigners who, even though they are bourgeois, speak well of our country. In the past Albania was a "blank space" to foreigners, about which they knew nothing. Now, when they see the development of our archeology and the scientific level of our research work in this field, they are amazed and ask: "How is it possible that all these treasures have lain hidden in this country?! It is a good thing that you have discovered them for yourselves," they tell us, "because had you asked others to help you they would have grabbed them."

In the outside world there are people with great artistic culture who have the Byzantine culture and art, for instance, at their fingertips. The appraisal which these critics make of the mural paintings of Onufri and the works of other Albanian authors is exceptionally high. In these artistic creations they do not see the plasticity of Byzantine art. In these paintings, in the colours, even in the rocks of our soil which are reflected in them, they observe a special living quality, "Even the saints," they say, "have human faces and are presented like the mountain eagles."

That is all I had to say about some of the questions which were raised at this meeting. We wish all the workers of the front of literature and arts still greater successes in carrying out the tasks laid down by the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, as well as in the other tasks which the Party, the people and the socialist construction, have placed before our literature and arts.

I am sorry that I have not yet been able to see the exhibition of figurative arts which was opened on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of liberation, because, as you know, comrades, I have been very busy, nevertheless, I shall find the opportunity and I shall certainly go to see it. I have been told that works very good from the ideological viewpoint and well executed from the artistic viewpoint, have been exhibited there. The new talents will certainly grow. This is very important for the future. The very

fact of the opening of this exhibition illustrates our great successes in this field. May your work go well!

*Supplement to
New Albania,
N° 1, 1975*

**REPORT AT THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PLA
"ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOUR OF ALBANIA"**

November 1, 1976

Dear comrades,

Five years have elapsed since the Party gathered at its 6th Congress and laid down the guidelines of the economic and social development of the country for this period. The important tasks it undertook it has accomplished successfully. Today our Party comes to its 7th Congress fully prepared and determined to undertake new and more difficult tasks, to carry the cause of socialism and communism in Albania constantly forward to victory.

Our people and Party come to this Congress full of vitality and dynamism, proud of the successes they have achieved and with unwavering confidence in the future. Life has proved again that the Marxist-Leninist course of the Party is completely correct, that the road on which it is leading our people is the reliable road of the construction of socialism, the road of the further strengthening of the freedom and independence of the Homeland.

Our internal situation is healthy and stable in all fields and on all fronts. The Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the magnificent achievements attained, the development of the class struggle in the correct way, have brought about the further strengthening of the moral and political unity of the people and their unbreakable links with the Party, and the creation of a vigorous revolutionary atmosphere.

Under the leadership of the Party, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia have, on the whole, successfully carried out the fundamental tasks of the development of the economy and culture laid down by the 6th

Congress of the Party. During the past five-year period, the productive forces have developed in all the branches of the economy, the material and technical base of socialism has been strengthened and the socialist relations of production have been further improved.

The program of the Party for the building of a complex heavy and light industry, its expansion with new sectors of modern production, has been proved by practice to be fully capable of realization. Now we note with satisfaction that with rapid industrialization the Party's objective of transforming Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one is coming ever closer to attainment. With the workers' skilful hands, with their spirit of perseverance and keen minds, the great metallurgical combine at Elbasan has begun to pour the first steel in the history of Albania. The oil refinery at Ballsh will soon be commissioned and the oil wealth of our prosperous soil will be processed into products for which the economy of our country has great need. The Fierza Hydro-Power Plant on the Drin River is advancing towards completion, together with many other projects. With the new factories and plants that have been and are being commissioned, another major objective of the Party, namely, the most rational utilization, the further processing and increasing of the value of our raw materials, is being successfully attained.

We are all witnesses of the radical change that is taking place in our agriculture. Responding to the call of the Party, with their fiery patriotism, tireless work and unshakable confidence in their own strength — this year, for the first time, the cooperativist peasantry and the workers of state farms produced all the bread grain the country needs. As a result of the special care of the Party, the mechanization of agriculture has been stepped up and a rapid increase of all agricultural and livestock products has been secured. Upon the instruction issued by the 6th Congress, higher type cooperatives have been set up, and the organization and management of agricultural economies have been further improved. The measures taken have led to a further narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside. The plains and mountains of our country are now seething with the great work of transformation to make them still more fertile, to make our

Homeland more prosperous, more beautiful, and more powerful.

Important victories have been achieved also in the deepening of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture, in all the work of the Party for the revolutionary education of the masses. The line of the Party for the development of schooling on the basis of linking lessons with life, of training a younger generation tempered with the proletarian ideology, equipped with knowledge and culture, capable in work and defence, is being implemented consistently and yielding ever better results. Our socialist culture, which is developing in compliance with the teachings of the Party, has been raised to a higher level as a culture with a lofty revolutionary content and clear national and popular form. A vivid expression of this reality is the cultural and artistic creativeness of the masses of which there has been a great upsurge, particularly in recent years, and which sings with feeling to the happy socialist life, the Marxist-Leninist correctness and wisdom of the Party, and the heroism of our people.

Under the special solicitude of the Party and its direct leadership, the defence potential of the country has been further increased and strengthened. With might and main our worker and soldier people are striving to make Albania an impregnable socialist bastion, training and on guard so as to be always ready to defend the revolution and its achievements against any threat from the enemies.

The 6th Congress charged the Party, the working class and all the masses of the working people with the task of further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat as a fundamental condition and guarantee for attaining the majestic objectives put before the Party and the people. Now we can say that the measures which were taken and carried out by the Party have further strengthened our state, have extended and improved our proletarian democracy, have raised the level of the direct participation of the working people in governing the country.

The rise in the capabilities of the working class and in its consciousness of the leading role it must play in socialist society, the establishment of workers' and peasants' control, the struggle of the Party to root out bureaucratic, technocratic, and liberal

distortions and tendencies, have further enriched the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle to defend and consolidate our socialist order. They have contributed greatly to barring the way to the danger of bourgeois and revisionist degeneration and of a switch back to capitalism. This is a major victory for the Party, the working class, and the entire people.

The unbreakable unity of the people, their unity around the line of the Party, is a distinctive feature of our internal situation. A brilliant expression of this unity, which is based on the close alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, is the determination and mobilization of our working masses to fulfil the tasks of socialist construction and to defend the freedom and independence of the Homeland, is the outburst of the creative energies of the working class, cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia in all fields. Another obvious expression of this unity is the lofty spirit of fraternal solidarity and sincere mutual help that exists among our working people, between the working class and the peasantry, among all the strata of our people. The slogan of our Party, "All for one and one for all", has become a new norm of socialist morality.

The revolutionary atmosphere and spirit that prevails in our country is in complete contrast with what is happening all around us. In this period of grave crises that have gripped the capitalist and revisionist world, the strength and stability of socialist Albania, our political and economic stability, are evidence of the superiority of socialism, of the wisdom of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, and the correctness of the principle of self-reliance. The fact that small socialist Albania, with all these great political, economic, financial, and other storms beating against its shores, is in a position to cope with all the difficulties and march constantly ahead, fills the hearts of all of us with legitimate pride. But, at the same time, the situation in which we are living and working demands that we mobilize all our strength and energies, all our knowledge and creative spirit, just as we have done up until now, to carry out all the tasks to the letter, so that our socialist ship will sail on steadily towards safe shores.

The internal situation of our country has been strengthened and consolidated through a sharp class struggle which our Party

and people have waged with determination on all fronts, against the all-round pressure of the hostile imperialist and revisionist encirclement, against the savage ideological aggression hurled against our country day by day, as well as against the dangerous enemy activities inside the country and in the ranks of the Party itself. Against the steel-like solidarity of our Party and people, the attacks and plots of the external and internal enemies against our Party and our socialist order, against the freedom and independence of our Homeland, have been reduced to dust and ashes.

The communists and our entire people know that in recent years the Party has uncovered and foiled the treacherous and conspiratorial anti-party activities of Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, of Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela, who, in collusion with the external enemies, aimed to open the doors to revisionism, to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and liquidate the independence of the Homeland.

But the activities and plots of these dangerous enemies suffered utter defeat. Thanks to the revolutionary vigilance and struggle of the Party and its leadership, thanks to the Marxist-Leninist unity of the ranks of the Party and the unbreakable strength of our proletarian dictatorship, the anti-party conspirators were exposed. The Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat hit them with an iron fist and threw them into the dustbin, where all the traitors to the revolution belong.

Cleared of thorns and poisonous weeds, the Party emerged from this struggle stronger and more monolithic, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the positions of socialism were even further consolidated. The entire people powerfully supported the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line, and closed their ranks around it and the people's power still more tightly. The Party took all measures to completely eliminate the harmful consequences of the hostile activity and sabotage, and to root out those shortcomings and weaknesses which the enemies had exploited. An even higher revolutionary spirit swept the entire country. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia and the youth and the women set to work with a new drive and enthusiasm to carry out the tasks of the

socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland, to come to the 7th Congress of the Party with new and greater successes. This is a vivid proof that the external and internal enemies will never find a breach in our Party and our people, that no evil-doing, by anyone at all, will ever escape the keen vigilance of the communists and the masses of the working people, that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania is strong and ready to hit hard and destroy any enemy.

It is our duty to further consolidate the healthy internal situation existing in our country as a result of the work done by the Party and under its leadership, through the self-denying efforts of the entire people, so that our Homeland will progress and flourish, so that socialism will always march triumphant and the life of our people will become better and more beautiful with each passing day.

The 7th Congress is taking place in the days of an important jubilee, the 35th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party of Labour. This great day, on which our people's hope of salvation and assurance of victory were born, is a joyous celebration for us all, a day that reminds us of the heroic road traversed and encourages and mobilizes us for new battles and victories. For our people the founding of the Party of the Albanian communists marked a decisive turning point in their centuries-old history, and laid the steel-like foundations on which the new socialist Albania is being built.

The thirty-five years of revolutionary activity of the Party are thirty-five years of heroic efforts and battles at the head of the Albanian working class and people, for the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the Revolution, to free Albania from poverty and raise it from its ruins, and to build this life, so rich in content, so just and happy, which we enjoy today. This is a period of victorious struggles against numerous enemies, both internal and external, against the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, a period of struggle to defend our right to live always free and independent, to defend the road of true socialism and communism. The strong international position of socialist Albania, the high prestige it enjoys in the world, the support and solidarity it has among the revolutionary peoples and its

numerous friends, are a result of the correct line of the Party in its foreign policy, of the consistent and principled struggle our Party and people have waged unceasingly against imperialism and revisionism. We can affirm with full conviction that the Albanian communists have always honourably done their duty towards their own working class and people, just as they have always done their internationalist duty towards international communism and the peoples to the letter.

Our Party has succeeded in attaining these brilliant victories because it has always stood loyal to the interests of the working class and its own people, because it has stood loyal to the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, because it has never separated its words from its deeds. At every moment and at every stage it has maintained the closest links with the masses, has stood in the front ranks of the struggle and, through its correct line, has united all our people around itself and has guided them with a sure hand.

The successes achieved during these years, which our people call the years of the Party, the great battles won, make us look to the future with optimism. We are aware that many difficulties have already been overcome, that many objectives have been attained, but ahead of us there is even greater work, which our 7th Congress will discuss and decide upon, and many battles, which we must wage with determination and win, await us.

I

THE NEW CONSTITUTION — A GREAT HISTORIC VICTORY OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE

Comrades,

It is the honour and very responsible task of the delegates to the 7th Congress to express the opinion of the entire Party on the new Fundamental Law of Socialist Albania, the new Constitution of our state.

The 6th Congress of the Party put forward the task of drafting a new Constitution and instructed that it should be the continuation of the existing one, which would express the continuity of the revolution in Albania, the uninterrupted struggle to guarantee the freedom and independence of the Homeland and the building of socialism. On the other hand, it had to take into account our present reality, the stage which the development of the revolution has reached. The new Constitution must sanction the major revolutionary transformations carried out and the successes achieved, must reflect the general line of the Party for the complete construction of socialism and the further development of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The old Constitution was the Constitution of the building of the foundations of socialism, whereas the new Constitution will be the Constitution of the complete construction of socialist society.

The existing Constitution has served us well in the attainment of all the magnificent achievements up to date. But now it has completed its mission. It contains many juridical and political norms that have become extremely narrow and do not correspond to the development and the deepening of the revolution on a broad front. This is connected with the historical stage and circumstances in which the former Constitution was adopted.

At that time the Party and the country faced great and complicated problems which had to be solved with courage and

also with great wisdom, problems which called for urgent solution, but in which the stages could not be rushed. The people's power which emerged from the National Liberation War had to be consolidated and perfected. The frenzied resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes and their endeavours to restore the past had to be smashed. The old economic relations had to be liquidated and replaced with new socialist relations. The wave of spontaneity of small-scale commodity production had to be controlled, restricted, and turned aside, and the strata of the petty-bourgeoisie of town and countryside, and first of all the working peasantry, had to be drawn onto the road of socialism. The centuries-old backwardness inherited from the past had to be overcome, and the free and independent development of the country along the road of socialism ensured. The defence of the Homeland had to be constantly strengthened to cope with any possible aggression from abroad. And, along with all this, a profound change in the mentality of people on the basis of proletarian world outlook and morality had to be achieved.

The first Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, which the Party gave the people and the country, served the solution of all these great historic problems and tasks. It became a basis and a program for all the major revolutionary transformations which have taken place during these three decades of our free life — the industrialization of the country, the socialist transformation of the countryside, the carrying out of the ideological, cultural and educational revolution, the emancipation and progress of the whole society.

Because of all these victories, all these transformations and achievements, as well as the prospects opened to our country, the amending of the Constitution, as decided by the 6th Congress, became indispensable.

During these years the Central Committee of the Party has carried on all-round work to complete the necessary studies and prepare the new draft Constitution. The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee devoted itself especially to this problem. It examined the draft which the People's Assembly published and presented to the people for discussion in January this year.

In this great political and ideological action the broad masses

of the working people aired their views freely on the new Fundamental Law of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. About 1,500,000 people, practically all the adult population of the country, participated in the meetings which were held, and about 300,000 people contributed to the discussion.

The unanimous approval of the draft Constitution was, in essence, approval of the Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party, of the revolutionary course it has pursued. Hundreds of meetings in work centres and agricultural cooperatives, in schools and army units, in cultural and administrative institutions, as well as thousands upon thousands of letters and telegrams in support of the new Constitution, addressed to the Central Committee, bear testimony to the steel unity of our entire people around the Party and its line, to their revolutionary optimism and confidence in the socialist future.

The great popular discussion, characterized by a free and fruitful thrashing out of opinions, by lively and constructive debate, was a clear expression of our socialist democracy in action and of the genuine sovereignty of the people. It demonstrated in practice that in socialist Albania the people are the masters, that nothing is done against their will. "To the poor", said an ordinary peasant during the discussion of the draft Constitution, "the word 'law' once had a terrible sound. It meant a threat of starvation, a threat of imprisonment, a threat of death. Today the people make the laws themselves, and they do so for their own good."

The broad strata of the working people made many useful suggestions and proposals and rendered a valuable contribution to filling out and improving the draft presented to them, to raising it to the level required in the Fundamental Law of our socialist state.

The draft Constitution, which will soon be submitted to the People's Assembly for final approval, is a juridical document of special importance. It is a document of great theoretical and practical, political and ideological value, on which our social, economic, and cultural development at the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society, will be based.

The new Constitution is permeated through and through by

the ideology and fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, embodies the teachings and the revolutionary experience of our Party of Labour, and bears the stamp of the creative thinking of the broad masses of our people. It proclaims the basic principles of scientific socialism and makes them its own, principles indispensable for a genuine socialist society, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, in which the working class, with its own Party at the head, really plays its leading role.

Our new Fundamental Law reaffirms the correct Marxist-Leninist principles which were the foundation of the former Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. But the new Constitution marks a further qualitative development of the existing Constitution, in conformity with the present stage of the revolution which our country has reached.

While sanctioning the victories attained and the trends of development of the country on the road to socialism, the new Constitution also serves as a program of struggle and work for the future. Its aim is to give the maximum scope to the development of the productive forces and the relations of production of a genuine socialist society, to open the road to the revolutionary emancipation and education of our new man, to safeguard and strengthen the socialist order and the dictatorship of the proletariat still better, to create the best possible conditions for the country on its advance towards communism.

Summing up the line and experience of our Party in the field of development of the socialist revolution, this important document also sanctions the juridical, political, ideological and economic dispositions to bar the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. In this respect, our Constitution constitutes a valuable creative contribution of the Party of Labour of Albania to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The new Constitution does not conceal its class character. It proclaims and sanctions the character of our state as a dictatorship of the proletariat in power, it proclaims and sanctions the undivided leading role of the Party in the state and in the whole society, it proclaims and sanctions the class struggle as the main driving force of our entire society.

Socialism, said Marx,

*"... is the class dictatorship of the proletariat, as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the overthrow of all ideas that result from these social relations." **

In the revolutionary experience of our country the correctness of these teachings of genius of Marx has been completely confirmed. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the powerful and decisive weapon to carry the socialist revolution forward, to its complete and final victory. It is through the dictatorship of the proletariat that the vital task of the revolution, the all-round development of the socialist economy and culture, the organization and management of the construction of socialism and of the classless communist society, is achieved. It plays a no less important role in the struggle to purge the socialist social life of all vestiges of the old society, to eradicate from the minds of the working people everything alien that drags them backwards, to carry out their communist education, to unite all the working people around the vanguard force, the working class and its Party, on the road of socialism and communism.

The experience of the revolution and the construction of socialism in Albania proves that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary to the working class to suppress the resistance of the class enemies, old and new, and their efforts to restore the old order, to cope with the external danger, which comes both from the aggressive intentions of imperialism and social-imperialism to strangle and destroy the socialist order, with fire and steel, or with blockade and starvation, as well as from the ideological aggression of the capitalist-revisionist world, which day by day sends its waves of degeneration and counter-revolution crashing against our shores.

The preservation and ceaseless strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the period of transition from socialism to communism is also dictated by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and some other

* K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 226 (Alb. ed.).

countries, where departure from the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat gave birth to revisionism, the most dangerous weapon of the counter-revolution, which led to the destruction of the socialist order and the re-establishment of capitalist slavery and social-fascism.

The enemies of socialism, both internal and external, have always aimed their main blows against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now, it is fashionable among all the revisionist renegades and the lackeys of the bourgeoisie to launch savage attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat and indulge in unrestrained demagoguery about the alleged restoration of the lost democracy. Their purpose is to attack the very essence of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and to destroy the fundamental instrument of the proletariat for the building of the new socialist life. Therefore, the stand towards the dictatorship of the proletariat has served and continues to serve as the marker of the line dividing genuine Marxist-Leninists and proletarian revolutionaries from opportunists of every hue and renegades from the working class.

In our country the dictatorship of the proletariat has always stood strong and invincible, because the Party has carried out the teachings of Marxism-Leninism faithfully, has waged the class struggle correctly, and has always maintained keen revolutionary vigilance. It has constantly strengthened and perfected the proletarian state and the defence of the country, and has consistently combated all alien manifestations which lead to the peaceful degeneration of the socialist social and state order.

Reflecting and summing up the rich revolutionary experience of our country, as well as international experience, rejecting the anti-Marxist theories of the revisionists that the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat has allegedly been left behind, or about the "state of the entire people", the new draft Constitution states in a clear-cut manner that the "*People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people*".

The draft Constitution is a vivid reflection of genuine socialist democracy and humanism. It is a confirmation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that the dictatorship of the proletariat is

inseparable from the broadest, most thoroughgoing and complete democracy for the working people. Ensuring broad socialist democracy constitutes a fundamental condition for the protection and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, just as the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of genuine democracy for the working people.

Our socialist democracy has guaranteed the working people the important right to have their say in the solution of social and state problems, to exercise control over everybody and everything, to participate effectively on a broad scale, in an organized way and in the most various forms, in the administration of the country. The Party considers this participation and its constant extension as the fundamental direction of the development of socialist democracy, as a great motive force to promote socialist construction, and as one of the most important factors to protect our state and our society against the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. This line of the Party has been fully sanctioned in the new Constitution.

The spirit of socialist democracy, which characterizes our entire social life, runs through the whole structure of our socialist state, from the people's councils at the base up to the People's Assembly. The draft Constitution clearly defines that the state power is an indivisible whole and is exercised completely by the organs and representatives elected by the people directly. All the other state organs carry out their activity under the direction and control of the representative organs, are responsible and render account to them. It stresses that not only the elected state functionaries but also the appointed ones must render account to the masses and submit to their direct control. In this way, the struggle against the danger of estrangement of the representative organs from the people, the struggle against bureaucracy and the tendency to place the executive and administrative organs above the representative organs of power, is put on a constitutional basis.

With us the building and functioning of the entire socialist state and social mechanism proceed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, the essence of which is the centralized

leadership by the working class of the entire life of the country through its Party and the proletarian state, the combination of centralized management with the creative initiative of the local organs and the working masses. By fully embodying this great Marxist-Leninist principle, the draft Constitution is counterposed to all anti-Marxist concepts and practices of the revisionists, both the liberal-anarchist concepts that negate proletarian centralism, and the bureaucratic centralist concepts, which prevent participation by the working masses in governing the country.

In socialist Albania, the rights of the working people to work, to education and medical services free of charge, to the means of livelihood in old age, freedom of speech, the press and organization, have been ensured under the law and guaranteed in practice; complete equality before the law, without any restriction or privilege in rights and obligations on account of sex, race, nationality, education, position or material condition, etc., is guaranteed. One of the great achievements of the historic work of the Party and the people's power is the emancipation of the Albanian woman and her complete equality with man in work and pay and in all fields of our life. All these colossal political and social victories achieved by our Party and people, occupy an important place in the new Constitution.

Our reality, our socialist democracy refute all the slanders of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists who charge that the socialist order lacks democracy. With us, freedom and democracy are only for the broad masses of working people, and are not, and cannot be, for the enemies of the working class and the people, for those who seek to undermine the proletarian state power and the socialist social order, as the bourgeoisie and the revisionist traitors would like. In full compliance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party and our dictatorship of the proletariat have not allowed and never will allow this kind of democracy. Our socialist democracy is true democracy for the people, for the masses of the working people, and for them alone.

During the popular discussion of the draft Constitution, the entire people enthusiastically hailed the inclusion in the Constitution as a fundamental principle of the clause that the "*Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class,*

is the sole political leading force of the state and the society".

With the greatest loyalty and unwavering consistency our Party has upheld the great principle that ensuring the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party constitutes the decisive condition for carrying out the revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. It has always been aware that the leadership of the party represents the concentrated and highest expression of the leading role of the working class and the number one subjective factor for putting its revolutionary program into practice.

The fact that this has been made a fundamental principle of the Constitution is further evidence that our Party, as always, is determined to implement and defend the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on every issue and in all fields. The leading role of the Party in our society and state not only constitutes a basic demand of Marxism-Leninism but it also represents an historic reality.

With the Party in the lead, our people carried out the National Liberation War and won their freedom and independence, overthrew the old regimes and established the people's power. With the Party in the lead, great revolutionary transformations were carried out. Under the leadership of the Party, our people defended the country from the frenzied attacks of external and internal enemies, and secured and consolidated its political and economic independence. With the Party at the head, that Albania at which we rejoice today and which we must always unceasingly strive to make stronger and more prosperous has been built.

But, as Marxism-Leninism teaches and as our own historical experience, too, has convinced us, it is not just for a certain time that the leading role of the Party is necessary. It is indispensable for the entire period of complete construction of the socialist society, up to communism. *The more the revolution advances and deepens, the more the leading role of the Party must be strengthened and perfected in every sphere of life, and state and social activity.* If this role is allowed to become weakened or eliminated, great dangers threaten the revolution and socialism and grave defeats await them.

The revisionist theories which claim that, in the transitional

period the leading role of the party comes to an end, or turns into an educative function only, are aimed at leaving the working class and the people without a leadership so that the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism can be overthrown and the counter-revolution triumph.

By placing the principle of the leading role of the Party at the foundation of the Constitution, we are defending Marxism-Leninism from these frenzied attacks, defending and carrying forward the cause of true socialism in Albania.

The fact that Marxism-Leninism has now become the dominant ideology in our country represents another historical reality. Our entire political, economic, social, educational and cultural life is guided by the principles of the ideology of the working class and permeated by the principles of proletarian morality. As a result of the great work of the Party, of the ideological and cultural revolution, the revolutionary theory of the proletariat has been embraced by the broad masses of the people, it sets the tone for, and determines, the course of development of the entire spiritual life of our society. Marxism-Leninism, which illuminates our road to socialism and communism, has been transformed into a great motive force.

The Marxist-Leninist ideology, the line of the Party, enable the people to understand the present better and have even greater confidence in the future. Life over the last thirty-five years has firmly convinced our people that only on the basis of the revolutionary outlook of the working class is it possible to establish, safeguard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to build socialism successfully and to march confidently towards the classless communist society.

This experience and these victories have had the result that the consistent defence and implementation of Marxism-Leninism has become the concern of all the working people and is considered by everybody as a question vital to the fate of socialism. Therefore, *the statement of the Constitution that "Marxism-Leninism is the dominant ideology" in our socialist state, that "the entire socialist order is developed on the basis of its principles" is a great historic victory of socialism in Albania.*

One of the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and one of the main conclusions drawn from our Party's revolutionary

experience is that it is absolutely essential to continue to wage the class struggle in the period of the complete construction of the socialist society, right up to communism.

The modern revisionists with the Soviet revisionists in the lead claim that class struggle dies out with the liquidation of the exploiting classes. This is a fraud designed to disarm the working class and lull it to sleep, to open the way to the restoration of capitalism. This has been most clearly proved in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, where the new capitalist bourgeoisie has come to power.

Our country's experience refutes these false and capitulationist theories about the dying down of the class struggle in socialism. The entire history of the construction of socialism in Albania is a history of irreconcilable struggle between the revolution and the counter-revolution, between the two roads of development, against the external and internal enemies, as well as within the ranks of the people and the Party itself. This struggle has been waged unceasingly and has always been fierce, only its forms and methods have changed according to circumstances and stages of development. Even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such, the internal and external enemies have never for one moment laid down their arms or ceased their struggle against socialism. Therefore, our Party and people have waged the class struggle in all fields with stern consistency and in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, as the decisive condition to ensure the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

In compliance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and relying on this rich revolutionary experience, the draft Constitution explicitly states that *in all its activity, our socialist state upholds the great Marxist-Leninist principle of class struggle, which constitutes the great motive force to carry the socialist revolution forward.*

In drafting the new Constitution, the Central Committee has seen to it that the line of the Party concerning major questions of national sovereignty and defence of the country's freedom and independence is fully reflected and clearly formulated in it. In these circumstances that our country is encircled by imperialists and revisionists, that all-round political, ideological, economic

and military pressure is being brought to bear against it, that chauvinistic theories on limited sovereignty are being spread and the practice of robbing the peoples of their independence is being imposed by violence, these problems assume great importance, not only theoretical and juridical but practical and political as well.

Proceeding from the sacred goal of preserving and unceasingly strengthening the freedom, independence, and defence potential of the Homeland and the gains of the revolution, *the draft Constitution states that nobody other than the representative organs of state power can exercise sovereignty of the people or any of their powers in the name of our Republic, that the territory of the Homeland is inalienable and its borders inviolable.* Under the Constitution, the establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops, in whatever form, in the territory of socialist Albania are prohibited. As well as this, no one has the right to sign or accept the capitulation or occupation of the country.

These revolutionary principles of vital importance unequivocally and clearly express the sovereign right and determination of the Albanian people to defend their life, their achievements, and their free and independent socialist Homeland to the end. At the same time, the principles sanctioned in the Constitution, especially the one about the prohibition of the establishment of foreign bases and the stationing of foreign troops, constitute a solemn pledge that the territory of socialist Albania will never be used as a base for aggression against the other countries.

Also of great importance for safeguarding the independence of the country and the socialist order is the provision in the draft Constitution prohibiting the granting of concessions to foreign countries, the setting up of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or embarking on joint ventures with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them. This is an extremely important question of principle. No country whatsoever, big or small, can build socialism by taking credits and aid from the bourgeoisie and the revisionists or by integrating its economy into the world system of capitalist economy. Any such linking of

the economy of a socialist country with the economy of bourgeois or revisionist countries opens the doors to the action of the economic laws of capitalism and the degeneration of the socialist order. This is the road of betrayal and the restoration of capitalism, which the revisionist cliques have pursued and are pursuing.

Our people always regard the defence of freedom and national sovereignty as the duty above all duties. Therefore, the Party and the people's power have adopted a series of very important measures of a political, ideological, military and other character, which have also been sanctioned in the draft Constitution, for the organization of a reliable and impregnable defence, capable of guaranteeing the socialist victories and coping with any enemy aggression, no matter where it comes from. *The Constitution also sanctions the great Marxist-Leninist principle that the defence of the Homeland and the gains of socialism are guaranteed by the armed people organized in the armed forces.*

It is absolutely possible to ensure the national sovereignty, and political and economic independence and to guarantee the defence of the country, because in Albania the people are in power, sovereignty belongs entirely to the working people and is exercised by them alone, because the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Party of Labour is in power here.

These basic principles which have been sanctioned in the draft Constitution, reflect the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy and line of the Party, and, at the same time, comply with the ardent aspirations of the Albanian people who have fought and shed torrents of blood for their freedom, independence, and sovereign rights, for hundreds of years on end. This is why the entire people have expressed their unanimous approval of these great principles of the Constitution and their readiness to a man to defend their national sovereignty and every inch of their socialist Homeland, at all costs and under any circumstances.

Our country's experience proves that the safeguarding of the economic and political independence and the defence of national sovereignty are closely linked with the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance. In connection with this major question, the draft Constitution says that *throughout the construction of socialism, the People's Socialist*

Republic of Albania upholds the principle of self-reliance.

Just as the freedom and independence of a country are not donated, neither are the revolution and socialism imported. They are the outcome of the resolute revolutionary struggle of the broad working masses of each country with the working class at the head and under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. The principle of self-reliance does not rule out the internationalist aid of the proletariat, revolutionaries, and socialist countries. However, the external factor, internationalist solidarity and aid, is an auxiliary and complementary element, but not the decisive one, despite its great importance.

In the National Liberation War as well as in the construction and defence of socialism, our Party has resolutely applied the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance. Precisely for this reason our country successfully dealt with the nazi-fascist occupiers as well as all the pressures and blockades of the imperialists and revisionists, has built a powerful and independent economy and developed a powerful and reliable defence potential, and a culture and art of sound socialist content. By undeviatingly pursuing the Marxist-Leninist course of self-reliance, Albania will attain new, even greater victories in the complete construction of the socialist society.

The draft Constitution also sanctions a series of other important principles and norms, which underlie the construction and functioning of the entire economic and social, political and spiritual life such as those which govern the relations of ownership and distribution, the planned development of the economy, socialist law, the relations between cadres and masses, between the state and the society, as well as the principles and norms which define the rights and duties of citizens, and so on. The sanctioning in the Constitution of the fundamental principles guiding the foreign policy of our state is of special importance.

The new Constitution provides a reflection of a true socialist society, built according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, embodied in, and borne out by, the revolutionary practice of our country. Therefore, in calling our Republic a People's Socialist Republic, the new Constitution expresses in the most complete and clearest way the class content and the

socialist reality of Albania today.

The approval of the new Fundamental Law of our socialist state by the People's Assembly will impart a fresh and powerful impulse to the entire work and struggle of our people for the construction and defence of socialism. The new Constitution will make the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania even stronger and more invincible, it will open up broader vistas to the progress and prosperity of our Fatherland.

II

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Under the leadership of the Party and inspired by its correct Marxist-Leninist line, our working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia mustered all their energies, and in general, successfully fulfilled the tasks set by the 6th Congress for the development of the economy and culture.

By implementing the Party's directives that the economy must be developed in a proportionate and harmonious way, further growth and strengthening of all its branches was ensured in the 5th five-year period. In 1975, as against 1970, social production increased by 37 percent and the national income by 38 percent, at an average rate three times higher than the increase in the population.

During this period, proceeding on the road of socialist industrialization, the role of industry as the leading branch in the overall economic development was further enhanced. Now industrial production makes up about 65 percent of total industrial and agricultural production. In 1975, as against 1970, industrial production increased by 52 percent, at an average annual rate of 8.7 percent.

During these years, vigorous revolutionary work was done to put into practice the correct policy of the Party for the rapid development and modernization of socialist agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy. Agricultural production increased by 33 percent, at an average annual rate of 5.9 percent.

In this five-year period the volume of investments was 50 percent greater than in the previous five-year period. Work was done on 310 important economic and social projects, half of which have already been commissioned.

On the basis of the overall growth of production, a further rise in the material well-being and the cultural level of the people was ensured. The real income per capita increased by 14.5

percent, the target set by the 6th Congress. The purchasing power of the population has increased and supply has steadily improved. Eighty-five percent of the people's needs for industrial and agricultural goods of everyday use were met by local products. During the past five-year period, 62,000 flats and dwelling houses were built in towns and villages. The educational and cultural level of the masses of the people was raised higher. In the last five years, over 12,500 people graduated from higher schools, and 72,000 others from secondary schools. The rise in the well-being and the cultural level, the extension and improvement of the health services, resulted in the extension of the average life-span and a high rate of increase in the population.

This all-round material and cultural development has been accompanied with the adoption of important measures for the strengthening of socialist property, the further revolutionary improvement of relations of distribution and exchange.

The results achieved in carrying out the tasks laid down by the 6th Congress of the Party for the development of the economy and culture speak clearly of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the superiority of our socialist system, the high level of consciousness and creativeness of our people.

In making a correct assessment of the major results achieved, we must not fail to point out that in the struggle for the fulfilment of the five-year plan, apart from some objective difficulties, there have also been a series of shortcomings and weaknesses in the management and organization of work, bureaucratic and liberal stands and actions, technocratic and intellectualistic views, which caused the creation of appreciable deficits in some sectors. The planned targets in the extraction of oil, chromium, copper and coal, in the production of bread grain and industrial crops, were not fully attained. The construction of some industrial projects was not completed on schedule. The sabotage activity of the hostile groups exposed and condemned by the Party also had a direct influence on the failure to achieve these targets.

But neither the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and all-round blockade, the pressure of the economic-financial crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world, nor the activity of enemies,

was able to stop the triumphant march of socialist Albania.

The major victories attained in the material and spiritual development of our society have created a powerful basis which opens up great prospects for our irresistible drive forward.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist general line for the construction of socialism, the Central Committee of the Party has drawn up the draft directives for the new five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture for the 1976-1980 period, which it now puts forward to the Congress for consideration.

These draft directives have been discussed by the working masses, who expressed their opinions, discovered new reserves and possibilities, and made very valuable proposals for advancing the indices of the plan and defining the ways to ensure the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the targets.

The 6th five-year plan is a mobilizing and realistic plan. It is based on the efforts, energies and mental and physical capacities of the people, on the possibilities and resources of the economy, on the internal socialist accumulation. The achievements to date, the material-technical base created, the great experience gained, the enthusiasm, readiness, and ardent patriotism shown by our people, are a reliable guarantee that it will be fulfilled successfully.

In compliance with the guidelines provided by the Party in the draft directives for the development of the economy and culture in the 1976-1980 period, the following basic task is laid down:

"To go on at rapid rates with the socialist construction of the country for the transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, with advanced industry and agriculture, according to the principle of self-reliance, for the further all-round strengthening of the economic independence of the country; to further improve the socialist relations of production and the superstructure; to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and enhance the defence potential of the Homeland; to raise the material and cultural level of the working masses higher by carrying further the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside. This is to be achieved on the basis of the consistent waging of the class struggle and the mobilization of all the forces and energies of the people under the

leadership of the Party."

To carry out this basic task, the 6th five-year plan envisages a further all-round development of socialist industry, giving priority as before, to the development of heavy industry, the vanguard of the whole process of socialist industrialization of the country. With the commissioning of new projects with a high level of concentration of production and technical equipment, industry will assume new qualitative dimensions and features.

Overall industrial production will increase by 41-44 percent; within which the production of means of production will increase by about 60 percent. The total value of industrial production in the 6th five-year plan will be greater than that realized during the four five-year plans from 1951 up to 1970, taken together.

The directives of the Party for the intensification and modernization of agriculture, for the vigorous growth of agricultural and livestock production, find full reflection in the tasks assigned to this branch of vital importance. Overall agricultural production in 1980, as against 1975, is envisaged to increase by 38-41 percent, and in the five years it will be nearly equal to the production realized in the first, second, and third five-year periods taken together.

The volume of investments is envisaged to be 35-38 percent larger than that of the previous five-year period. It is nearly equal to the total volume of investments made during the 20 years from 1951 to 1970.

National income is envisaged to increase by 38-40 percent. The supply of foodstuffs and industrial products for the people will mark further improvement. Retail goods turnover will increase 22-25 percent, and the real income per capita of population 11-14 percent. Education, culture, health and science will make important steps forward. In 1980, about 730,000 pupils and students will attend schools of all categories, 18,000 students will graduate from higher schools, and 91,000 from secondary schools.

These brilliant perspectives opened up to the country with the new five-year plan inspire all the working people, strengthen their confidence, encourage and give them fresh energies to undertake and carry out ever greater tasks for the good of the people and the Homeland, for the progress of socialist Albania.

These are some of the main objectives of the 6th five-year plan. Comrade Mehmet Shehu, who is going to deliver the report of the Central Committee on the draft directives for the development of the economy and culture in the 1976-1980 period, will speak about them in greater detail. Here we shall dwell on some current fundamental questions of the economic policy of the Party.

1. The further development of industry — the main factor for the strengthening of the economy

In its program for the development and consolidation of the socialist economy, right from the start the Party has always followed a correct Marxist-Leninist line, giving priority to the setting up and expansion of industry, to strengthening and modernizing it. The victories achieved in all fields, in industry, the mines, construction, communications, etc., are the result of the courageous implementation of this correct policy of the Party. In 1975, as against 1960 when the Soviet revisionists began their savage blockade, total industrial production had increased 3.9 fold, within which the production of oil and chromium industries had increased 3.1 fold, copper industry 21 fold, power industry 7.1 fold, chemical industry 24.8 fold, and the engineering industry 14.4 fold.

Looking at the results achieved and the prospects opened for the further development of our country, one can realize how correct and far-sighted was the struggle which the Party has waged against the "suggestions" and pressure of the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists and the defeatist viewpoints of the internal enemies, who sought to divert our country from the correct path our Party had chosen for its socialist industrialization. They strove with might and main to sabotage the development of industry, concealing the geological data with the aim of proving that our country allegedly lacked the raw materials, that it was not worthwhile making investments in the mining industry, that it would be better to spend these funds on sunflowers and oranges.

To develop the various branches of industry and the people's economy as a whole, the Party has relied, first and foremost, on the mineral resources of the country and their utilization.

Mining, which occupies the main place in heavy industry, ensures for the economy extremely valuable and irreplaceable raw materials, the staple food of industry and the main source of exports.

Our country extensively exploits such valuable resources as chromium and iron-nickel ore, copper, pyrite, oil, gas, and coal. Up to now, many kinds of minerals have been discovered. The facts show that underground in Albania there is no lack of bauxites, phosphorites, polymetals, and other minerals.

In the new five-year plan, too, the rapid and steady development of industry is to be directly linked with the expansion of the mining, extracting and processing industry, which will continue to grow at higher rates of development than the other branches of industry.

The orientation of the Party for the 6th five-year plan period is to ensure a more rational exploitation of the existing resources on which the principal forces and means must be concentrated, to put new resources into economic circulation and to increase the value of our minerals through their enrichment and processing within the country.

To further strengthen the economy, to guarantee the most powerful possible base of raw materials and energy for industry, a special role is to be played by geology. It must precede the development of the mining industry and open new paths for it. Slowing down the work of prospecting for and discovering minerals is fraught with negative consequences for the economy.

The problems of geology are problems that must become the concern of the party organizations, state and economic organs on a broad scale, and must never be considered as questions which only specialists can deal with. The party organizations must show special concern for the ideopolitical and professional education of the geological workers and should encourage in them the desire and will to study and master science and technology, and apply them ever better for the benefit of the economy and the Homeland.

Geology is a science of strict discipline, which requires verifiable accuracy in every action and at every juncture. Our geological sector has suffered precisely from the lack of strict scientific discipline and thoroughgoing studies backed by facts.

As in any other science, and even more so in geology, one cannot proceed by conjecture or by empirical methods. Therefore it is required of the geologists that their work should always be solidly based on thorough complex studies, that they make accurate generalizations of factual data, to achieve useful discoveries with the least possible expenditure.

From the geologists, the prospecting specialists, all the workers of geology, the people and the Homeland require that they study our underground riches scientifically, conduct large-scale work to disclose its mineral content and increase our geological reserves. *To this end, the geologists should courageously search every inch of our mountains and plains, shoulder to shoulder with the amateur prospectors, and assess every trace, every clue, and every discovery with the greatest seriousness.*

In order to further strengthen the productive forces of the country, to create a more efficient structure of industry and the other branches of the economy, to further consolidate our economic independence, the Party attaches extreme importance to the rapid development of the extracting and processing industry.

But the existing processing industry and that which is going to be set up constantly require large amounts of chromium, copper, iron-nickel and other minerals. These minerals, so precious to our country and scarce in the foreign market, also ensure the main source of foreign currency in our state's income. The five-year plan provides for chromium ore extraction to increase by 47 percent, copper 55 percent, and iron-nickel about 3.3 times over. Fulfilment of these major tasks demands a most efficient exploitation of mines, based on thorough scientific knowledge, strict technical discipline, and socialist consciousness of a high level. The existing mineral resources constitute a great asset, therefore neither irrational or unstudied methods of exploitation, nor concern for gross figures only, which has caused no slight damage in the past, are permissible here. Major tasks face us in raising the level of the mechanization of the extraction and transport of millions of tons of ore from the bowels of the earth, making full use of the existing mechanisms and machines and those to be produced locally. In the future,

too, the extension and expansion of transport and the construction of new railways should be directed first of all towards the mines.

The Party has always considered the development of the oil, gas and coal industry as a problem of special political and economic importance, closely connected with the all-round development of the country and the strengthening of its independence and defence potential. The ceaseless growth of industry, agriculture, transport and the other branches of the economy, the consolidation and modernization of the defence potential of the country, require ever more coal, motor fuel, lubricants, and gas.

Precisely because the oil, gas and coal industry is so vital for the economy and defence, the internal and external enemies have always striven to hinder and sabotage the rapid development of them by all manner of means. This is what the enemies of the Party and the people, Abdyl Këllezi and Koço Theodhosi did, too. With refined methods, they caused confusion in gas and oil prospecting, and directed it on to a wrong anti-economic and anti-scientific course. By careless drilling, which yielded no results, they sabotaged the discovery of new sources. To cover the tracks of their sabotage activity in the extraction of oil, they encouraged barbarous methods of exploitation of the existing sources, with the aim of leaving the Homeland and the people without oil.

The damage caused by the enemies created some temporary difficulties, but the oil workers, led by the Party, are fighting persistently to overcome the consequences of the sabotage activity and to give the Homeland more oil and gas. They are working hard to expand the existing sources and are optimistic about discovering new oil and gas fields.

Under the conditions of a world energy crisis and when the country's needs for oil and gas are constantly increasing, the oil workers are called upon to work with greater intensity and scientific discipline, so that the maintenance and exploitation of oil and gas fields is based on well-studied plans, making extensive use of those methods which raise the indices of exploitation and prolong the life of the fields. As the Party has always directed, *it is necessary to concentrate oil prospecting on already known and*

promising areas to ensure the discovery of new oil and gas fields, and to define the prospects for the coming five-year periods. Oil and gas are among the most valuable assets of our country. Our generation is duty-bound to think of the coming generations, too.

As concerns coal, the Party's directive has been and continues to be that this fuel must find extensive use whenever possible. The calorific power of our coal is up to the requirements of most branches of the economy. Therefore it should not be underrated by any means, as it was by the enemies, when they intentionally restricted extraction of coal, replacing it with oil. This five-year plan envisages that the extraction of coal will be doubled. To reach this high objective it is indispensable *to bring the new mines into production as quickly as possible, to maintain the existing mines and increase coal extraction in them*, and in no case to allow stockpiled coal to deteriorate.

The Party has devoted great attention to the expansion and consolidation of the electric power industry, which has priority in the industrialization of the country and the general development of the people's economy. With the commissioning of the big Fierza Hydro-Power Plant and the new capacities that will be added during this five-year period, the average annual growth rate of production of electric power will be 2.4 times higher than the average annual growth rate of social production during the years 1976-1980. The high growth rate of production in this branch must be accompanied by the establishment of a strict regime of saving electric power itself and fuel used to produce it. Hydro-power stations remain, as they have been up until now, the basis to increase production of electric power, whereas thermo-power stations must be built to run mainly on coal and gas.

Our Party's correct policy in appraising the value of our natural resources and consolidating the sound and reliable basis of the socialist industrialization of the country has found full application in the setting up of an extensive processing industry. One of the main characteristics of this five-year period is the fact that new branches are added to the existing processing industry, such as the full cycle ferrous metallurgy, the ferro-chromium and pyro-metallurgical industries, the copper rolling industry. New

plants of the chemical industry, as well as many plants and factories for the enrichment of ores and fuels will also be commissioned. These create the possibility of processing more mineral and non-mineral raw materials locally, as well as the necessary basis to further develop the existing branches of industry and to set up new branches in the future. In this way, the level of self-sufficiency of the economy rises, the economy is further strengthened, export possibilities and the value of processed products are increased. Thus, the economy serves the strengthening of the defence potential of the country better.

With this development of the processing industry, in 1980 over 65 percent of the volume of exports will be made up of locally processed goods as against 46 percent in 1960. This is a significant index of the correct policy followed by the Party. Continuing on this course, *a task for the future is that we must be able to process all our minerals locally, and cease exports of crude ores.*

During this five-year period our industry will be greatly strengthened. Large-scale production will start in the Elbasan Metallurgical Combine which, apart from pig-iron and high quality steel from smelting our ore, will also give our country nickel and cobalt which have very great value on the world market.

As early as its 4th Congress the Party decided to build a metallurgical combine. But the Soviet revisionist leadership sabotaged the realization of this plan at that time. They refused to accord our country credits for this project, because they followed a neo-colonialist policy; they wanted our country to be economically dependent on them, and to impede the construction of socialism in Albania. But with the internationalist aid of the Chinese comrades, of the Chinese Communist Party and government, our people are successfully building this great project, as they are completing many other projects with Chinese fraternal aid. Our Party and people express their deep gratitude to the Chinese Party and people for their very valuable support and aid.

The ferrous metallurgy, with complex modern equipment and technology, is a new industry to us. Therefore, it is necessary for the Party to take firmly in hand the ideopolitical and

professional education of young metallurgical workers, from the rank-and-file workers and technicians up to the engineers and directors, so that they master the advanced technology and the difficult and delicate profession of the metallurgical worker, to give the country the maximum top-quality steel and other metals.

Another great project which will soon be commissioned is the oil refinery of Ballsh where the crude oil will undergo a modern refining process. When this plant commences work it will produce motor fuels and lubricants of high quality which will fulfil the needs of industry, agriculture and transport better, and the import of a number of kinds of motor fuels will be reduced, as will exports of crude oil.

The sense of frugality, the thrifty use of raw materials, especially oil, gas, coal and electric power, should be deeply implanted in the consciousness of the working people. Savings must be made everywhere: in prospecting, drilling, exploitation, wherever such materials are used, since they represent a great and irreplaceable asset to our people and our economy. Excessive and unnecessary expenditure damages the construction of socialism.

On the basis of the exploitation and local processing of raw materials, such as oil, gas and phosphorites, the chemical industry will assume further development, especially through increased output of chemical fertilizers so necessary to expand agricultural and livestock production.

The building materials industry will also increase its production, especially that of cement, to completely meet the need of construction and the economy, and for export as well.

The local production of pig-iron and various steels creates favourable conditions and opens up new prospects for the development of the engineering industry. *With the powerful and advanced machinery base, all the possibilities now exist for it to go over, on a broader and more organized scale, to the production of all the special machinery for mining, farming and the other branches of the economy, to build complete factories and production lines on the basis of self-reliance.* In 1980, as against 1975, the production of the engineering industry will increase by 40-43 percent. To achieve these objectives it is

necessary to raise the level of qualification of the workers of this branch, to find a more complete solution to the problems of concentration, specialization and cooperation, and to fully utilize the productive capacities.

Along with the priority it has given to the complex development of heavy industry, the Party has always appreciated the importance of rapid development of the mass consumer goods industry which is directly linked with the constant improvement of the living conditions of the people. To this end, *it is envisaged that the light and food-processing industry will be further developed and strengthened during the 6th five-year plan, increasing the production of foodstuffs, clothing and footwear, household utensils, etc.* In this branch the Party's instruction that the needs of the people must be ever better fulfilled, as to volume, range, quality, and at reasonable prices, should be always kept in mind.

The development of industry gives all branches of the economy new and ever greater possibilities for their rapid development. It creates new material and financial resources. As a leading factor of the entire economy, industry will give a vigorous impulse, especially to the development of agriculture, by supplying it with more chemical fertilizers, farm machinery and spare parts.

The Party has unshakable confidence that the heroic working class and all the working people of industry will mobilize all their energies and knowledge to fulfil and overfulfil the important tasks of the 6th five-year plan, thus making another valuable contribution to the general development and progress of the people's economy, to the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, with developed industry and advanced agriculture.

2. Agriculture, the basic branch of the economy, must be raised to a higher level

Our Party of Labour, enlightened by Marxism-Leninism, has always borne in mind that, besides developed industry, the construction of socialism requires advanced and modern agriculture. Agriculture is the basis of the economy, which to a large extent, determines and conditions the fulfilment of tasks in

the other branches, the raising of the general well-being of the people, and the strengthening of the defence potential of the country.

A real revolution has been carried out in all directions in our agriculture. A powerful material-technical base, which is serving the ever greater intensification of agriculture, has been set up. Agricultural and livestock products have rapidly increased from year to year, ever better satisfying the needs of the people and the economy. During the previous five-year plan alone, bread grain production increased by 35 percent, of which wheat production doubled. Production of cotton increased by 48 percent, sugar beet 76 percent, milk 47 percent, and so on. Our socialist countryside has radically changed its appearance, and the standard of living and well-being of the peasantry is beyond comparison with the past. All these successes are evidence of the correctness of the line of the Party, of the course it has set for the socialist transformation of the countryside. The collectivization of agriculture, carried out over a period, step by step, as well as the unceasing strengthening of the common property, are proving the superiority and vitality of the socialist cooperativist order right now, when all over the world, not only in the backward countries, but even in the so-called advanced countries, there is a great shortage of agricultural products. Many of these countries, including the revisionist Soviet Union, are holding out their hand to U.S. imperialism for bread. The revisionist countries are experiencing a grave crisis in agriculture, precisely because they have abandoned the countryside and opposed collectivization, leaving the field free for the capitalist mode of production in the countryside.

The vigorous development of agriculture constitutes one of the most fundamental problems of the Party and the whole country. The demand for agricultural and livestock products, to supply the people and the food-processing and light industries, is growing day by day. Agricultural products are needed to further expand exports and remove all these agricultural primary products and foodstuffs which we still bring in from abroad from the import list. In the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade and the world economic crisis, the independence of our country from foreign markets

becomes even more essential.

Our people, our cadres, in village and town, must be conscious of this situation and the extremely great importance agriculture now assumes. The struggle for its all-round rapid development is a struggle for socialism and independence, a struggle to avoid the enslavement and impoverishment of the country. For these reasons, the Party long ago launched the slogan, "Agriculture — the concern of the entire people". It is the duty of the party organs and organizations and the organs of the state and the economy to carry out all-round work so that everybody understands this directive properly and implements it to the letter, becoming thoroughly convinced that our country has all the possibilities to increase agricultural and livestock production substantially.

In this five-year period, the main objective of the Party in agriculture is to achieve full self-sufficiency in bread grain. It has been planned that, from this year on, sufficient grain will be produced to satisfy all the needs of the country, to increase the state reserves and gradually create reserves in the agricultural economies as well, and to ensure better supplies of feed for the livestock. The production of bread grain in 1980 is expected to be 56-60 percent, and that of potatoes 48 to 50 percent, higher than in 1975.

Achieving self-sufficiency in bread grain is a task of great economic, political, and strategic importance. Home production of grain ensures the people's bread and imparts a powerful impulse to the entire economy, further cements the foundations of the independence of our socialist Homeland, is a guarantee that we shall be able to cope with any situation, in good times and bad, makes the country independent of imported grain once and for all, and releases large sums of foreign currency which can be used for other purposes.

The first year of the five-year plan closed with a great victory. The cooperativist peasantry and the other farm workers successfully fulfilled the plan in grain production, ensuring all the grain required within the country for the first time. This year's grain production was about 30 percent larger than in 1975, which was a record year in the production of grain. Such results can be achieved only by an agriculture that is developed on a sound socialist basis and by a patriotic peasantry and a heroic

people who loyally follow and implement the line and teachings of their Marxist-Leninist Party.

The vigorous growth in the production of bread grain is a result of the all-round efforts of the working people of agriculture to carry out a high level of cultivation and systematization of the land with good quality, a result of the use of selected seeds and more careful tending of the crops. All these things confirm once again what the Party has repeatedly pointed out, that it is not the weather, not atmospheric factors, but primarily the persistent work of man that is decisive in high achievements in agriculture.

This good beginning in the fulfilment of the task of achieving self-sufficiency in bread grain must be consolidated and carried further from year to year. The party organizations, the organs of state power and the economy must sum up and publicize the experience gained, must encourage and support creative initiatives and take the necessary organizational measures for the most efficient utilization of the material-technical base so that the targets set are not only fulfilled but overfulfilled.

The priority the Party has given and continues to give to bread grain production, does not rule out, but on the contrary, absolutely demands the complex and harmonious development of agricultural production on a broad front. The economy and the people need all kinds of agricultural and livestock products. They need cotton and sugar beet and tobacco, just as they need olives and sunflowers. These products are required not only as foodstuffs for the population but also for industry and, some of them, as export items as well. In the world today cotton textiles have become a luxury, and sugar and edible oil fetch very high prices on the world market.

Fruit and vegetable growing also calls for special care, because extension of their consumption improves the dietary structure of the people and saves bread. Vegetables and fruits are also an important source of income in foreign currency. Our country has all the conditions for abundant fruit and vegetable production all the year round. There are still many unproductive hillsides that can and must be turned into fertile orchards, vineyards and olive groves.

As regards industrial crops, olives, fruits and vegetables, the

five-year plan envisages major tasks; therefore no underestimation of them, such as occurs in certain districts or agricultural economies, can be permitted.

Animal husbandry is a very important branch of the farming. It constitutes an inestimable asset for the country, an irreplaceable source of meat, milk, wool and leather production, an important factor in raising the well-being of the people. *There can be no intensive agriculture without an advanced livestock raising. That is why the party organs and party basic organizations and the state and economic organs must always pay great attention to its development.*

As up to now, the development of cows, increasing their numbers and improving the breeds, requires special attention, particularly in the lowland areas of the country. This will make it possible to meet the needs for draft oxen, especially in the highlands, where, because of the underestimation that exists, their numbers are insufficient. The favourable natural conditions, especially in the highlands, make possible a more rapid increase in the numbers of sheep and goats in the raising of which our people have ancient traditions. In the hilly and mountainous regions where there are vast tracts of pastures, which are not always appreciated and utilized correctly, new flocks of sheep and goats must be established, and new state farms or sectors mainly engaged in livestock farming set up.

These important tasks for the increase and improvement of livestock farming cannot be solved without strengthening the fodder base, because these things are organically linked with one another. *The way to ensure sufficient forage crops is not to further increase their acreage, taking up the most fertile land, but to intensify and increase yields.*

In feeding the population, along with the production of meat, breeding and catching fish are of great importance. It is essential that a radical turn is made in the fulfilment of the tasks set by the Party and the state for this sector.

The tasks facing agriculture are by no means light, but the discussion of the draft directives by the working people of agriculture and this year's results showed that favourable conditions and real possibilities have been created to fulfil and overfulfil these tasks, to take a further big step in increasing the

yields of all agricultural crops and livestock products. The advancing of the targets of the plan so that the yields of field crops envisaged for 1980 will be achieved as early as the first years of the five-year plan, the confidence and determination so that these targets will be achieved, are clear testimony to the correctness of the line of the Party, which, when it is grasped by the masses, is turned into a great motive force to revolutionize production and increase it at higher rates.

The revolutionary drive and enthusiasm of the masses require powerful organizational and technical support. They require that the Party should work more consistently to keep this enthusiasm that has burst out in our countryside at a high level, to further strengthen the conscientiousness of the masses in their work, and to increase the sense of responsibility of the state and economic organs. A special role devolves on the specialists of agriculture who must scientifically sum up the advanced experience, spread agrotechnical expertise among the masses of the cooperativists and apply science ever better in agriculture.

Great tasks face the Ministry of Agriculture and its subordinate organs, to lead the work for the advancement of agriculture. The Party has criticized and condemned the former leaders of the Ministry of Agriculture, who, lacking faith in the correctness of the line of the Party, and lacking conviction in the possibilities of carrying out the tasks laid down by the 6th Congress, by renouncing the basic principles of unified and centralized management of state farms and agricultural cooperatives and assuming the role of a consultative apparatus, seriously damaged and hindered the fulfilment of the past five-year plan in agriculture. The situation in the Ministry of Agriculture has now been improved and made healthy.

The Party has always stressed that the scientific treatment of the soil is of prime importance for the increase of agricultural and livestock production. Colossal investments have been made for land improvement, drainage and irrigation. Studies have been carried out also on pedological problems, on the ways of increasing fertility, the combination of crop rotation with the system of tillage and use of fertilizers, the protection of land from erosion, levelling and terracing, etc. But there are still many problems which require solution in these directions. *The*

fundamental thing is that everybody must increase his concern for the land, to extend, preserve, and enrich it. While further extending temporary drainage, we must go over to a higher stage, that of permanent drainage. To transform the soil, to take in ever higher yields, one has to delve into the laws of agricultural science and apply them with strict discipline. The studies carried out on the improvement and increase of the fertility of the soil, must be deepened and become the foundation of all the processes of agricultural work. If the party organizations and the state organs understand the importance of these problems, and especially of their solution in practice, the necessary conditions will be created for the successful fulfilment of the tasks laid down by the Party at this Congress for increased agricultural and livestock production.

On the basis of the orientations of the Party in the five-year plan, the increase in agricultural and livestock production will be achieved by raising yield rates and breaking in virgin land. It is planned that fifty thousand hectares of new land will be broken in, mainly in the hilly and mountainous regions. But the bulk of the increase of production, more than 80 percent, will result from increased yield rates. Fulfilment of these tasks raises even more forcefully the need for all the cooperativists to take part in work all the year round, for the more extensive application of science and the dissemination of advanced experience and the combination of scientific knowledge with the revolutionary practice of the masses.

Albania is a small country with a rugged mountainous terrain and a limited area of land in the region of plains. Therefore, *the line of the Party has been and still is that agriculture must be developed rapidly in the hilly and mountainous areas, too.*

Of course, the highlands have their own peculiarities, but there, too, the possibilities and reserves for increasing production and improving living conditions are great. To help in the development of the hilly and mountainous regions, the Central Committee of the Party and the government have adopted a series of important measures, such as those to increase productive investments, to raise the prices at which the state buys a number of agricultural and livestock products and to reduce the price at which it sells nitrogenous fertilizers, for the state to

pay for work done to break in new land, build irrigation projects and plant trees, and so on. The Party has never viewed the measures it has taken and will take for the development of the highlands from the angle of profits, as is the case with the capitalists and the revisionists. The aim of its policy is that the peasantry of these regions should live at the best possible level and the mountainous areas should always be kept populated, the same as the plains. At present, almost half the rural population of the country lives in these regions and about 45 percent of the area of arable land is located there. This is very important, both for the construction of socialism and for the defence of the country.

Guided by the correct line of the Party and enjoying the powerful support of the socialist state, the peasantry of the mountainous regions, through its own toil and sweat, has taken important steps forward. The results achieved by some cooperatives of the mountainous districts are very encouraging. In the cooperative of Kaçimar in the Mirdita District, in that of Shoshaj in the Mat District, that of Vëndresha in the Skrapar District, and in many others, yields of 25-30 quintals of wheat and 40-50 quintals of maize per hectare are now usual. The districts of Skrapar, Tepelena, Përmet and Kolonja, which once could not produce enough grain to last them half the year, now meet all their own needs and hand over their surpluses to the state, though their population has increased. The agricultural cooperatives in these districts share out almost as many leks per work day put in as those in the lowland districts. This is the most convincing confirmation of the correctness of the Party's directive, "Take to the hills and the mountains and make them as fertile as the plains".

The forests are an asset of great national value. Everywhere, especially in the highlands, there are suitable conditions for a further development of this important sector of the economy. Bearing in mind the great role of the forests in timber production, soil protection and improvement of the climate, it is necessary to increase care for their preservation and extension, not only to meet the immediate needs but to provide for the coming generations as well.

The state farms occupy an important place in the context of the development of agriculture. They represent the highest form

of the socialist system of agriculture. But the results of many farms are still below the level of the possibilities created for them, and what is more, some of them get lower yields than the agricultural cooperatives in similar conditions. This comes about because the leading organs of agriculture in the districts and at the centre have not helped, or shown proper care for them, and the leading organs of these enterprises have not worked and struggled courageously to forge ahead, to take and apply everything positive from the other agricultural economies.

The Party demands that this situation must cease. *The most pressing task for the party organizations, the organs of the state and all the working people of the state farms is to make them, within the shortest possible time, the vanguard models of high yields, centres where the latest achievements of science are really put into practice and schools for the dissemination of advanced experience.*

Proceeding on the road of uninterrupted development of the cooperativist order, the Central Committee of the Party has taken measures to implement the directives of the 6th Congress to transform the economically strong cooperatives of the lowland areas into higher-type cooperatives on the basis of the free will of the cooperativists. Today, they occupy 23 percent of the arable land and produce 25 percent of grain, 40 percent of sunflower and more than half the rice and cotton produced by the cooperative sector.

Despite the short time since their inception, they have already demonstrated their superiority in a number of ways. They have achieved relatively high yield rates of agricultural and livestock products and sped up the rate of increase of production which, from year to year, is becoming more stable. The higher-type cooperatives have fulfilled the targets of the plan better than the other lowland cooperatives. The state assists these cooperatives with investments and gives them powerful support by supplying them with material and technical means. New measures have been applied to strengthen their management, to strengthen them with means of production and the procurement of agricultural and livestock products, to further improve the distribution and utilization of their income and for the transition to payment of their members with guaranteed wages related to

production.

The problems of increasing their economic and organizational strength, the further improvement of their planning, finances and accounting and the most efficient utilization of the material-technical base and the labour force are problems of all the agricultural cooperatives, to which the organs of the Party, of the state and the economy must give greater attention and care. Increased care for the state farms and higher-type cooperatives should in no way lead to diminished care and efforts to help the other cooperatives of the lowland and mountainous zones.

In the framework of measures for the solution of economic and organizational problems, *better studied work is required for the most appropriate distribution of agricultural crops, animal husbandry, and fruit growing among the districts, regions and agricultural economies, and greater concentration and specialization of agricultural production.* The experience gained in the most advanced agricultural economies of the country should be well studied and publicized for better planning of agricultural crops, in the general context of the crop rotation system to be set up according to the concrete conditions of each separate economy and district, in order to create the best possible relationship between the main branches and the other branches of production, with a view to obligatory fulfilment of the plan over the entire range of agricultural products.

The fulfilment of the 6th five-year plan will raise agriculture and our countryside to a higher and more advanced level, further strengthen the economy and improve the standard of living of the people. The Party expresses its profound conviction that, in implementing its directives and Marxist-Leninist line, the cooperativist peasantry, the working people of agriculture, our entire people, will work with revolutionary enthusiasm, drive and mobilization to achieve stability and permanent growth in agricultural and livestock production

3. Fundamental investments must be used with high effectiveness

The vigorous development of the productive forces, the strengthening of the material-technical base of socialism, the strengthening of the defence potential of the Homeland, require

large capital investments and their use with high effectiveness.

In comparison with the 4th five-year plan, the last five-year plan saw a 50 percent increase in the volume of total investments and a 49 percent increase in investments for construction. During this period, new mines, plants and factories were added to our industry, reclaimed plains and irrigation works to agriculture, new roads and railways to transport. Water supply systems, schools and hospitals, houses, and many social-cultural projects were built. These investments further strengthened the people's economy, embellished our socialist Homeland, and improved the life of the people.

However, the total volume of investments envisaged under the 5th five-year plan was not carried out in full. In some important industrial and agricultural projects the tasks set by the 6th Congress of the Party were not carried out on time. The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers have instructed the Ministry of Construction and investors to put an end to the irrational dispersal of the principal means of construction, to extension of time limits in building projects, and to exceeding the funds and materials provided. The practice of starting construction work without complete preliminary studies, without accurate designs and specifications, as has frequently been the case in the course of the last five-year plan, has cost the people's economy dear and is still doing so. This has opened the road to breaches of the discipline of the plan and the squandering of funds. The investors and builders have drawn valuable lessons from the shortcomings and mistakes observed.

The policy of the Party has always been directed towards *channelling investments, first of all, to the development of the branches of material production, giving priority to industry and agriculture*. In compliance with this orientation, the new five-year plan envisages a great volume of capital investments. In comparison with the 5th five-year plan, the total volume of state investments is envisaged to increase by 43 percent, and the volume of construction assembly work by 48 percent. The fact that we can cope with those large investments is evidence of our constantly increasing economic and financial potential and our increased possibilities in the field of accumulation.

During this five-year period the construction of many large-

scale projects, begun under the previous five-year plan, will be completed. Apart from these, work will start on the construction of the Koman Hydro-Power Plant on the Drin River, the thermo-power plant at Fier, new urea and soda plants, mines and ore-enrichment factories, engineering plants, factories of the light and food-processing industry, the Fier-Vlora railway, new motor roads, many reclamation and irrigation projects, and so on.

The implementation of the large program of investments requires that the party organizations fight for strict discipline, organized management and work by all state and economic organs. *Before any project is included in the plan, accurate studies, designs and estimates must be made on the basis of advanced technical-economic norms.* It is of particular importance that the projects must be carried out with good quality, without unnecessary frills, within the time limit set, within the estimated cost, and saving funds where possible.

To bring about the turn which the Party demands in the field of fundamental investments and constructions, great and responsible tasks await all the investor departments, as well as the Ministry of Construction, the State Planning Commission, and the Ministry of Finance, which must increase their care for, and strengthen their control over, the entire process of the work, from the phase of the study and designing of projects up to the time they are handed over. Any underestimation of these tasks is fraught with grave consequences, not only economic but political and social as well, for the present and future of the construction of socialism in our country.

Important tasks face the designers, architects, specification writers, economists, technologists, and builders to design and build economic and social projects, so that they provide the best possible solution of the functional aspect, while striving with determination to make the projects simple and beautiful at the minimum cost.

The Party is convinced that our builders have all the necessary means and possibilities to acquit themselves with success of the magnificent tasks ahead of them, working according to the slogan of the Party, "We must build more quickly, better, and more cheaply."

To respond properly to the development of all branches of the economy and the social activity of the country, the expansion of transport and the improvement of its structure is foreseen. Compared with 1975, the total volume of goods transport will grow by 32 percent in 1980.

The Party and the state have adopted measures for the extension of the railway network, which is being extended in the main directions of goods and passenger traffic. The perspective is that railway transport will occupy the chief place among all branches of transport. Taking into account that during the 6th five-year period the main increase in the volume of goods traffic will be met by railway transport, the task emerges of strengthening and improving the organization of work in this sector, *of intensifying the utilization of railways, of extending the degree of mechanization in loading and unloading work, and of adding branches to the existing lines wherever possible.*

Greater attention must be devoted to coastal and overseas shipping, in order to cope with the increased volume of goods circulation and reduce state expenditure in foreign currency to the limit. To increase the capacity of seaports, it is planned to carry out work for the extension and strengthening of the ports of Durrës and Shëngjin, as well as for the study and designing of the new port at Vlora.

Greater work should be done towards increasing the rational utilization of the capacities of motor vehicle transport, doing away with the anti-economical practice of using motor vehicles where railway or sea transport is available.

The party organs and party organizations must give special attention to the ideopolitical education of building and transport workers, having in mind the nature of their work, spread advanced experience to these sectors, and strive for a rigorous implementation of the requirements of technology and science.

4. The people's well-being must be increased and improved

Concern for the constant improvement of living conditions and raising the cultural level of the whole people has been and remains at the centre of attention of the entire activity of the Party. During the past five-year period, thanks to the consistent implementation of the directives of the 6th Congress, the general

well-being of the people has been constantly and steadily raised. Real per capita income increased by 8.7 percent among the urban population and 20.5 percent in the countryside. Our market has been and is stable. In no instance have the prices for foodstuffs and industrial goods been increased. On the contrary, for some articles they have been reduced.

In this five-year period, too, the people's well-being will be improved step by step. The Party has striven and is striving to make the life of our people, both in country and town, ever more prosperous. Our well-being, the happy optimistic future, are guaranteed by the entire dynamic development of our socialist society. They are founded on the free work of our working people, liberated from every sort of oppression and exploitation. Well-being is expressed and finds its reflection in all aspects of the life of the people; it is a material and spiritual well-being for everybody. Socialist Albania was the first country in the world to do away with taxes. It has education and health services free of charge for the whole population of town and countryside.

In the coming five years the population will be better supplied with foodstuffs and industrial goods, the level of cultural and social activities will rise further, social services and health institutions will be extended and brought closer to the people.

The improvement of the housing conditions of the people constitutes a question of major importance for the Party and the state. In the future, too, great efforts will be necessary in this field, especially in the villages, because, apart from the need to improve housing conditions for the cooperativists, many young men and women from the towns will be going to work and live there permanently. To this end, it is planned to build about 65 thousand flats and dwelling houses, of which about 42 thousand will be on the agricultural cooperatives and state farms.

The implementation of the party policy for raising the living standard of the working masses is summed up in the increase of real income per capita, which in 1980, as against 1975, will be 11-14 percent higher, giving priority to its increase in the countryside.

The organs and working people of commerce face the task of radically improving their service to the people and ensuring that

they are supplied better and better. The Central Committee and the government took measures to eliminate the hostile, sabotage activity of Kiço Ngjela in the Ministry of Trade. Now extensive work is going on to strengthen the management of trade in keeping with the teachings and directives of the Party.

The leading organs of production as well as those of distribution must make thorough and complex studies to ensure the best harmonization of production with consumption, to clarify the problems stemming from the increase in the population, the growth of its demands and purchasing power, and the distribution of productive funds. They, and the trading organs in particular, must become a strong barricade against the creation of stocks of unsold goods which cause disorder and great economic-financial losses.

Concern for the constant improvement of the material living conditions of the masses raises the need for a qualitative improvement in the work of all workers in the sphere of services. People must be served in a cultured manner and quickly, and conditions must be created so that people do not waste time in obtaining services and repairs. The organs of industry and commerce must see to it that more help is given to the solution of problems connected with lightening the burden of household work on women. In order to safeguard the health of the people it is necessary to strengthen and extend measures of hygiene and sanitation and prophylaxis, especially in the countryside and in the remote regions, further intensifying care for the protection of the health of mother and child.

The Party considers that one of the ways to a systematic raising of the standard of living is the employment of all able-bodied citizens in socially useful work. The mass participation of women on all the fronts of socialist construction is a great victory. Today women make up 46 percent of the total number of working people in our country.

In the new five-year plan another 95 thousand new workers will be employed by the state and 130 thousand will be engaged in the agricultural cooperatives. Socialism ensures jobs for all. A wide range of jobs is opening up in mines, metallurgy, in the construction of hydro-power plants, and other important projects. Agriculture is another very extensive work front

requiring large numbers of working people. *Therefore, the new forces must be directed where the jobs are opened and where the country's needs are greatest.* Hence, the Party must engage in large-scale work of education and persuasion, especially in towns, and combat concepts and manifestations of underestimation of work in agriculture, the mines, forestry, and construction.

The employment of the active population is an important indicator which speaks clearly of the great strength of our economic social order, which, with its high rates of development, has done away, once and for all, with unemployment and emigration — these grave scourges of the past that rendered life miserable and tore the loved ones from the bosom of the families to leave their bones in foreign lands. Today, unemployment and emigration have become chronic diseases in the capitalist-revisionist world. They cause the common people fear and insecurity for the present and the future, and lower their standard of living.

Our revolutionary practice proves the correctness of the road followed by the Party for raising the people's well-being also through the increase of social consumption at rates more rapid than the rate of increase of the direct wages fund. As a result of the implementation of this policy, the total fund of social consumption for 1975 was 2.1 times greater than that of 1965. This has enabled ever better fulfilment of the common needs of working people in the field of education, culture, health, and a series of other social-cultural services.

On the basis of the directives of the 6th Congress of the Party important measures were adopted for the improvement of the pay system. By the decision of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers, issued in April 1976, higher salaries exceeding 900 leks were reduced, the wages of the workers on the state farms were raised and new measures of advantage to the countryside were taken. The implementation of these measures was coupled with a better supply of the market with mass consumer goods, of wider range and better quality and at stable prices.

This brought about a further narrowing of differences in pay between various groups and categories of working people, as well

as of differences in income between town and countryside. The ratio between the average workers' wages and the highest salaries of officials is now 1 to 2, from 1 to 2.5 in the past. This is a correct, revolutionary course which our Party is consistently implementing.

One of the problems which has constantly concerned the Party has been and is the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside. In this question it has been guided by the principle that *socialism is not built only in the town, just for the working class, but also in the countryside and for the peasantry as well.*

The differences in real income per capita between town and countryside, caused by the objective conditions of the great economic and social backwardness our country inherited from the past, constitute a contradiction which is being overcome step by step. Educational, cultural, and health institutions have been extended to the most remote regions. Following the great victory of the electrification of the whole country, the linking of all the villages by telephone was completed, and work is in hand to connect them all by road. Pensions have been established for the cooperativists, and a series of other problems of a social character in the countryside have been solved. With the April 1976 decision the state has undertaken to meet expenditure for social-cultural measures in the countryside just as in the city. The percentage of pensions for cooperativists was raised to a level equal to that of town workers. Likewise, their minimum pension was raised. Maternity leave pay for cooperativist women has been centralized.

To narrow the distinctions between town and countryside further, the policy of the Party has been and is aimed at securing a more rapid rate of increase in the incomes of the peasant population than that of the town population. In the coming five-year period the rates of increment of real income per capita in the countryside will be more than three times higher than that of the town.

The implementation of all these measures to the advantage of the peasantry, without affecting the living standard of townspeople, has strengthened and will further strengthen the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The objective of the Party is to make the life of the people as happy as possible, to ensure a general uplift of their well-being. But it is important for everybody to understand that in order to attain these objectives the principal factor has been and remains the all-round mobilization of the people of town and countryside to increase socialist production, to increase the productivity of labour, guided by our revolutionary principle that, before making claims on society, one must contribute the maximum.

5. The scientific management of the economy must be raised to a higher level

The Party has devoted special attention to raising the scientific level of the management and planning of the economy and perfecting them through the implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, unified leadership and the line of the masses.

The management of the economy has been steadily improved and raised to a higher level, discipline, control and the sense of responsibility at work, from the base to the centre, have been further enhanced, and the role of the masses has increased. The measures which the Party has taken to increase the role of the basic organs of the state and the economy, to simplify the apparatuses, and draw the working people more extensively into running the economy, have been a positive influence in this direction.

The Party has worked and striven persistently to ensure that *everybody understands clearly that, just as in any other field, in the economy, too, leadership has a profoundly political and ideological character*. Otherwise it becomes one-sided and is threatened by economism and technocratism. Thorough and correct implementation of the Marxist-Leninist economic policy of our Party, of its guidelines and directives, has been and remains the fundamental issue in the entire process of running the economy.

In the struggle for improvement of the organization and management of the economy, the fundamental factor has been and is the constant enhancement of the leading role of the Party in all the activity of enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and the state and economic organs. While struggling to enhance the

leading role of the Party in the economy, the party organizations must avoid the manifestations of duplicating the state and economic organs, which are observed in some cases.

The Party has always considered the broad participation of working people in running the economy as a fundamental question of the principle of democratic centralism. It has criticized and condemned as alien the technocratic and intellectualist concepts which regard the masses simply as a work force, as well as the manifestations of formalism in listening to them and encouraging them to express their opinion. Our working class, educated and led by the Party, plays an irreplaceable role in the organization and management of production, and the entire political, economic, and social life of the country. The administration and economic apparatuses are in the service of the working class and the other working masses, and as such, they must subject themselves entirely to their interest, will, discipline, and control.

Today, when social production is assuming wide proportions, when the social-economic problems are becoming complicated, *it is essential that the central departments, in particular, improve their scientific management and organization of the economy*, further revolutionize their method and style of work, bear full responsibility for the fulfilment of the targets of the plan and the implementation of the directives and orientations of the Party. They must intensify their check-up on, and help for, the basic organs, know the situation at first hand, give timely solutions to the demands raised by the base, and undertake scientific studies for the development of their branches and sectors.

The Party has shown constant concern for raising the scientific level of planning, so that its economic policy, orientations and directives for the unceasing development of the productive forces and the revolutionary perfection of socialist relations of production will find their most complete concretization in the economic-social plan.

Our planning system has been and is correct. It has been constantly improved, its sound revolutionary base and spirit, and its class character have been consolidated. The enemy Abdyl Këllezi strove in every way to distort the principles of our socialist planning, in order to divest it of its socialist content and

to set our economy on the road of revisionist self-administration. This hostile anti-Marxist activity was severely and strongly dealt with by the Party and prevented from finding any field in which it could operate.

The drafting of a studied plan, built on the soundest scientific basis, is of decisive importance for the successful construction of socialism. The further perfection of its scientific character is closely bound up with the broad activization of the masses in the planning process, with the complete reflection in the state plans of the creative thinking and valuable suggestions of the working people. *It is obligatory that advanced experience must be used as the criterion for the planning of production, work, materials and costs, in all sectors of the economy.* This is also the way to combat manifestations of subjectivism and haphazardness, routine and narrow practicism in planning. The drafting of a scientific plan based on the line of the Party and the economic laws of socialism helps the economic and social processes to develop along the correct road, and the economy to grow steadily stronger.

The perfection of planning and uplift of its scientific level places important tasks before the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, and all the organs engaged in management of the economy, in particular. The planning organs must get a deeper insight into the economic policy of the Party, the requirements of the economic laws of socialism, the active life and revolutionary experience of the masses. They must follow up the processes of extended socialist reproduction better, and reflect them as harmoniously as possible in the unified general plan of the economic and social development as well as in the overall balance of the people's economy.

The raising of the level of management of the economy is closely linked with the application of rigorous control by all the organs and at every level of the economy. This control, which must be raised to a higher level, ensures the correct implementation of the economic policy and decisions of the Party and the laws of the state.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers have several times reminded the Ministry of Finance and the General Management of the National Bank to establish

rigorous financial control and discipline everywhere. But they have not carried out this important function as they should. With the measures that were taken, the harmful bureaucratic and liberal concepts and practices observed in these sectors are being eliminated.

The Party has stressed that finance and accounting through all levels of the economy must never remain mere means for registering, reckoning and distributing monetary funds, but must be very active at all stages of the drafting of the plan and its implementation. *By strengthening their dynamic control by means of money, the financial and banking organs must become a barrier to any action which runs counter to the discipline of the plan and financial discipline.*

The state plan embraces a whole complex of economic and financial indices. Therefore, *the struggle and efforts of the party organizations, state organs, and all working people, must be centered on fulfilling the plan without fail, not only in overall figures, but also in all its separate indices, in quantity, range and quality, productivity and cost.* The Party must educate the masses so that they thoroughly grasp the fact that these indices of the plan are closely connected in organic unity with one another.

6. The principle of self-reliance must be understood and implemented correctly

The complete construction of socialist society is closely connected with the understanding and implementation of the principle of self-reliance in every step and every field of life. This great Marxist-Leninist principle of profound revolutionary content is not only a law for the construction of socialism but also, in the present conditions, an urgent necessity for our country to cope successfully with enemy blockades and encirclement.

The principle of self-reliance has always been a guiding principle of our Party and people since the time of the National Liberation War, when we fought under the slogan, "Freedom is not donated, but won by the people themselves." Likewise, in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, the Party follows and consistently implements this principle. The freedom won, all the successes achieved so far, our

socialist and independent life, are practical verification of the Leninist conclusion that self-reliance, the internal factor, is the decisive factor, both in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and the seizure of power, and in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

Our Party has always defended the view that self-reliance is not a temporary policy imposed by circumstances, but an objective necessity for every country, big or small, developed or underdeveloped, a principle applying both in liberation wars and the proletarian revolution, and in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. The implementation of this principle bars all paths to the inflow of bank credits from bourgeois and revisionist states, by means of which the imperialists and the social-imperialists enslave countries and nations, and fatten on their blood and sweat. The so-called aid of the imperialists and social-imperialists to the developing countries constitutes a great fraud and is aimed at exploiting the economies of these countries and dictating their imperialist policy to them.

The bourgeois-revisionist propaganda endeavours to spread and cultivate among the peoples, especially in the developing countries, the sense of bowing and submission to the big imperialist powers. The Soviet revisionists, in particular, distort the revolutionary essence of the principle of self-reliance, labelling it as "slipping into positions of narrow nationalism", as "departure from the position of proletarian internationalism", as "rejecting reciprocal aid among socialist countries". With these anti-Marxist theses they seek to justify their policy of imperialist expansion and their practices of capitalist exploitation of other countries. Their aim is to undermine the confidence of peoples in the possibility of building an independent life, and generally, in their existence as free nations.

While working for the construction of socialism according to the principle of self-reliance, our Party has never dreamed of creating an autarchic economy, isolated within itself. At the same time, while combatting any feeling of inferiority and worshipping everything foreign, it has not negated the value of progressive world thinking, of the achievements of science and technology in other countries. It has always prized the

revolutionary experience of all peoples, everything that serves the cause of the emancipation and progress of mankind.

Far from excluding reciprocal collaboration and aid among the revolutionary and socialist forces, self-reliance presupposes it. The aid which the victorious revolution gives the countries and peoples fighting for national and social liberation, the mutual aid among countries building socialism, is an internationalist duty. It is devoid of any sort of selfish interest and inspired by the lofty interests of Marxism-Leninism. This aid is to the advantage not only of the country which receives it but also of the country which gives it, because the triumph of socialism in any country serves the triumph of revolution in the other countries, too, its triumph over capitalism and revisionism.

Day by day, the road traversed by our country has steadily strengthened the conviction and trust of the people in the correctness of the course steered by the Party, in the great possibilities which exist to carry forward the complete construction of socialist society by relying on our material and human resources.

The principle of self-reliance demands, first of all, firm reliance on the creative mental and physical energies of the people guided by the Party. Socialism is the work of the masses; therefore, everything produced and created is the fruit of work, of the sweat and brains of the people.

Understanding of the principle of self-reliance is complete when every collective and individual fulfils and overfulfils the tasks with which they have been charged without asking the state and the society for supplementary means. Hence, the task of striving, first and foremost, everywhere, and with determination to increase work productivity, to increase production and reduce costs, to preserve, increase and use the machinery and equipment with high efficiency, to raise the technical-professional abilities of the working people and deepen the technical-scientific revolution.

The principle of self-reliance is correctly understood when it is implemented in every field of social activity, on a national and regional scale, when it is extended to every link and cell of our life, to every enterprise and cooperative, to every institution and army unit, when people work and live everywhere as in a state of siege.

III

WE MUST CONSTANTLY STRENGTHEN THE PARTY AND FURTHER ENHANCE ITS LEADING ROLE

The architect of all the victories achieved by the Albanian people in their struggle for national liberation, in the people's revolution, and the socialist construction of the country, is the Party of Labour of Albania.

For 35 years on end, our Marxist-Leninist Party has been leading the Albanian people with courage and wisdom along the path of revolution and socialism. Overcoming innumerable difficulties and obstacles and defeating savage internal and external enemies, it has led our country from victory to victory.

The mighty work and all-round efforts to implement the tasks set by the 6th Congress, have further strengthened and revolutionized the Party, steeled the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks and raised its leading role in the entire life of the country to a higher level. The struggle to put its decisions and programmatic tasks into practice in all directions, the struggle for the revolutionary implementation of its principles and norms, the struggle against the class enemies and the all-round imperialist-revisionist pressure, have made our Party more militant, more mature, and more farsighted.

The targets of the 6th five-year plan, the major tasks facing the country in general, at the present stage of its development, raise the need to further strengthen the Party and lift its leading role to a higher level. A party armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and with its own experience, equipped with unity of thought and action, and closely linked with the masses, constitutes the fundamental condition for the mobilization of the people around its line and the carrying out of its revolutionary programme. The Party is the conscious force which imbues the everyday struggle of the masses with political and ideological content, defines its aims, makes its objectives clear and shows the ways to attain them.

1. Party leadership in the entire life of the country — a guarantee for the complete construction of socialist society

The theory and practice of socialism, the revolutionary life and activity of our Party have always proved completely that the constant preservation and strengthening of the leading role of the Party is decisive to the fate of the people and the revolution. Only under the leadership of the Party can the people's state power be strengthened and consolidated, can the country be defended, the socialist economy developed, culture promoted, the new man educated, and the non-stop march towards communism ensured. It is no accident that all the enemies, internal and external, at all times have spearheaded their struggle against the Party and its leading role in the first place. This has been borne out in recent years by the activity of the enemy groups exposed and condemned by the Party, which, wherever they acted, endeavoured, first and foremost, to weaken the party organizations, to displace them from their leading role.

In the past five-year period the leading role of the Party has been enhanced and strengthened from every point of view, in every field and in all directions, at the base and in the superstructure.

This reality is embodied in all the progress made and the successes achieved in the great voluntary drive at work and the struggle in which the masses of the people are engaged to implement the line of the Party, the tasks of socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland.

The strengthening of the leading role of the Party in the state power has endowed this power with greater leading and executive abilities, shaken from it the dust of liberalism and bureaucracy, brought it closer to the masses, and placed it more thoroughly under their control.

The enhancement of the leading role of the Party in the economy has further strengthened the socialist base, made the prospects of its rapid development clearer, boosted the confidence of the masses and their mobilization in carrying out the tasks of the plan, and raised the scientific level of management of the economy on a Marxist-Leninist basis, forestalling the danger of bourgeois-revisionist distortions.

The sound leadership of the Party has given culture and education, literature and art a development, a direction and a more profound revolutionary class content, a greater educative and mobilizing force, and has linked them more closely with the people, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, with the major tasks of our socialist revolution.

The strengthening of the leadership of the Party has also raised the defence potential of the Homeland to a higher level, by improving, from every point of view, the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching of arming and training the entire people for defence, by strengthening the popular character of the armed forces.

The enhancement of the leading role of the Party is reflected in the further improvement of the great work it is doing for the ideological class education of the masses, for raising the level of their consciousness as closely as possible to the level of its own consciousness, as well as for the organization and mobilization of the masses in struggle for the implementation of its programmatic tasks.

The leading role of the Party is not ensured and affirmed automatically, simply from the fact that the Party is in power. The enhancement and strengthening of the leading role of the Party is ensured through the persistent political, ideological and organizational struggle to apply its general line, its decisions and directives, its principles and norms. It is strengthened through stern class struggle against any violation and distortion of them, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against internal and external enemies, as well as enemies within its own ranks. This role is strengthened and consolidated in the daily struggle of the Party at the head of the masses for the socialist construction of the country.

The leadership of the Party is one and indivisible. It is achieved only when its Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy, its decisions and directives are successfully implemented in all fields and in all directions, in the state power and the economy, in culture and the army, when all the state institutions, social organizations, all the cadres and working people are guided by this ideology and policy, by these directives and decisions, in all their activity.

The edge of the struggle to strengthen and perfect the leading

role of the Party is directed especially at two major dangers, which may benumb and then completely eliminate this role, at liberalism and bureaucracy as well as their offspring, technocratism and intellectualism.

The Party has combatted the symptoms of these diseases, wherever they have emerged, with revolutionary class methods, it has exposed and unhesitatingly attacked errors and distortions, any action and stand that damage its correct line and norms.

The attitude of those party basic organizations and leading organs which make concessions and fail to fight to the end to carry out the directives, has been combatted as a manifestation of liberalism. Liberalism manifests itself also in those instances when the carrying out of the decisions adopted is not insisted upon, when check-up on the implementation of these decisions is neglected, when the same problem is examined umpteen times, when decision after decision is taken, but the problem remains unsolved and the tasks are not carried out. Those instances when no decisions whatever are taken, when tasks are not allocated or are formulated only in general terms and their concrete implementation cannot be checked upon, have been combatted in the same way.

The leading role of the Party in all its links has been constantly strengthened in struggle against any bureaucratic and technocratic influence of the state, economic or military apparatuses on the basic organizations. Such an influence was very strong on some basic organizations of the central institutions, such as the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Agriculture, the oil enterprises, the army and some educational and cultural institutions. This influence led to the weakening of the role of these basic organizations, the tendency to place technique above politics, the role of the specialist above that of the Party. Here there were also manifestations of the non-Marxist outlook that it is the cadres, and not the Party with its organs and organizations, that give leadership and guidance.

Neither are the party apparatuses immunized against bureaucratic influences; like the state and economic apparatuses they, too, can be affected by bureaucracy and become its carriers.

Even the party worker can turn into a bureaucrat and technocrat, if he divorces himself from principles and puts technique, paperwork, office routine, in first place. This is not something unknown. The Bolshevik Party was strangled by the notorious "apparatchiki". Together with the other bureaucratized cadres of the state apparatus, who had deviated from the road of the working class and the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, they became the main support of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and the other usurpers, who carried out the counter-revolution, seizing the leadership from the hands of the working class and its party.

Despite the crushing blows dealt to the manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy which harm the leading role of the Party, they may emerge at any moment if the struggle against them is not waged unceasingly in all the links of the Party, if the principle that nobody can dictate his will and wishes to the Party is not thoroughly grasped and implemented in every basic organization and party leading organ, all the time and under all circumstances. In the Party everything is decided solely on the basis of the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party, and its norms.

One of the main factors which has enabled our Party to ensure its leading role throughout its whole existence, to ensure so completely, monolithically and effectively the hegemony of the working class, is its steel-like ideological and organizational unity. This unity has been the most powerful weapon in the hands of the Party to cope with the attacks of the enemies from within and without, to overcome every difficulty and to honourably perform its duties in the revolution and socialist construction.

Against this unity, the enemy groups, which have been exposed in the period between the 6th and the 7th Congresses, were crushed. The elimination of the hostile activity of these groups has made the ideological and organizational unity of the Party more monolithic and more militant.

Many times in the course of its history the Party has clashed with enemies and traitors who had sneaked into its ranks. All these traitors, together with the external enemies, have hatched up plans and plots against our Party and country, but they have been quite unable to carry them out because they have been

discovered and unmasked by the Central Committee and the whole Party, have been thrown out of the Party, attacked and condemned by the Party and the entire people, and when necessary, by the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too. Our Party has not allowed and will never allow the existence of factions within its ranks. It has had and has one line only, the Marxist-Leninist line, which it has loyally defended and resolutely implemented.

As has been proven by the negative experience of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a series of other communist and workers' parties, which betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeois degeneration of the party of the working class is also directly linked with renunciation of the principles and norms of the proletarian party or with their transformation into lifeless formulae.

Therefore, to preserve and strengthen its unity, to achieve the indisputable leadership of the working class, the faithful implementation in a revolutionary way of the line of the Party, the Leninist principles and norms, in the activity of every leading organ, every basic organization and every communist, is of decisive importance. Only in this way are shortcomings and weaknesses prevented from proliferating and growing into incurable diseases, which the class enemy exploits for its own ends against the Party and socialism.

In some basic organizations squabbles and cronyism have been observed, and these have their source in narrow personal interests, in unhealthy ties of kinship and family connections, etc. To eliminate these harmful manifestations it is necessary to carry out major educative work combined with organizational measures to strengthen unity everywhere, to maintain a correct principled stand in every instance.

The unity of the Party is a militant unity, a unity of action, a unity of revolutionaries. The active life of our Party cannot tolerate the existence of such basic organizations with only formal unity, where an atmosphere of "peace and quiet" and a life of ease prevail, where all are in agreement at meetings but fail to mobilize themselves to carry out the tasks outside and remain unconcerned about this. The genuine and durable unity of the

Party of the working class and of each of its organizations is preserved and strengthened constantly only through the struggle of opposites in the ranks of the Party, through debate, principled criticism and self-criticism, by implementing the line of the Party, its decisions and directives, its proletarian principles and norms, to the letter.

Revolutionary practice to date teaches us that the leadership of the Party is fully achieved and ceaselessly improved, when all the leading organs, of whatever level, and all the basic organizations play their leading role, when the entire body of communists is in the lead.

The party basic organization is of decisive importance in achieving leadership by the Party. Through it, the leading role of the Party is ensured in every cell of the life of the country. The basic organization is the foundation of the Party. The more steel-like this foundation, the stronger, the more steel-like the entire Party.

The role of the basic organizations has been enhanced especially in the process of the class struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee. Their internal life has been revolutionized, they have taken up the most important problems of work and production centres better, and have stepped up their initiative in carrying out tasks. This strengthening and invigoration of the basic organizations, which constitutes one of the most important factors in the successes achieved by the Party and the masses of the people in the past five-year period, is a sound guarantee that the tasks which this Congress will lay down will be fully carried out.

Despite the successes achieved, it is essential also to bear in mind the weaknesses which have been observed, in order to prevent the recurrence of those regrettable instances when certain basic organizations left the way open for enemies to act and harm the work of the Party, the state power, the economy, and culture. There have been shortcomings and weaknesses in some other basic organizations, too, which have allowed violations and distortions of party directives and norms, failure to fulfil the tasks and the plan, manifestations of tendencies alien to proletarian ideology, and which have not ensured the

vanguard role of every communist.

The Party has fought and will constantly fight for its basic organizations to become and always remain fiery revolutionary hearths where class thinking, proletarian ideology and Marxist-Leninist courage predominate in the solution of every problem. In the basic organization the communists are armed to fight, to carry out the strategy and tactics that carry the Party, the working class and all the masses of the people to victory. There they are tempered with communist qualities, there they are imbued with the proletarian party spirit, with the will to go forward in work and in life undaunted.

The basic organization carries out its leading role when it takes up the most important problems, when it fights to defend and implement the line of the Party properly, when it always acts with initiative, without waiting for everything to be dictated from above, and ensures the leading role of every communist. This must be the greatest preoccupation of the party committees in the districts and the army.

The basic organization can really act as a leading body when there is debate and confrontation of opinions, when rendering of account on the work is demanded, and when all communists have the courage to criticize without hesitation or reserve all those who err, irrespective of their leading function in the Party, state, army, or anywhere else. Every superior, minister, director, commander or secretary, whatever he may be, is obliged to render account to the letter about his own activity as a communist and as a cadre.

Nobody is allowed to use the basic organization to his own advantage or place himself above it, to impose his opinion on it, to restrict or suppress the criticism the communists level at him, or the sector of work he leads. There is no hierarchy, rank or title in the party organization. The principles and norms of the Party are obligatory, and must be carried out by every communist, otherwise the Party cannot be defended and strengthened.

It is the duty of every party organization and of every communist to acquire a profound ideological understanding of the importance of the sharp weapon of criticism and self-criticism and to use it courageously when the defence of the cause of the Party is at issue. To make self-criticism does not mean only

to acknowledge the mistake. It is of great importance to analyze the mistake, too, and honestly bring out its causes. The Party should mould all the communists, without exception, as brave people who have the courage to reveal and unhesitatingly criticize their own mistakes and those of their comrades. Where there is constant, correct, and sharp criticism and self-criticism, the diseases which threaten the Party cannot strike root, the class enemy cannot find terrain to work in. There greater mobilization is achieved for the implementation of decisions and directives, the vanguard role of the communists is enhanced and the leadership of the Party as a whole is strengthened.

The basic factor which enhances the strength of the party organizations as leaders and organizers is the consistent follow-up on the performance of tasks, check-up on how the directives and decisions of the Party are being carried out. Without check-up, the correctness of the directive, the result of the work carried out cannot be verified, the difficulties, obstacles, weaknesses, contradictions cannot be recognized and discovered, and measures cannot be taken to overcome them. Without check-up there is no calling to account, no criticism and self-criticism, no efforts and struggle to ensure that the tasks are carried out. To check up does not mean to have doubts about everything, to have no confidence in your comrade. Check-up is a party duty, carried out to defend and implement the line, principles and norms of the Party.

The leading role of the basic organizations and of the entire Party will be increased and strengthened with the further growth and strengthening of the vanguard role of the communists, by making every party member a real leader of the masses. Without the vanguard role of individual communists there can be no vanguard party of the working class, there can be no party to lead the masses of the people.

It is the duty of each communist to struggle to uphold the honour of this title. This is achieved through revolutionary work and struggle, through an exemplary class stand and behaviour, through continuous efforts to raise his ideological, political, cultural, educational and professional level. Thus he will always feel himself a loyal soldier of the Party, worthy of the lofty title he bears.

The Central Committee has devoted particular attention to *strengthening and improving the leading role of the plenums of the party committees in the districts and the party committees in the army*, so that they provide even better guidance in all the activity of the basic organizations, the organs of state power, the economy, the army, the mass organizations, the institutions of culture and education.

One of the important demands put forward by the Party has been and continues to be the placing of the plenum in a correct relationship with the bureau. The Party has been worried about the incorrect tendency, which has appeared in some instances, of putting the bureau above the plenum in practice, of overestimating the role of the bureau and underestimating the role of the plenum. It has combatted every manifestation of the cult of bureaus and secretaries.

As a result, the authority of the plenums has been further enhanced, and their ability to lead, organize, and check up in all fields has been raised to a higher level. The plenum members feel more deeply the responsibility they bear to provide collective leadership.

Between two conferences, the plenum is the highest forum leading all the work of the Party in the district. The bureau can never replace the plenum and can in no way carry on its functions outside the decisions of the plenum, beyond the control of the members of the plenum. It is obliged to render account of its activity to the plenum. These principles apply equally to the Central Committee and its Political Bureau, too.

In order to enhance the role of the plenums, a more persistent and systematic struggle must be waged to achieve a complete shift of the centre of gravity of leadership from the bureaus to the plenums. This requires, in particular, more thoroughgoing criticism and self-criticism in the plenums for all the members, making no exception of the bureau members and secretaries, combatting any manifestation of megalomania and domineering. It is particularly important that in their work the district plenums clearly define the tasks for the bureaus, and charge them with the responsibility of implementing the directives of the Central Committee and the decisions they themselves take. In practice there are cases in which some

apparatuses of party committees improperly take upon themselves functions that belong to elected organs. This displacement is fraught with grave consequences for the leading role of the party committees. The apparatuses are set up to serve the elected organs, to assist and facilitate their work, and not to replace them.

Our Party has always upheld the principle of collectivism in the work of its leading organs. Collective thought and action is more mature and correct, and plays the decisive role in the performance of party leadership. Collectivism eliminates bureaucracy and arbitrariness, while at the same time it enlivens individual thinking and acting, and does not permit the creation of routine and the spread of conformism.

The implementation of the principle of collectivism in the policy of cadres as a monopoly of the Party is particularly important. All are obliged to submit to the general line of the Party, to the criteria, orientations, establishments and procedures it has laid down on cadres. Nothing should be done in an individual way in this field. The principle of collectivism is not only a basic ideological and political principle, but it also strengthens everybody's conviction that the position of each individual is in the hands of the Party and the working class. Otherwise, not only is subjectivity not avoided, but many negative manifestations, such as servility, fear, arrogance, presumptuousness, etc. are cultivated.

The collective leadership of the party committee is ensured and strengthened when each of its members is deeply aware of the great responsibility with which he has been entrusted, takes an active part in raising and thrashing out problems, in adopting decisions and implementing them.

The strengthening of the leading role and all the collective work of the party committees requires that these organs and each individual member of them should attentively follow the work which is done on a district or military unit scale, around all the problems, and struggle for their solution. When they act in this way, it can be said that these forums are really functioning continuously during the whole period. The mistaken practices that restrict the leading role of the party committees to meetings alone should be resolutely combatted, for they are bureaucratic,

replace live work among people with meetings, and do not help either to strengthen the collective work in these organs or to enhance the personal responsibility of their members.

Some forum members still do not understand properly that preparing a meeting, holding it and taking decisions, despite all its great importance, marks only the beginning of the work, whereas organizing the struggle to carry out the decisions in practice is a broader front on which every forum member should show initiative and ability as an organizer and leader. However, there are forum members who, as soon as the meeting is over and decisions are taken, relax, thinking that they have accomplished their task and it is now up to others to do the work. Each plenum member has the duty to concern himself about, and struggle for, the carrying out of decisions to completion, and must not wait for someone else to be activated; he must never forget that he is a leader and has collective and individual responsibility for all the work. This is an essential condition for the party committee to play its leading role completely.

2. We must ceaselessly strengthen the proletarian composition of the Party

In every period of its existence our Party has fought for the lofty virtues and qualities of communists as vanguard fighters. These have been strengthened from year to year in the struggle for the fulfilment of the tasks of socialist construction, in stern class battles, through the strengthening of its composition.

In the years since the 6th Congress thousands of new members, from among the finest sons and daughters of our people, the most conscientious and most tempered as revolutionaries, the most loyal to, and resolute in, the cause of communism, tested in revolutionary action, distinguished in the struggle for the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland, have been admitted to the Party.

At present 101,500 communists, of whom 13,500 are candidate members, or 14,500 more communists than at the previous Congress, are militating in the ranks of the Party. The communists make up more than 4 percent of the population. Workers make up 37.5 percent of the total membership, and 29 percent are cooperativists.

As to social status, workers continue to occupy first place in the Party. Party organizations and organs have adhered to the orientation to increase the ranks of the Party mainly with elements from the working class: more than 41 percent of those admitted to the Party come from this class, while 38 percent come from the cooperativist peasantry, and nearly 21 percent from among the office workers, intelligentsia and the armymen.

In the future, too, the Party will give priority to increasing its ranks from the working class.

In general the party organizations in the districts have also fulfilled the instruction of the 6th Congress to admit more cooperativists so as to further strengthen the Party in the countryside and improve its leadership in the agricultural cooperatives. Candidate members admitted from among the cooperativists come next to the workers, and they are nearly twice as many as those admitted to the Party from among the office workers.

However, more should have been admitted from among the cooperativists, especially in some districts in which an unjustifiable fall in the percentage of cooperativist communists is apparent.

The growth and strengthening of the Party with cooperativist communists always remains an important task. The objective is that in the future communists with this social status should occupy second place after the workers.

Constant care has been shown for the admission of women to the Party. Now women communists make up nearly 27 percent of the total number of the communists as against 22 percent in 1971, and 12.5 percent in 1966.

The vigorous material, cultural, educational, ideological and social development of our country, the incessant deepening of the socialist revolution in all fields, have created more favourable conditions for the woman to take an active part as a revolutionary fighter in the complete construction of the socialist society and in running the country. This raises the task of increasing the ranks of the Party with women communists still more rapidly.

The overwhelming majority of those admitted to the Party during the years 1971-1976 are 30 years of age and under. This

fact testifies to the steel-like links of our youth with the Party and communism, as well as to the constant concern of the Party, through combining the age groups, to avoid its physical aging, to remain always mature and young at the same time, both in its revolutionary thinking and action, a Party of the present and the future.

The Party has always viewed the question of the continuous improvement of its social composition in close connection with a series of factors, but first of all, with the quality of the communists as vanguard proletarian fighters. The Party needs fresh blood, but the blood must be pure. It has never run after quantity, and will never do so. In a Marxist-Leninist party, it is always the quality that plays the decisive role.

"We do not need fictitious party members even as a gift." * teaches V.I. Lenin.

This course has been pursued with consistency and determination also in the period following the 6th Congress. But this does not mean that there have been no weaknesses and shortcomings. There are party basic organizations and committees that have made impermissible concessions here and there in the fulfilment of the conditions laid down by the Party, which ensure the necessary quality of the communists as vanguard revolutionaries. In other cases, both prior to admission and during the probation period, proper attention has not been given to the ideological and organizational testing and training of the candidates.

The orientations on strengthening the composition of the Party with workers, cooperativists and women, as well as the requirement to further improve its extension must not be implemented mechanically, but always in full accord with the principles and norms of the Constitution, so that the quality of admissions is not damaged in any instance. Taking into account the criteria defined, the soundest new admissions are those that bring into the Party outstanding activists, men and women full of determination and loyal to the cause of the Party, mainly from the sectors in which the material blessings are produced, from the most important branches of production, the most difficult

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, p. 54 (Alb. ed.).

fronts, there where conditions exist for more severe tests that sort people out from the ideological and political point of view, from the angle of revolutionary qualities and activities.

Nearly 82 percent of the worker communists admitted to the Party following the previous Congress come from the sphere of material production. Nevertheless, greater efforts should be made to have more workers from the principal branches of production, especially from heavy extracting and processing industry, the big projects, workers with the highest possible class consciousness, admitted to the Party. More communists should be admitted from these fronts, because some of them will go from there to other sectors and branches of activity, as the need arises.

The probation period of a candidate member, the necessity and correctness of which has been fully confirmed in practice, has indisputable importance for the quality of admissions. Hence, we must further improve this tested system of revolutionary tempering in accord with all the requirements and instructions of the Party.

Our people have always known the communist as the most honest man, the most determined fighter in the struggle for the cause of the revolution and socialism, have always seen him in the forefront, ever ready to go where work and struggle are most difficult. The Party cannot allow people unworthy of the lofty title of communist to remain in its ranks. Therefore the purging of those that sully the image of the communists, who lose the qualities of a vanguard revolutionary fighter, or who have sneaked their way into the Party, is one of the ways of ceaselessly strengthening it. Lenin called the purging of the party ranks a law of development of the party of the working class of the new type. In our Party, this purging is carried out in a normal manner, according to the principles and norms of the Constitution, implementing inner-party democracy and soliciting the opinion of the masses of the working people.

Of those expelled from the Party, only a few are hostile, anti-party elements. The others, even though expelled from the Party, still love the Party and the socialist Homeland, and together with the people, march on its road. The Party has issued the instruction that they should always be kept close, activated, aided, educated, and that no manifestation of sectarianism

towards them should be permitted.

The continuous growth of the Party runs parallel with the expansion and extension of the fronts and the tasks of socialist construction and the defence of the country. The needs of these fronts for communists cannot be met by way of new admissions alone. *For this purpose, the extension and distribution of the forces of the Party is of special importance.*

Now one seldom comes across a sector, department or production brigade without communists, a group of communists, a party group or a party basic organization. In the extension and distribution of the party members, priority has been given to the sphere of production and, within this sphere, to the main fronts of work such as the mines, the heavy processing industry, the major construction projects, agriculture, etc.

More than in any other five-year period, during the past five years communists have been sent from administration to production, and from town to countryside. Today about 62 percent of the total number of communists work in the sphere of production and of these 82 percent directly in production. In the agricultural cooperatives, the number of communists directly engaged in production comprises 87 percent of the total.

In the future, it will be necessary to send relatively more communists than up to now from town to countryside. Similarly, the ratio of the communists directly engaged in production to those working in the administrations of economic sectors must be further improved in favour of the former, especially in construction and the state farms, in which the percentage of communists directly engaged in production is relatively lower than in the other sectors of the economy.

The objective is to achieve the best possible implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the party of the working class, the vanguard of the class, should be in the forefront of the struggle, of the work, in production, everywhere the need arises. In this way the Party will always carry out its leading role, will achieve the hegemony of its class successfully.

Just as for the composition of the Party in general, *the Central Committee has shown continuous care also to strengthen the social composition of the leading cadres of the Party, of the state, the economy, the mass organizations.*

Now 44.2 percent of the members of the leading forums of the Party in districts and military units are of worker status, background and origin. This, and the other fact that a considerable number of the members of plenums of party committees continue to work directly in production as workers and cooperativists even after they have been elected to these forums, speaks of the continuous concern the Party displays for preserving and strengthening the revolutionary character of its leading organs. Likewise, in the ministries and other central state institutions, too, 40 percent of the personnel are of worker background. In the elected organs of the state, the mass organizations and agricultural cooperatives, more than 70 percent of those elected are workers and cooperativists. On the other hand, 72 percent of them are non-party members. All this constitutes a great triumph for the policy of the Party and clearly expresses the consistent implementation of the Leninist teachings.

The opposite occurs in the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist parties in which the cadres belong to the upper stratum of the bourgeois technocratic intelligentsia. There, the overwhelming majority of members of party committees of different levels are bureaucratic officials, whereas the secretaries of these committees are almost one hundred percent intellectuals and technocrats.

The correct implementation of the instructions of the Party to the effect that more cadres of worker status and origin and from the more difficult production fronts should come into the leading organs everywhere, has greatly assisted to enhance their role and activity. The new members from the grass roots bring with them the revolutionary initiative, courage, and spirit of the working class.

In compliance with the task set by the 6th Congress of the Party, many young cadres have been promoted to posts of responsibility. Of the total cadres of all establishments, 40 percent belong to the age group up to 30 years; 31 percent are from 31 to 40 years; 21 percent from 41 to 50 years; and 8 percent over 51 years. These figures show that the increase and renewal of cadres is being carried out in a normal way, and an ever better harmonization between young and old cadres is being achieved.

It is necessary that the young cadres who come to party forums and other leading organs should be given great and all-round help to enable them to affirm themselves as leaders, combatting any inhibiting and conservative concepts. They must be charged with concrete tasks, instructed and controlled, assisted and supported, with the aim that they learn to become true leaders in direct revolutionary practice.

With the struggle carried out against obstacles, especially against conservative mentalities, there is now an obvious improvement also in the implementation of the directive of the Party on promoting women to its leading organs. Of the members of the plenums of party committees in districts and regions and of the total of elected and appointed cadres, about 40 percent are women. The increase in the number of women promoted to posts of responsibility is a positive trend which should be constantly carried forward.

3. We must continuously strengthen the links of the Party with the masses and its leadership in the social organizations and state organs

The strength of our Marxist-Leninist Party lies in its steel-like links with the people. Without these links it would be lifeless. The Party-people unity was created historically in the war for national and social liberation, and in the socialist construction. At the foundation of this unity lies the unwavering confidence of the masses in the correctness of the political line of the Party, in the loyalty and courage with which it defends the interests of the people, in its capability as a leading, organizing, and mobilizing force.

The line of the Party has never remained the line of the Party alone, it has become the line of the masses. At every period of its existence, for the solution of every problem, and the carrying out of every task, the Party has struggled together with the people.

The past five-year period has provided further powerful testimony of the unbreakable links between the Party and the people, of the steel-like Party-people unity. In order to strengthen this unity further, the Central Committee has solved a series of problems and put forward important tasks to enhance the role of the masses, to ensure always correct relations between

them and the Party, to intensify the struggle against bureaucratic, liberal and sectarian manifestations that harm the ties of the Party with the masses.

This has even further strengthened the conviction of the people that only under the leadership of the Party can they remain forever masters of their destiny and guarantee an ever more certain and happier future.

The problems of the further strengthening of socialist democracy, of the enhancement of the role of the working class and all the working people in the life of the country, of perfecting the relations between the Party, the working class and the masses, have been subjected to extensive discussions in the Party and among the people.

All the revolutionary practice of the past period proves once again that *the ties of the Party with the masses are preserved and strengthened always on the basis of their conviction of the correctness of the line of the Party*, which is created and deepened continuously by the experience of the masses themselves.

The Party does not command, but leads the masses.

"Leadership . . .," Stalin teaches, *"means the ability to convince the masses of the correctness of the Party's policy; the ability to put forward and to carry out such slogans as bring the masses to the Party's positions and help them to realize through their own experience the correctness of the Party's policy; the ability to raise the masses to the Party's level of political consciousness, and thus secure the support of the masses and their readiness for the decisive struggle."* *

Whoever tries to impose himself on the masses through the power of orders, through his authority and position in the Party and state, violates the line of the Party, departs from its mass line. The Party has fought and must always fight hard against such attitudes, for they are a source of the flourishing of bureaucracy and the harmful cult of the individual, and, as a consequence, of weakening of the ties of the Party with the masses.

The Party convinces the masses, first of all, by not separating its word from deeds, it convinces them through the example of

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, pp. 52-53 (Alb. ed.).

the communists, through their stand in the front ranks of work and struggle. Therefore it sternly criticizes those communists and cadres who do not set a personal example, criticizes all the stands that are not reconcilable with the revolutionary spirit that characterizes our Party and that do not help strengthen the ties of the Party with the masses.

Of great and permanent importance for strengthening the Party-people unity is the ideo-political, enlightening and educative work among the masses, which, just as all the other activities, has made progress in the past five-year period, but which needs to be further improved in many respects in order to gain a greater power to convince and mobilize the masses. If it occurs here and there that a workers' collective in this or that work centre does not mobilize itself as it should for the fulfilment of a given decision or directive, this stems also from the fact that the organization or the committee has not made these things fully clear to the working people, or that it underestimates the method of persuasion and bases its work on bureaucratic methods of commandism.

An indispensable prerequisite for the enhancement of the role of the masses is that they must be regularly informed about the decisions and directives of the Party. The working people have been kept constantly informed about the decisions of the party basic organizations, the committees and conferences of the Party, the Central Committee and the Congresses of the Party, and have been mobilized to fulfil the tasks deriving from these decisions. The masses have the right to know what decisions are taken in the basic organizations and the various organs of the Party and state. In this way they have the possibility of judging the decisions and mobilizing themselves for their implementation.

The Party has regarded the systematic soliciting of the opinion of the masses on the various problems as one of the most important methods of enhancing the political consciousness of the working people and their participation in governing the country. In the future, too, it is the duty of the Party to devote particular attention to drawing on the opinion of the masses as widely as possible through consultations, popular discussions and the letters they address to the Central Committee and all the

organs of the Party and state. This will serve to further strengthen our socialist democracy and fulfil the just demands of the working people.

From year to year the rendering of account by the party organs and organizations, the communists and cadres to the masses has been organized better and better. Through this practice, by submitting their activity to the direct control of the masses, they have been able to assess their own activity, with all its strong and weak aspects, more objectively. As a consequence, the responsibility of the forums and of every communist and cadre before the Party and the working masses has been enhanced.

Basing themselves on the experience they have gained, the party organs and organizations should look for and use the most diverse forms and methods for systematically rendering account to the masses, and not allow any departure from this practice under whatever pretext. No cadre and communist should remain outside the control of the masses.

Following the 6th Congress the organizations and organs of the Party have done great work and made serious efforts to eliminate every remnant of the method of closed work, to come out onto the broad road of the judgement, criticism, and control of the working class and the masses. Any method of closed work and any hesitation about making the problems of the Party problems of the masses would bring about nothing but the weakening of the ties of the Party with them.

Consultation with the masses, giving them information and rendering account to them, and the workers' and peasants' control, are of inestimable assistance to the Party to ensure that it takes correct and timely decisions, tests their correctness in revolutionary practice, draws lessons and continuously improves its leadership.

The relations of the cadres with the masses exercise a major influence on strengthening the unity of the people around the Party. The close ties of the cadres with the people are absolutely indispensable to preserve them from subjectivism, from bureaucracy, and to enhance their capability and maturity. These ties grow stronger when the cadres preserve and develop the revolutionary qualities the Party cultivates in them, such as modesty, honesty, wisdom, the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial,

the readiness to always serve socialism. They temper these virtues in daily life by going again and again to the school of the working class, which means that they must listen to the voice of the working class and act in its interests, must toil like the working class and work with its vigour and discipline, guided at all times by the proletarian ideology and the policy of the Party.

The measures adopted by the Party for the revolutionization of cadres, such as their systematic circulation, their work in production, the system of rendering account, and so on, must be applied firmly and without let-up. These measures serve to strengthen the ties of the cadres with the people, guard them against the disease of bureaucracy, increase their abilities and knowledge, and keep them always revolutionary.

The social organizations, the Democratic Front of Albania, the Trade Unions, the Labour Youth Union, the Women's Union, which are the powerful levers of the Party, as always play a very important role in strengthening the links of the Party with the masses. Incorporating the entire people in their ranks, they take the voice of the Party to everybody in an organized and appropriate manner, and build up the correct social opinion about the tasks the Party puts forward. On the other hand, they bring to the Party the voice of the masses, their opinions and suggestions, their experience of the struggle to implement the directives. Through them, the Party educates the masses with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and mobilizes them in the struggle for the construction of socialism.

But for the mass organizations to carry out this important role as they should, leadership by the Party is a prerequisite in all their activity. This requires in the first place, that the party committees, and especially the party organizations, must regard the social organizations and their work with the greatest seriousness, must enlighten them on the Party's decisions and directives, open up new vistas of work to them, help them develop initiative and launch them into actions. The task of every communist, and not only of those specially assigned to work in these organizations, is to be an outstanding social activist and work untiringly among the people in order to carry the line of the Party everywhere, work for the education and mobilization of the working masses, to strengthen the mass organizations

themselves in an all-round way.

The Party has devoted special attention to the continuous strengthening of the organs of power and the other organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which play a primary role in the links of the Party with the masses and the implementation of its policy. The People's Assembly and the government, the people's councils and their executive committees, the courts and the state attorney's offices, the People's Army, the Internal Affairs organs, are the most powerful levers of the Party and the working class for the unceasing development of the revolution, the construction of socialism, and the defence of the country.

As a result of the struggle which the Party has conducted together with the masses, the activity of the various organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been raised to a higher level, their revolutionary people's character has been strengthened, and their leading, organizing, and educative capacity improved. In particular, they have been cleansed of the dust of liberalism and bureaucracy, have improved their proletarian composition and have been put more directly under the control of the masses, have enhanced their authority and earned the deepest respect and love of the people.

One of the most important aspects on which the attention and care of the Party must be concentrated is the continuous enhancement of the role of the representative organs of power, which exercise the will and sovereignty of the people. Under the Constitution, these organs bear responsibility for the entire activity of the state power in the territory in which they have been established, and all the other state organs are under their full direction and control. No activity whatsoever of the executive organs and their apparatuses, of the leaders and the working people of these apparatuses, should escape the control of the elected organs or the rendering of account to them and to the masses.

As organs of state power, the representative organs are also schools of government. There, large numbers of councillors and deputies learn how to solve the problems of the state. We now have almost three times as many elected cadres as there are appointed ones, and more than 70 percent of them are workers and cooperativists. Thousands of others are activated in these

organs. The more strongly and the better the organs of power at the centre and in the districts rely on the people elected, deputies and councillors, as well as on the big army of activists, the more fruitful their activity will be, the more tightly will the doors be closed to the dangers of bureaucracy, technocratism and liberalism, which are a threat to the state apparatuses.

Another question which needs to be stressed is the close connection and cooperation of the representative and executive organs of state power with the mass organizations. This connection and cooperation have not always been as strong and consistent at every level. Strengthening them greatly helps the rapid and correct solution of problems and tasks relating to the governing of the country, especially the strengthening of the relations of the state power with the people. In this way the connection between the component links and elements of our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is achieved better. Without a healthy cooperation between the organs of state power and the mass organizations, it is difficult to carry out the great principle of the exercise of power, not only by the representative organs, but also directly by the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people.

It is necessary for the people's councils to show greater care for the solution of social problems and to carry on the good traditions of the national liberation councils as well as their own experience in this field. In cooperation with the mass organizations, they can solve a series of problems justly and well, such as those relating to violations of the norms of our society, alien attitudes towards work, social property, and so on, and they should not leave these problems to pass into the hands of the organs of justice in every instance. Such work exerts great educative influence on the masses of the people.

Just as in any other field, in the carrying out of the various functions of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, the leadership of the Party is the fundamental factor. The Party has fought and will fight any sign of the slightest infringement of its complete leadership over these organs. The working class exercises its leadership through the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, but the supreme leadership which guides the dictatorship of the proletariat and everything else in our socialist

society is the Marxist-Leninist Party, which allows no duality on this issue.

The Party, the working class, and the masses have put in their place those leading cadres, however few in numbers, who, forgetting who trained and promoted them to leading functions and who leads in our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, have developed swelled heads, become bureaucrats, attempted to lord it over the party organizations, and have acted from the position of the official and the technocrat, and not from the position of the Party, the working class, and socialism.

A considerable number of communists work in various state organs. Whatever their leading function, they are responsible, in the first place, to the Party, to their respective basic organizations in regard to the carrying out of the tasks assigned, and the implementation of the line of the Party in the sector where they work. None of them should forget that he is a communist first, and then a leading cadre. But this does not mean that he should not be responsible or not render full account to the state organs, the working collectives and the masses.

Tasks of special importance for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat confront the organs of justice. These organs have consistently fought for the implementation of the line of the Party, for the further deepening of their popular character, and the implementation of the revolutionary law.

In the future, too, it is essential that the organs of justice should carry on the struggle for their further revolutionization, to raise their level of qualification and further strengthen their ties with the people. It remains a special task of theirs to carry out more extensive work to propagate the laws among the working masses so that they become better acquainted with these laws and more conscientious in implementing and defending them. At the same time this is also a task for the state organs and the mass organizations.

The defence of the Homeland has always been and remains the duty above all duties, a major question for the entire people. Socialist Albania has been and always will be the target of the enemies. We must never forget this. We should all be on our feet, ready and prepared to defend the freedom and victories of the revolution.

The Party has always based the defence of the Homeland not only on the standing army but also on the entire people, armed and militarily organized. It has devoted unceasing care to the armed forces so that they remain loyal guards and a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Leadership by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party is the decisive condition for the existence of a people's army, and the organization and direction of the defence of the socialist Homeland. Only the leadership of such a party makes the army a conscious and reliable weapon of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. While always standing at the head, the party organizations and leading organs in the army must see to it that everything is pervaded with the policy of the Party, its spirit, principles and norms, that everything is subject to its leadership and vigilant control.

One of the basic tasks of the party organs and organizations is to work for the revolutionary education and tempering of the armed forces with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary teachings of our Party.

The aim of the ideological education must be to achieve the consistent implementation of the line of the Party everywhere in the army and the successful carrying out of all the tasks. As loyal sons of the Party and the people, our army cadres must be characterized by persistence in ever more thoroughly assimilating the policy and ideology of the Party and our people's military art and completely mastering the weapons and military equipment.

The defence of the Homeland and the socialist order faces our Party and state with the need to further revolutionize and improve the activity of the organs of Internal Affairs.

The organs of State Security, the People's Police and the Border Forces have achieved successes and gained rich experience in the fierce class struggle to uncover and combat any hostile activity, to keep law and order and defend the borders of the Homeland. But in the conditions of intensified struggle which the external and internal enemies are waging against us, these organs are faced with the task of raising their revolutionary vigilance, and the effectiveness of their activity to a higher level, further improving the methods of this activity and putting them

on a more scientific basis.

The performance of their duties by the organs of Internal Affairs is inconceivable without ensuring the all-round and continuous support of the people. Herein lies one of the main sources of their strength. The continuous strengthening of the leading role of the Party over these organs, the ceaseless raising of the political, ideological and professional level of the cadres and all their effective forces, constitute the indispensable condition for them to honestly and conscientiously carry out the task which the Party and the people have entrusted to them, in the future, too.

IV

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

The years that have elapsed have been years of major work and struggle for the uninterrupted revolutionization of the whole life of the country. This great process of transformation has led to the strengthening of the Party and the state power, the consolidation of the economic base, the development of education and culture and the defence potential of the Homeland. It has led to a rise in the consciousness of the working people, endowed them with deeper Marxist-Leninist convictions, created a militant spirit and greater mobilization at work, has encouraged the initiative of the masses, sharpened their political and ideological vigilance and further strengthened their confidence in their own forces. In this all-round struggle, the fighting unity of the people around the Party has been enhanced, and the dictatorship of the proletariat defended and strengthened.

1. We must wage the class struggle correctly and with determination

The construction of socialism is a process of stern class struggle between the two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road, a struggle waged on all fronts, political and economic, ideological and military.

In socialism, too, this struggle is an objective phenomenon, the main driving force that carries the revolution and the construction of socialism forward, that protects the Party, the state and the entire country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism, that cleanses the consciousness of the working people and strengthens their proletarian spirit.

The major successes and victories our people have achieved under the leadership of the Party, in their struggle to develop the

revolution and construct socialism, are linked with the fact that the Party has resolutely upheld the line of the class struggle and consistently waged it against internal and external enemies, as well as among the people and in its own ranks.

In the process of this struggle, a rich revolutionary experience of major theoretical and practical value has been gained from which our Party has drawn very valuable lessons and conclusions on how to build and defend socialism and strengthen the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The class struggle waged during the whole existence of the Party, as well as recently, has shown that *the main danger and enemy to our Party and the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement has been and still is Right opportunism, revisionism*. This danger always threatens a country which is building socialism under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, but it has now become greater still, especially since the liquidation of the socialist order in the Soviet Union and the bourgeois degeneration of many communist parties of the world. In a country where socialism is being built with success, the enemies find it difficult to come out openly with the banner of anti-communism. Pseudo-Marxism, revisionist counter-revolution, is their favourite weapon to overthrow socialism.

International experience and that of our country show that the hopes of the bourgeoisie and reaction for the restoration of capitalism are not based only on the remnants of the old exploiting classes nor only on the agents and diversionists in the pay of foreigners. Their hopes are based especially on other enemies of socialism who emerge from the socialist society itself, on people seriously contaminated by the hangovers of old ideologies, with marked individualistic and career-seeking tendencies, confused by the impact of modern bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, who yield to the pressure of external and internal enemies, and who eventually desert the revolution and degenerate into counter-revolutionaries.

In socialist society there exists the danger of the degeneration of individuals, of the emergence of new bourgeois elements, of their transformation into counter-revolutionaries. As Marxism-Leninism teaches, this comes about not only because the new

socialist society still preserves traditions, customs, ways of behaviour and concepts of life of the bourgeois society from which it has emerged, but also because of certain economic and social conditions which live on in this society in the transitional phase. The productive forces and the relations of production, the mode of distribution based on them, are still far from being completely communist. The distinctions which exist in different fields, such as between country and town, manual and mental work, qualified and unqualified work, etc., which cannot be wiped out immediately, also exert their influence in this direction. To them must be added the powerful and all-round pressure which the capitalist and revisionist world exerts from outside. Socialism can greatly restrict the emergence of negative phenomena alien to its nature, but it cannot avoid them completely.

Therefore, the discovery and defeat of individual hostile elements or a hostile group, at a given time, should not lull us to sleep and make us think that, with this, the enemies are done for. *As long as the class struggle continues, as long as the hostile bourgeois pressure from within and without exists, the danger of the emergence of new enemies and of their activity against socialism also continues to exist.* The Party and the people must always remain on guard, vigilant and revolutionary, must wage a resolute and uncompromising class struggle and block all the ways from which the enemies might emerge and harm us.

Socialist Albania provides a major example which shows that the emergence of revisionism and return to capitalism are not decreed by fate to be inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to make out. It proves the vitality of socialism, the invincible strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which, when they are consistently applied, carry the cause of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat forward with sure steps. The correct understanding of this problem, the dialectical appreciation of it, is of great principled importance and is directly linked with the fate of socialism.

There exists a very close connection and coordination between the internal and external fronts of the struggle waged by the class enemies. They are united by their anti-communist ideology, and the need they have of each other's support in their struggle

against the Party and the socialist order. It is important to recognize not only this fact, which will continue to exist as long as the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the survivals of capitalism themselves exist within the country, but especially that this coordination may be strengthened and become very dangerous if we are careless, lacking in vigilance, and fail to carry out a resolute struggle against it.

The Party has carried out great and persistent work to give the people a correct understanding of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the struggle which must be waged against it. The results of this struggle are evident in all fields. Under the leadership of the Party, our people have coped resolutely with political pressures, economic blockades, military threats and the ideological aggression of the enemies. They have never been taken in, either by the blandishments and demagoguery of the enemies or by their diplomatic manoeuvres.

However, it remains a major and permanent task of the Party in the future, too, to make old and young ever more conscious of the hostile nature of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of the dangers it represents and the tasks we face to cope successfully with the all-round pressure which it exerts on our country. Socialist Albania is a thorn in the flesh of numerous enemies who are striving in every way to undermine and destroy it. Whatever the tactics they use and the conjunctures created, they always remain enemies, therefore we should have no illusions about them.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not in the least passive and merely geographical, but a threatening and active encirclement which fights us in all fields and in all directions. But there are still people who have a superficial and unduly simple understanding of this encirclement, who underrate the danger of military aggression, the difficulties stemming from the economic blockade, or the menace of the foreign ideological diversion. Such attitudes are very harmful.

Our socialist Homeland has been and is constantly under threat of military aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. The aggressive policy of the superpowers is spearheaded first of all against socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, against those forces that unmask and

oppose their hegemonistic and expansionist course. Therefore, the danger of foreign military aggression against socialist Albania is real and should be neither underrated nor overrated.

Besides their measures of force, the imperialist and revisionist enemies also use the tactics of peaceful degeneration of the socialist order, attaching special importance to their ideological aggression, precisely to the counter-revolutionary course which proved so fruitful in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is operating very powerfully in the field of the economy as well. The savage economic blockade, discrimination in trade relations, the efforts to impede the development of production are the weapons of the enemies to sabotage the construction of socialism and undermine the economic and political independence of the country.

The aim of the external enemies is to put our internal front into disarray, to aid and abet the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary elements within the country. Therefore, *we must cope with the united front of the enemies by strengthening our internal front in all directions, in the fields of defence and the economy, politics and ideology, always consistently waging the class struggle.* We must resolutely combat any spirit of euphoria and overestimation of our own forces, any lack of seriousness or of total mobilization in the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

Our people should live every day with the external and internal political situations of the country, always see their tasks in close connection with these situations, work with a lofty spirit of self-denial and sacrifice, always be ready, vigilant and resolute fighters against all the attempts and pressures of the enemies. The struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not a single battle or a series of campaigns, but a continuous fight that must be waged every day.

Our Party has stressed that the struggle on the ideological front constitutes one of the main aspects of the class struggle. This is a fierce struggle waged on a broad front against all alien ideologies, old and new, which are kept alive, inspired and encouraged by internal and external bourgeois pressure. This is a major front of struggle, extremely important and complicated,

which demands the permanent attention of the Party.

The successes which have been achieved in this field constitute one of the most important victories of the Party and the people. The petty-bourgeois psychology and attitudes, backward customs and religious prejudices, manifestations and influences of alien bourgeois-revisionist ideologies have been dealt powerful and crushing blows. The aim of all this work has been to have our people always engaged in revolution, to ensure that they do not stand aside from it even for a moment, to encourage them to struggle and work selflessly all their lives, for the great cause of the Party, for socialism and communism. The high level of political consciousness, the heroism at work, the sense of responsibility and the spirit of sacrifice are characteristic of our working people. This is testimony to the invincible strength of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the correctness of the line of the Party.

But this healthy revolutionary reality should not induce us to relax our struggle on the ideological front, however slightly, because today, too, the question presents itself in the same way as Lenin presented it many decades ago:

*" . . . either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course . . . Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology." **

The fact that the class struggle on the ideological front is waged in the ranks of the people and the Party, too, in everybody's consciousness, means that some people fail to distinguish the hostile content of these alien manifestations. Others underestimate this struggle, thinking that the hangovers from old ideologies constitute a potential rather than a real danger. They forget that these remnants and influences have not been and are not just something ugly, though passive, in people's consciousness, but are the source which incites anti-socialist attitudes and actions, such as thefts from, and damage to, socialist property, breaches of proletarian discipline at work, favouritism and nepotism, bureaucratic and liberal, patriarchal and conservative attitudes, etc. All these things, even when they

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 5, pp. 452-453 (Alb. ed.).

are not committed by enemies or under their direct influence, are just as harmful and become serious obstacles to the construction of socialism. The hangovers of alien ideologies, the petty-bourgeois mentality, the feeling of private property and the placing of self-interest above public interest, constitute that hotbed in which bourgeois degeneration, revisionist and capitulationist concepts are bred and nurtured. Therefore, the struggle on the ideological front is not a passing campaign, but a continuous struggle for the triumph of proletarian ideology and morality, a struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism.

Our practice of revolution and socialist construction teaches us that unless it is waged in all its main directions, political, economic and ideological, no class struggle can ever be complete. These three forms of class struggle are intertwined with and complement each other. At given periods, now one or now the other form of class struggle may come to the fore, but in every case it should be waged on all fronts. We should not forget that the enemy, too, wages his struggle in all directions: ideological, economic and political. Practice over the recent years has borne this out clearly.

Underestimation of one or the other aspect is fraught with negative consequences, leads to various distortions, and to the weakening of the class struggle as a whole. In practice, there is and can be no class struggle on any front outside the struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to ensure the leading role of the Party, and to defend the Homeland. The class struggle cannot be conceived apart from the efforts to fulfil the economic plan and the tasks in every other field of social activity or from the struggle to implant the proletarian ideology.

The class enemy tries to benumb the vigilance of the masses, it looks for periods of calm and lulls in the development of the class struggle in order to muster its forces and strike suddenly. The task of the party organizations, of all the working people, with the working class at the head, is to prevent the creation of such situations favourable to the enemy, and to be always on the offensive, to keep the edge of the class struggle constantly sharp, and be irreconcilable with the enemies and their ideologies.

Our Party has always waged the class struggle correctly and unerringly, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. This has been and remains a question of particular importance, for any deviation in waging the class struggle is fraught with grave consequences for the activity of the Party and the masses. It calls for maintaining a principled stand on all occasions, without slipping either into opportunism or into sectarianism. In life, both these phenomena are encountered.

The passive non-militant stands observed in some party organizations and among cadres of the sectors in which the various condemned hostile groups carried out their undermining activity, were opportunist. The enemies violated the line, directives, and orientations of the Party, displayed features of degenerate people, but these organizations and cadres failed to speak out and tell them firmly to stop their evil-doing activity. The "soft-hearted" attitudes towards the class enemy, the bourgeois sentimentality shown in some cases towards people who degenerate, who violate the norms of socialist society and the state laws, the tolerant and conciliatory attitudes towards manifestations alien to our ideology, are opportunist.

Rigid and sectarian attitudes also damage the line of the Party. In recent times such attitudes have been apparent among some communists and cadres who, when the Party exposed and condemned elements with a liberal, opportunist and hostile spirit, began to look with undue suspicion even at some small and unimportant blemish. The tendencies observed in some people to resort to administrative methods where persuasion and education should be used are also sectarian. Those who display sectarian tendencies often pose as "consistent and principled revolutionaries". But in fact they are opportunists and act in this way in order to be "on the safe side".

These opportunist vacillations stem from lack of a correct grasp of the nature of the two types of contradictions which exist in our society, from confusing antagonistic with non-antagonistic contradictions. The Party must make these matters completely clear and explain that *opportunism cannot be fought with success if sectarianism is not fought at the same time, and vice versa*. On the other hand, the class struggle must be waged neither in closed forms nor only from above, but jointly with the

masses, with their broad and active participation. In this way the revolutionary education of the working people is achieved, and the unity of the Party and the people is strengthened and steeled.

The Party has emphasized that one of the most important aspects of the class struggle is the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, both dangerous enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. The Party has done great and persistent work against both these negative phenomena and has taken a series of concrete measures, such as those for bringing the state power closer to the people and curtailing the administrative apparatuses, for ensuring the more active participation of the masses in the work of government, for strengthening and further improving the direct workers' and peasants' control, for eradicating the spirit of the bureaucratic hierarchy and democratizing life in the army, for barring all ways to the penetration of the alien ideology, and for revolutionizing the school, literature and the arts.

But despite all the successes achieved and the heavy blows bureaucracy and liberalism have been dealt, the Party does not consider the struggle against them as over and done with. They always remain a serious danger, and the struggle against them must go on all the time. They are weapons in the hands of the class enemies to undermine the Party, the proletarian state, and our socialist life.

The analyses which the Central Committee has made in the sectors of culture, the economy, the army, etc., have shown that all the hostile elements, on the one hand, relied on liberalism and bureaucracy, and on the other hand, fostered these tendencies by all manner of means to further their counter-revolutionary aims. In their efforts to undermine socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat it was not the line and the leadership of the Party they strove to put in the lead everywhere but technocracy, they tried to weaken and eliminate control by the Party, the state, and the masses, so as to have their hands free and do as they liked, to encourage anarchist decentralization and create separate and independent organisms, to inflate the state apparatuses and institutions, to weaken their proletarian composition and encourage officialdom, to open the doors to the alien, to undermine confidence in our forces, etc.

But liberal and bureaucratic concepts and practices are not linked with the activity of the enemies only. They are encountered also among our people, in the work of our organs and apparatuses. The struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism will be a long one, because these things are deep-rooted, are linked with economic, social, and ideological factors, and encouraged by the internal and external enemies. The scale on which they spread depends on the political and cultural level of people, on the work of the Party for the revolutionary education and tempering of the working people, on the understanding of how dangerous they are and the ways to combat them.

Bureaucracy and liberalism are reactionary, idealist, anti-popular and anti-socialist ways of thinking and acting. It is the task of the party propaganda to expose the ideological class nature of liberalism and bureaucracy by theoretical and practical arguments. *The communists, the workers and the broad masses of the working people, should be aroused with deep conviction against liberal manifestations, bureaucratic distortions and routine, to expose and combat them in every link and in all the forms in which they crop up.*

It is necessary to further strengthen and deepen the struggle against technocratism and intellectualism as reflections of bureaucracy which lead to deviation from the proletarian ideology and the policy of the Party, weakening the leading role of the working class in our society, and disparagement of the creative role and thinking of the masses. In the recent years especially, the technocratic and intellectualist influences have been expressed, among other things, in the overestimation of technology and special skills, in the failure to consider problems from the political and ideological angle, in the lack of faith in the drive and optimism of the masses.

The struggle against liberalism, as an expression of political and ideological opportunism, of concessions to the class enemy, of reconciliation with the influences of alien ideologies, with shortcomings and weaknesses, must become ever more intensive. It becomes even more essential to deepen this struggle because in recent years liberal manifestations and influences have emerged very sharply and have damaged the work in many sectors, such as

in culture, the army, the economy, and elsewhere. Never, under any circumstances should we underestimate these dangers, but we must always maintain keen political and ideological vigilance, strengthen the check-up from above and from below, enhance discipline and proletarian consciousness in everybody.

The Party should devote particular attention to uprooting liberal and anarchist concepts about democracy and freedom in socialist society. Some people think that, being in a democracy, they have rights only and no duties at all, that the state and the society have obligations to them, which they never fail to demand, while they themselves are free to behave and act as they like, to violate discipline at work and social discipline, the laws of the state and the norms of our society, without a care in the world. These extremely harmful concepts should be combated with determination, for they are alien to the principles of socialism.

A healthy spirit of lively political militancy exists in the ranks of our Party and among the people, and this constitutes a great victory for our Party. But this must in no way make us self-satisfied and close our eyes to manifestations of indifference which are observed among many working people and even among a number of communists and cadres. The struggle against manifestations of indifference remains a current task of the Party and its levers.

The Party has always stressed that *the class struggle in the field of ideology should be frontal and waged against both liberalism and bureaucracy, against the vestiges of the ideology of the old exploiting classes, as well as against the influences and manifestations of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologies of today*. While fighting against degenerating liberalism of bourgeois-revisionist origin, we must not underrate the struggle against various manifestations of conservatism either, which, owing to our historical conditions, still has roots and influences that are by no means superficial.

The 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party have been great schools of class struggle in the period between the two Congresses. These plenums uncovered and made short work of the hostile groups of Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, of

Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela, and others, who had engaged in a far-reaching undermining and sabotage activity in the field of ideology and culture, in the army, industry, planning, trade, and so on.

This was a major and extremely dangerous conspiracy. These enemies, in close collaboration among themselves and in coordination with certain foreign revisionist states, intended to liquidate the Party, to overthrow the people's power, to open the way to revisionism and to restore capitalism in Albania.

The traitor group of Fadil Paçrami, Todi Lubonja and company endeavoured to spread the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, culture and way of life, to prepare a suitable ground for the political counter-revolution, in the field of ideology and culture. First of all, they aimed to cause confusion among the youth and the intelligentsia, to turn them against the Party and socialism, just as the enemies of Marxism-Leninism in the revisionist countries have done.

The traitor and putschist group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako was a faction at the head of the army, a group of plotters seeking to overthrow the Central Committee by force, by means of an armed putsch, and to wipe out the Party of Labour of Albania and the dictatorship of the proletariat, while relying also on armed intervention from abroad. To achieve their ends, they worked to weaken the organization of the Party and its leading role in the army, to replace the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party with revisionist ideology, to sabotage the military line of the Party and impose their capitulationist and traitorous theses on it. They tried to undermine the defence potential of the country and to introduce in the army the detestable methods of the bourgeois and revisionist armies.

The traitor group of Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi, Kiço Ngjela and company engaged in far-reaching hostile activities in the field of the economy. This group sought to distort the line of the Party for the development of the economy, the principles of its organization and management, and to introduce revisionist forms and methods of self-administration, and so on. They engaged in sabotage activities with grave consequences in such key sectors as planning, oil, foreign trade, etc. In this manner, they tried to weaken and undermine the base of our socialist

order, open the way to the economic and political subjugation and enslavement of the country by foreigners.

These groups were imperialist-revisionist agencies in the bosom of the Party and state, composed of politically and morally degenerate elements who had become bourgeois and capitulated to the pressure of the external and internal enemies, to the ideological encirclement and aggression of international imperialism and revisionism.

The danger posed by these hostile groups was extremely serious, because they were filling important posts in the Party and state power and exploiting the great authority of the Party to cover up their hostile work. They masked their counter-revolutionary activity by pretending that everything was done in the name of the Party allegedly for the good of the Party and the people, allegedly for the creative implementation of its decisions and directives. They acted on the sly, never daring to come out openly against the line of the Party, because, like all the other enemies, they had no base either in the Party or among the people. The strength and steel unity of the Party suppressed them. Its sound ties with the people overawed them.

For some time the enemies managed to act and cause damage without being discovered, because they found weak spots in the work of the Party and the state power. They exploited mistakes and shortcomings, manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism and euphoria, which they did their best to spread and encourage. They profited from the relaxation of vigilance and control, the failure to persistently implement the principles and norms of the Party and state, from various shortcomings in the educative work, and from the failure to keep well in mind the teachings of the Party on the class struggle and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

All the organs of leadership, including the Central Committee and the government, bear responsibility for these things that have occurred. Special responsibility, both collective and individual, falls on the party organizations, communists and cadres of those sectors where the enemies were most active. They bear responsibility because they permitted the leading role of the party organizations to be weakened, because they did not consistently uphold the decisions and directives of the Party and

the laws of the state, because some of them showed themselves to be politically short-sighted and liberal, while others lacked the revolutionary courage to raise their voice, to denounce the enemies and put them in their place.

Because of the steel unity, the keen political sense and maturity, ideological clarity and revolutionary determination of the Party and its leadership, this hostile activity was discovered and smashed. Socialist Albania was saved from a great and dangerous conspiracy. From this fierce class battle the Party emerged stronger and more tempered, the unity of the ranks of the Party around the Central Committee, as well as the unity of the people around the Party, were raised to a higher level. The revolutionary vigilance of the Party and the masses was raised and strengthened. Our economy was further consolidated and marked new successes on the road of its socialist development, our arts and culture increased their party spirit and militancy. The army, all the armed forces, have been united more tightly around the Party, their ideo-political tempering, revolutionary spirit and fighting readiness to confront and wipe out any enemy that might dare attack our socialist Homeland, have been raised to a higher level. In this struggle, our working class, the cooperativist peasantry, youth, women, intelligentsia and cadres displayed their lofty patriotism, their unwavering confidence in the Party and its leadership, their loyalty to its correct line.

The uncovering and liquidation of the plot hatched up by the internal and external enemies is a great victory of our Party and people, a victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism.

2. The leading role of the working class and the education of the working masses

Guided by the Party, the working class has stood in the forefront in the great historic events over the last 35 years of struggle and work for the liberation of Albania and the triumph of the people's revolution, the all-round revolutionary transformation of the country on a socialist basis. This is one of the principal factors in the consistent development of our revolution on the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

The working class is the leading class of the society. It has its own political party that leads it, and the Marxist-Leninist ideo-

logy that lights its way. It is the bearer of the ideals of socialism and communism. It is linked with the highest form of socialist property and the leading sectors of the economy, it is the most conscious, organized and disciplined class. Its weight in production and the structure of the population is steadily growing.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, no class or social stratum other than the working class can play the leading role in the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the construction of the new socialist society. This role will be preserved and strengthened in the future, too, so long as classes and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat exist.

In the interval between the two Congresses, the Party has done all-round work so that the role of the working class is felt and exerted powerfully everywhere, so that the working class sets the tone for the entire life of the country with its ideology, revolutionary vigour and example. Consequently, the political activity of the working class, its active participation in the solution of major problems of the Party and the state have increased and its direct control over the implementation of the Party's policy in all fields has been extended and strengthened. A very important indication of the enhancement of the role of the working class is the fact that a large number of cadres, who have emerged from among the ranks of the working class, have been brought into the organs and apparatuses of the Party, the state power, the economy and culture, and they have further invigorated and revolutionized all the work.

These results have been achieved through a fierce struggle against liberal and bureaucratic, technocratic and individualist concepts and attitudes, which expressed lack of confidence in the abilities of the working class, which did not accept its control, or accepted it for form's sake only, and which, in various forms and ways, overestimated the role of the apparatus, office workers and specialists.

In the future, too, the Party will work untiringly to ensure and strengthen more and more the leading role of the working class in the entire life of the country. The working class plays this role through its Party and its proletarian state. Without the Party, the leading role of the working class would remain a demagogic and fraudulent phrase. *Only the revolutionary Party of the work-*

ing class, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory can make the working class conscious of its historic mission and clearly define the objectives of its struggle and the ways of attaining them. The Party organizes, educates and mobilizes the working class and all its allies and leads them in the complicated struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism.

The revisionists of every hue, old and new, have spread and are spreading all sorts of views to negate the historic mission of the working class, especially to liquidate the leading role of its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, in the revolution and socialist construction.

With their "theories" of the party and state of the entire people, of the party as merely an ideological factor or an instrument of coordination, with their sermons about spontaneity in the workers' movement, pluralism, and transition to socialism under the leadership of other political classes and forces, they intend to leave the working class without leadership and disarmed in the face of the enemy, which is organized and armed to the teeth, to sabotage the revolution, to eliminate the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Party has contemptuously rejected these reactionary theories, as well as the anti-Marxist and anarchist views of "self-administration", and "direct leadership" by the working class. It has put our working class in the historic role which belongs to it in the socialist society. This is in complete opposition to the concepts and practices of the Khrushchevite revisionists who treat the working class of their countries as merely a productive force, and have transformed it into an oppressed and exploited class, at whose expense the new bourgeoisie is growing rich.

In our country, there is no problem of the policy of the Party and state on which the working class and the other working masses do not have their say and in the solution of which they do not take an active part. The Party has attached and continues to attach great importance to consulting the working class and the other working masses, to the extensive development of criticism by the masses of shortcomings and weaknesses at work, and encouraging the active participation of the working class in governing the country.

The Party has paid and continues to pay special attention to

the direct control by the working class and the other working masses, to the implementation of this great Leninist principle in practice. It regards this control, which is exercised under its leadership over all state and social activity, as a universal and permanent principle of our socialist society in all its spheres and links, as an expression of the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class in alliance with the peasantry. The workers' control is one of the vital aspects of the class struggle to ensure the triumph of socialism, to prevent the degeneration of the socialist order, and is a great school for the revolutionary education of the working class and the other working masses.

The exercise of direct workers' and peasants' control has yielded results of great value in detecting and avoiding many shortcomings and weaknesses, manifestations of liberalism, distortions and violations of state laws and norms of our society. It has served as a powerful means to shake off the dust of bureaucracy and routine in many administrations, economic enterprises and cultural institutions, among party cadres and organizations, to create a lively revolutionary atmosphere all over the country, to implement the line of the Party correctly, and to carry out the tasks in all fields of socialist construction successfully.

Recently, the Party took important measures to put the workers' and peasants' control on a sound organizational basis and to raise it to a higher qualitative level. *The consolidation of the organization of workers' and peasants' control groups, the qualified guidance of this control by the party organizations and committees, orientation and guidance of it to the most essential questions connected with the implementation of the line and decisions of the Party, better combination of workers' and peasants' control from below with state control from above, the summing up of the revolutionary experience of this control, in order to make it ever more thorough and richer in content and find new fruitful ways of exercising it, have now come to the fore.*

The further enhancement and strengthening of the leading role of the working class, the growth of its ideo-political influence and the efficiency of its work, depend to a considerable extent on its revolutionary education and tempering, on raising its

consciousness to such a level as to enable it to accomplish its mission in socialist society.

On this issue, the Party bears in mind the fact that our working class is relatively young, that the bulk of the workers come from non-proletarian strata, that its ranks are being replenished every day with young workers straight from school, who lack experience in work and in life. All these things, as well as the weaknesses in the educational work, are some of the reasons that many workers do not always play the role that belongs to their class as they should, fail to speak out courageously and with maturity, do not feel the great responsibility they have to ensure that the line and decisions of the Party are carried out correctly by everybody, inside and outside the enterprise, do not always work in a high revolutionary spirit, with proletarian organization and discipline.

Therefore in the future, too, the Party will have to work persistently to educate the working class with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, to make it conscious of its role and tasks, so that it will be a staunch fighter for the construction of socialism, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the Homeland. The working class itself must stand in the forefront of the struggle to carry out the tasks of the state plan, put the general interest above everything, protect the common property, work with high productivity and quality, strengthen discipline at work, become an innovator and creator, preserve and further develop its proletarian features and ceaselessly raise its educational, cultural and professional level. In this way the working class can educate the cooperativist peasantry, the youth, the intelligentsia and all the working people of our country with its example and in its spirit.

The trade unions, which do great work to educate and mobilize the workers and the other working people for the construction of the new society, have a special role and responsibility to make this work more thorough and carry it further. The main task of the trade union organizations has been and still is the communist education of the working people. Any tendency to underrate the educational work of the trade union organizations and to convert them into adjuncts of administrations and the economic organs, is highly dangerous

and leads to the diversion of the trade unions from their function as schools of communism.

The view to the effect that the trade unions should concern themselves with education alone and not involve themselves in economic problems, which is encountered in some cases, is also grossly wrong. Of course, the trade unions have no reason to do the work of state and economic organs, or duplicate them. But it would be utterly unforgivable for them not to interest themselves in production, in the carrying out of the tasks of the state plan. This would create the danger of the bureaucratization of the management of the economy. The effect of the educative work of the trade union organizations depends very greatly on linking it closely with production, a thing which cannot be done well without being familiar with the problems of the economy. At the same time, it devolves on the trade unions to wage a more energetic struggle against any bureaucratic action that infringes the rights of the working people, guaranteed by law, in the slightest degree.

While recognizing the leading role of the working class, the Party has always correctly assessed the place and the great potential of the *peasantry* in our society. In the fire of the war for the liberation of Albania and the establishment of the people's power, in the fierce class battles for the construction of socialism, the Party created and tempered the powerful alliance of the working class with the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class. This alliance has been and remains the basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the foundation of the unity of the people around the Party.

The Party and the state of the working class have implemented a broad program of an all-round political and ideological, economic and social-cultural character, that has led to deep-going revolutionary transformations in the countryside and the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. Today the whole of our countryside, without exception, has set out on the road of socialism. This is a great historic victory of the line of the Party and our revolution.

However, the Party is aware that essential distinctions between town and countryside exist and will be preserved for a long time to come. The struggle to reduce them is the main way to

strengthen the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry and an indispensable condition to close any paths to bourgeois degeneration. The Party is continually taking measures to ensure that the distinctions between countryside and town are steadily reduced.

Because of the great role it has played and continues to play in the socialist society, the peasantry of our country deserves everything that has been done to make the countryside progress and flourish. In the past, it bore the main brunt of the earlier liberation struggles and the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, it became the decisive force for the reconstruction of the country, from its ranks it brought forth the new working class, it has always shown itself to be patriotic, revolutionary and loyal to the Party and the cause of the working class.

In the future, too, the Party will give special attention to drawing the peasantry into increasingly active participation in the political, economic and social life of the country, to educating it politically and ideologically, to raising its educational, cultural, and professional level, and to consolidating the cooperativist system more and more. In the educative work, it should not be forgotten that, for known reasons, the manifestations of the feeling of private property and the hangovers of petty-bourgeois psychology still have strong roots in the countryside. They are a source of many evils, of hankering after narrow self-interest, absenteeism, damage to social property, and so on. The peasantry must resolutely combat these alien manifestations, strengthen the spirit of collectivism, take an active part in the class struggle and work hard for the progress of agriculture and our socialist countryside.

As always, the working class must stand by its ally, must exercise its control over all the state and economic organs concerned with the implementation of the party policy in the countryside, and deepen the great revolutionary movement: "make agriculture the concern of the entire people". Through its example, it must educate all the working people to love the countryside, respect and honour farm work, fight any manifestation of contempt for the countryside and for work there. At the same time, it is necessary to combat all manifestations of mistrust by the countryside for the town in

order to strengthen the militant alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry more and more.

The *intelligentsia* of our country, which has emerged from among the workers and the peasants, has played and continues to play an important role in the all-round development of socialist Albania. Unlike the revisionist countries where it became the main force of counter-revolution to liquidate the gains of socialism, our intelligentsia serves the dictatorship of the proletariat, the people and the revolution, it stands united closely around the Party. This is another great victory for the policy of the Party.

In struggle against liberal and technocratic concepts, manifestations of bureaucracy and intellectualist conceit, and tendencies to commandism and privilege-seeking, occasionally encountered among intellectuals, *the Party is moulding the intelligentsia ever more thoroughly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the moral features and qualities of workers and peasants.* It educates it and makes it more conscious of its role in the society, puts it in such conditions of work and life that it will always be close to the people and under the permanent control of the masses. At the same time, the Party requires that the intelligentsia must constantly increase its knowledge and put it at the service of the socialist construction of the country, and take an active part in the technical-scientific revolution and the entire development of the socialist culture.

The heroic *youth* of our country have been and remain an active force of the revolution and a loyal auxiliary of the Party. The 35-year experience of the Party shows that when the inexhaustible revolutionary energies of the youth are merged with the energies of the working class and the other working masses, under the leadership of the proletarian Party, there is no force which can stop the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

Our youth are surrounded by the special care of the Party and the entire society. Great prospects, which guarantee their present and future and give a lofty content and meaning to their life, have been opened to them. The Party has ever better fulfilled the cultural and spiritual aspirations and various material needs of the youth, it has mobilized them in revolutionary actions and given them the role of active and important participants in the

revolution and the construction of socialist society. Therefore, our youth, too, have always followed the Party enthusiastically, optimistically and faithfully, and have gone all out to make the Homeland flourish and strengthen its defence.

We see an entirely different picture in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, where uncertainty for the present and fear of the future nags at the youth day in and day out. Every second of every hour their minds are being poisoned by confusing propaganda, urging them to an empty, dissipated life, devoid of ideals, which alienates them from the revolution, which drives them to the road of crime and hooliganism, and casts them into anarchism, adventurism, utopia and despair.

Our Party aims to keep the communist ideals and the healthy revolutionary spirit always alive in the minds and hearts of the youth, to educate them to be loyal fighters of the Party, ready to dedicate their energies, talent and lives to the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. Led by the Party, the youth must ceaselessly develop the spirit of revolutionary initiative and action in production and in all fields. They must deepen their irreconcilable stand and be constantly on the attack against the class enemy, against any influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, liberal and conservative manifestations which inhibit progress. They must strengthen their will and perseverance to acquire knowledge and culture and become powerful supporters of technical and scientific progress. The fact that there are a few young people who ape certain aspects of the bourgeois and revisionist way of life, display certain symptoms alien to proletarian morality, who demand from the society more than they contribute, speaks mainly of gaps and weaknesses in our educational work. The entire society, the family and the working collectives, the schools and various institutions, the mass organizations and the state organs must work, under the leadership of the Party, so that our younger generation will be a shock detachment in the front ranks of the revolution.

The great actions of the youth to build railways, roads, break in virgin land etc. by voluntary work, in which almost the entire younger generation has taken part, as well as their movements: "We must learn from the working class", "We must work wherever the Homeland needs us", "We must go to work and live

in the countryside", and so on, are valued, welcomed, and powerfully supported by the Party as great revolutionary actions and movements, as schools for the communist education and tempering of the youth. In the future, too, the Party will entrust the youth and their militant organization, the Albanian Labour Youth Union, with important actions, in the firm belief that our younger generation will, as always, carry them through to the end successfully. Allow me to greet especially those thousands of young men and women who have responded to the call of the Party to work and live in the countryside, and express my conviction that thousands of others will follow their example to strengthen our socialist countryside and make it progress.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Albanian Labour Youth Union has played a great role in the education of the younger generation. It has gained wide experience in the organization and mobilization of the youth for the construction of socialism. In the future, the youth organization is called upon to further invigorate its political and ideological life and activity, to extend the scope of this activity in conformity with the age and wide-ranging interests of the youth, in work and defence, education and culture, science and technology, sports and physical culture, making better use of all that great material base the Party and the people's power have created.

The Party and the people want the youth to be healthy, strong, capable in work and defence. The large-scale development of physical culture and sports, to which the youth organization should pay special attention, is especially important in this direction.

The Youth Union should fight to strengthen its organization, discarding as dangerous any tendency to liberalism in the life of the organization, such as those which showed up prior to the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and which were strongly condemned by the entire youth. The Youth Organization has been and will always remain a militant political organization, a loyal auxiliary of the Party.

The correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party has led to that true, deep-going, and very broad revolution which has taken place in the life of the Albanian *woman*.

Our experience has fully confirmed the necessity of linking the

problem of the complete emancipation of women with the question of national liberation and the cause of the proletariat. Without the participation of women, the socialist revolution cannot be successfully carried out, and without the socialist revolution the complete emancipation of women cannot be achieved.

The energies and abilities of women, which lay dormant and suppressed in the past, have burst out powerfully and irresistibly in all fields of our socialist life. The Albanian woman has come out into the arena of the struggle for socialism full of dignity, and is outstanding for her high revolutionary spirit, her determination and patriotism, and distinguishes herself at work and in life. Today, she is found everywhere, in fields and factories, in schools and laboratories. Highly responsible positions in the Party and the state have been entrusted to her. New relationships of equality are being established between husband and wife at work and in the family. The emancipation of women is strengthening socialist democracy day by day. This bears out Marx's affirmation that the level of emancipation of women represents a natural yardstick of general emancipation.

Our reality refutes all the bourgeois and revisionist "theories" on the roads to the emancipation of women. The attempts of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries to turn the struggle for the emancipation of the working woman against her husband, children and family, are aimed at diverting her from the revolutionary struggle and disrupting the common front of the working class and the working people against the real oppressors and exploiters. The demagoguery of the modern revisionists, too, relating the solution of this major social problem to the policy of "peace" and "disarmament", is intended to make women give up the revolution.

In the future, too, the Party will consistently fight to carry out its program for the complete emancipation of women. *It is the duty of the party organizations, the state organs and all the mass organizations to always make a correct assessment of the real abilities of women, which the Party has so carefully awakened, cultivated and developed, though it is the task of the women themselves to fight like revolutionaries to assert their personality ever better.* At the same time, on the basis of the possibilities

ensured by the economic development of the country, better material conditions must be created to lighten the woman's burden of household chores so as to raise the efficiency of her work on the production front and her activity in political, social and cultural life to a higher level.

We note with special satisfaction that, through their own efforts and thanks to the care of the Party, women are narrowing the educational, cultural and technical-professional gap between them and men. Now, 37 percent of all the cadres with medium and higher training are women. In the future, we must fight to achieve complete equality in this field, too. The women comrades in leading posts have distinguished themselves for their loyalty to the line of the Party, their abilities as leaders and organizers, for their knowledge and culture. This confirms the correctness of the directive of the Party that women should be promoted boldly to posts of responsibility, from the lowest to the highest levels of the party and state organs. Those sectarian attitudes which underrate the abilities of women and hinder the implementation of this policy of the Party are very harmful.

Alien patriarchal and conservative, bourgeois and liberal concepts are still a great barrier to the all-round affirmation of the personality of women. Under the leadership of the Party, the active organization of the Women's Union of Albania, the state and all the mass organizations, the school and society have the duty to educate women and men in the spirit of the struggle for the complete emancipation of all members of our socialist society, so that everybody, men and women, young and old, may march ahead triumphantly.

Constant preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party constitutes one of the most fundamental problems of the entire work of the Party and its levers, a decisive condition for the triumph of the revolution, the construction of socialist society and the defence of the Homeland.

The unity of our people is not a unity dependent on circumstances and temporary alliances. It is alive and militant unity of the people around the Party, created in the war for the liberation of the country and cemented in the struggle for the implementation of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology of the Party.

But unity is not something given once and for all. The struggle to strengthen it must be continuous and permanent. The enemies have attempted to attack this unity, to create splits between the people and the Party and they will attempt to do so again in the future. Manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, attitudes and actions which run counter to the decisions of the Party and impair the correct relations of the Party with the masses also damage this unity. The remnants and influences of alien ideologies, which are opposed to the new norms of socialist society, violate it.

Hence, the great tasks facing the Party to safeguard the unity of the people like the apple of its eye, to steel it and make it even more invulnerable. This requires that we maintain high revolutionary vigilance, wage the class struggle ceaselessly and correctly, carry out the party directives with precision, and solve the various contradictions which arise among the people in a timely manner.

The *Democratic Front of Albania*, this great political organization which realizes the unity of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party, has wide scope of action in this field. In cooperation with the other social organizations, the Front is called upon to carry out all-round work with the urban and rural masses to make the policy, orientations and directives of the Party clear to them, to educate them in the spirit of socialist patriotism, revolutionary vigilance, combat readiness and irreconcilability towards all alien manifestations, to constantly strengthen and temper the unity of the people. The Democratic Front has been and remains a great tribune of the revolutionary opinion of the masses, a powerful lever of the Party to draw the working people into governing the country and solving problems of socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland.

3. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism must be mastered, linking them closely with the teachings of our Party

The foundation of all the ideopolitical educative work which the Party does among the communists and the working masses, has always been our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The Party has done great all-round work to disseminate the

scientific ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The classics of Marxism-Leninism and the many documents and materials of our Party, published by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, have been put at the disposal of the communists and the working people. An entire system of study groups, courses and schools has been set up for their education. The entire membership of the Party studies Marxism-Leninism in an organized manner, while thousands of party members have graduated from the "V.I. Lenin" Party School. The Marxist-Leninist theory is taught throughout the whole of our school system from the lowest to the highest grades. The workers, peasants and all our youth attend the study courses at which they are imbued with the ideas of socialism, with the revolutionary teachings and practice of our Party. All spiritual, literary, artistic and scientific life is becoming more and more thoroughly permeated by our proletarian ideology.

All these forms, and all the work done to educate the communists and the masses, have yielded results. But the problem is that more should be gained from these forms, that education should be linked better with life and work, so that it may properly serve the ideological and political moulding of the communists and the masses. The things that occurred in the army, in the field of culture, and the economy, speak of serious weaknesses in the educative work of the Party. In these weaknesses we must look for and find one of the main sources of those negative phenomena which the enemies exploited to carry out their anti-party activity in these sectors.

It is not enough that the study groups meet regularly, hear lectures and papers which talk about the norms of the Party, criticism and self-criticism, vigilance, and so on. The main thing is to understand why these things are necessary, their ideological content, to understand that we need these things so that we throw ourselves into struggle for a great cause, which is the construction of socialism, its defence, the triumph of the revolution in our country. If they are not understood in this way, discipline, principles, vigilance, class struggle, and so on, remain abstract formulae. In our propaganda, there are still many signs of such superficial work, which must be rooted out as quickly as possible, so that our teachings make a deep impression in

people's minds and create lasting convictions.

We do not study Marxism-Leninism for the sake of erudition. We study it to apply it in life, so that we are guided by its principles in every action and judge everything in its spirit. Such a study of theory, closely linked with life and revolutionary practice, serves true communist moulding, the creation, not only of a scientific outlook but also of a revolutionary character, so that our people will always be resolute fighters for the cause of socialism, irreconcilable with the enemies and their ideologies.

This calls for serious study of Marxism-Leninism which is the science, the theory, which teaches us how to understand the line and directives of the Party, and how we must fight to apply them in life. The Party faces the task of further strengthening and improving the propagation and study of the classical works of our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which constitute the inexhaustible treasury of scientific communism, the basis of the communist formation of the new man. But their study is complete and fruitful when it is closely linked with the teachings of our Party, with the study of its documents, in which the creative application of the universal laws and principles of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Albania is reflected, in which the great experience of our revolution, the experience of the struggle of our Party and people against imperialism and modern revisionism, is summed up.

The study of the party documents and the history of the Party helps the communists and the working people to master the general line of the Party, its style and method in the solution of problems, more thoroughly and quickly, to assimilate the militant spirit and highly principled stand which characterizes our Party. It helps them to realize that it is our Party, its experience and wisdom, that teaches us how to fight for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, how to carry the revolution steadily forward.

Marxism-Leninism is not learned only from books, nor only at school. It is learned and mastered by taking an active part in the daily struggle to build socialism, by ceaselessly waging the class struggle, resolutely fighting against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. For the communist education and the revolutionary tempering of the working people, great tasks face

the entire Party, as well as the state and the mass organizations, which must regard this as one of the principal aspects of their activity.

The study of the Marxist-Leninist theory is indispensable for the communists first of all. There are some who say that, "I find it hard to study", but they do not think that these views are harmful and that by talking and acting in such a manner they are making a great mistake. They do not understand that many of the shortcomings and weaknesses in their work stem precisely from their lack of ideo-political formation. It is necessary that the communists temper their will to study individually, to raise their ideological, cultural and technical-professional level all the time. No one should say that he has no time to study. The communist who takes no interest in study and broadening his horizon, who makes no effort to try to acquaint himself with, and master, the rich experience of the Party, will run out of steam and will not be up to the mark in his task as a vanguard fighter.

The "V.I. Lenin" Party School, the study courses and other forms of party education must raise the level of their work ever higher for a more profound and creative study and mastering by the cadres and the communists of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our Party.

A great task in arming the younger generation, in particular, with the Marxist-Leninist theory, devolves on our school, where the foundations of the ideological formation of the youth are laid, where the habits and methods of study are acquired, where endurance in study and the passion to learn are instilled. It is of special importance for the school not only to give the pupils and students Marxist knowledge, but also to form their revolutionary outlook, to give them the key to how to find their bearings and fight correctly in life.

Major tasks also face the institutes and the chairs of social sciences which are called upon to raise their work to a new qualitative level, summing up the theoretical and practical experience of the Party better and becoming its propagandists. The working masses, the school, the party education system are still in need of a wide range of publications and textbooks of various categories, with profound content, and written clearly and comprehensibly. All the possibilities are there for better

fulfilment of these demands by means of improved organization and coordination of the work of the scientific institutes and publishing houses, the higher schools, and the various editorial boards.

Improvement in the work for dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist theory and its study greatly depends on the activity of the party organizations and committees. They must go deeply into the content of this work and exercise continuous check-up for ever better implementation of the great task the Party is charged with for the education of the communists, the cadres and the masses. They are called upon to see that the educative work is built around the problems which emerge in life and the phenomena which people are concerned about, that it becomes more understandable and convincing, more differentiated and supported by strong arguments, in conformity with the growing demands of the masses. For this purpose, the methods of mass action, of confrontation and discussion, which have given very positive results, should be made better use of, all the means of propaganda should be utilized to the greatest possible effect, and their forms perfected.

The press, publications and radio and television have played and continue to play a great and special role in the education of the masses. After the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, an all-round struggle was waged against weaknesses and shortcomings, manifestations of liberalism and lack of vigilance which were observed in some organs of the press, in some publications, and in many radio and television broadcasts. They have made improvements, but in the future, too, care must be taken to increase their militant class and proletarian partisanship, to raise the quality and the ideological level of writings and broadcasts and deepen the mass line. Thus, they will play their role better as auxiliaries of the Party for the communist formation and the mobilization of the working people to carry out the tasks facing the country.

4. Education, culture and science must be raised to the level of the tasks of the time

During the years since the 6th Congress, great strides ahead have been taken for the implementation of the directives of the

Party in the field of education, culture, art and science. These important sectors have been actively engaged in the great struggle waged by our entire people for the socialist construction of the country.

The Party has always shown particular care for *education*, for the uninterrupted raising of its ideological and scientific level.

Implementing the Marxist-Leninist program approved by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee in 1968 and the 6th Congress of the Party for the revolutionization of education, our school has undergone great changes and achieved many results in the strengthening of the ideological axis, in the implementation of the three components: lessons, productive work, physical and military training, in raising the scientific level of the school and in linking it with life. Commendable work has been done in drawing up plans and programs and compiling new textbooks for all categories of schools. The system of education has been improved and extended. The possibilities have been created for the pupils and students to acquire more knowledge, to be better trained for production and defence, to be educated and tempered in the spirit of the working class, with proletarian discipline and morality. Our school is more and more consolidating itself as a socialist school, with original features and a popular character. It is further strengthening its revolutionary class spirit.

This process has gone through a stern class struggle, against conservative and liberal, bureaucratic and technocratic concepts and practices, against bourgeois and revisionist influences and borrowings, which were strongly criticized also at the 4th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee. Despite all the struggle waged, the major tasks which the educational reform laid down for the revolutionization of the content of teaching and education have not been fulfilled completely. There are still shortcomings and weaknesses which must be overcome, there are problems which are being solved with difficulty and hesitation, especially those connected with the full harmonization of the three components. In the method of work of the organs of education there are still manifestations of practicism, and little effort is made to study and sum up the practice of our school.

The former leaders of the Ministry of Education and Culture

exerted a negative influence on the implementation of the program laid down by the Party for the development of education through their harmful work which was characterized by a liberal and bureaucratic spirit, shallowness and inertia.

For the future, too, the strengthening of the ideological content of all the work of the school constitutes the fundamental and most important aspect of the implementation of the policy of the Party for the revolutionization of education. The main thing is to work for a more thorough assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, of the theoretical thinking and teachings of our Party, which must become more and more the foundation of the process of teaching and education, must permeate all subjects. The bookish learning of Marxism, which is still apparent in the school, as well as the slowness in reflecting the experience of the Party and our socialist construction in the textbooks and in the teaching process, impede the strengthening of the educative and formative role of the school. Hence, the important task of improving the programs, textbooks and lessons in the subject of Marxism-Leninism, of ensuring a closer linking of the lessons with life, with the great work and struggle the people are waging under the leadership of the Party, of making extensive use of the studies and generalizations carried out in the field of social sciences.

The educative role of the school in the all-round communist formation of the new generation will be strengthened the more the school and the youth are engaged in the class struggle for the development of the revolution and the solution of the concrete problems of the socialist construction of the country.

In putting before the school the task of introducing the three components and of their harmonization, the Party is aiming to achieve two major objectives, the revolutionary education and tempering of the youth, and the raising of the quality of all the work of the school. But in practice, despite the efforts made and the results achieved, we are still in the initial stage of the solution of this problem. What is required is the complete and organic integration of the three components, in content and in method, so that they complement each other.

The school, as the place where the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist pedagogical thinking of our Party is applied, has the

duty to acquaint itself with and study the best achievements in this field, to disseminate them and carry them further in order to ensure more creative and fruitful teaching and educational work. This constitutes a wide and important sphere of scientific work in the education sector.

A major problem remains that of giving the school a deeper mass character and of improving the school system, by setting up a broader and more varied network of schools, especially vocational ones, both full-time and part-time.

The university and the other higher schools where the specialists for different fields of activity are trained, have the task of turning out cadres formed and tempered politically and ideologically, with broad cultural horizons, armed with profound scientific knowledge, prepared for life. In collaboration with the ministries and with the Academy of Sciences, they should carry out more organized work for the post-graduate qualification of cadres. The higher schools should devote particular attention to studies and research, as an indispensable prerequisite for raising the level of all their teaching work as well.

The major successes scored by our people's education are a result of the tireless work of the great army of teachers and pedagogues who, with a high level of consciousness and ardent love for their honoured profession, are making a valuable contribution to the revolutionary education of the youth. The militant communist spirit, a passionate love and a high sense of responsibility for their work, persistence in perfecting their skills as teachers and educators, the struggle against any alien influence, should characterize them. The school and the teachers should closely follow the process of the revolutionary development of the country, the economy and culture, as well as the progress of world science and technology.

The Party has shown constant care that *culture, literature and arts* develop in a pure and sound atmosphere, that they follow the revolutionary transformations of the country step by step and steadily strengthen their socialist content, their militant character, their popular spirit and their national features.

The 4th Plenum of the Central Committee sternly criticized some harmful manifestations that had to do with imitations of

reactionary foreign trends, with the wrong treatment of contradictions in our society, with theories that disparaged folk creativeness, etc. It put forward important tasks over the entire front of culture. Their implementation gave a fresh impulse to the development of literature and art, to all cultural and artistic activity. Great progress has been made in all fields, in literature and music, in cinema and theatre, in painting and sculpture, in opera and ballet.

The writers and artists have always stood close to the Party, as its auxiliaries in the struggle for the communist education of the masses. Along with the experienced creative forces, new talents, that are making their contribution to the further development of our literature and arts, have emerged.

True art strengthens its innovatory features and achieves a high artistic level when it embodies a revolutionary content and is guided by the communist ideals. Therefore, *the continuous strengthening of proletarian partisanship remains a basic task for the development of our culture and arts, for their advance on the road of socialism.*

A better reflection of some of the major themes in our artistic creativeness, such as that of the hegemonic role of the working class in our society, the revolutionary transformations of our socialist countryside, the revolutionizing force of the communists, the treatment of cardinal themes and key moments of the history of our people, and particularly, of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution, are an essential requirement to make our literature and art even more revolutionary.

With its revolutionary ideals and its objectives of serving socialism and the people, our art of socialist realism towers above the degenerate, decadent, bourgeois and revisionist art, counterposes itself to its reactionary, pessimistic and capitulationist philosophy. Literature and arts in the Soviet Union have been placed under the complete domination of the new bourgeoisie, and the writers and artists have turned into a caste in the service of the counter-revolution and the chauvinist and expansionist policy of Soviet social-imperialism. Negation of the major social problems, themes of disillusionment and bourgeois humanism, complete renunciation of the positive

hero, lack of any revolutionary perspective, are characteristic of the revisionist literature and arts.

The socialist content of art is closely linked with its popular and national character. Under the present conditions, when, proceeding from their objectives of world domination, of the spiritual and political enslavement of the peoples, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are spreading the ideas of cosmopolitanism, of the so-called internationalization of art and culture, the struggle to defend the national culture of the people assumes very great importance. By defending and developing their national, democratic, and revolutionary culture, the peoples defend their independence, their existence and their own traditions, and thus make their contribution to the treasury of world culture.

Our socialist culture has never shut itself away in its national shell. It has profited from the best achievements of progressive world culture and, on its part, being the bearer of our people's ideals of freedom, independence and socialism, has been and is close to other peoples as well.

The national character and the popular spirit are expressed through the truthful reflection of reality, from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the assimilation of all the experience of our culture, both its old progressive tradition and its new revolutionary elements, in a critical way, proceeding from the class standpoint, and firmly relying on the people's creativeness. The popular and national character is expressed not just in the creation of the works alone but also in their execution and interpretation.

Some kinds of arts, architecture in particular, are lagging behind in their expression of the national spirit and features. To eliminate this shortcoming further study and more research work is needed.

Guided by the teachings of the Party, the writers and artists should direct themselves towards the life of the people, create an art for the people, beautiful, clear and comprehensible to all, a profoundly popular art. The life of the people, their sharp wit, popular psychology and humour, should occupy a larger place in literary and artistic works, especially in the genres of the stage.

Those artists who work ceaselessly to raise their Marxist-

Leninist ideological level, who master the teachings of the Party, who lead an active political life, who are thoroughly immersed in the life of the masses and have a profound knowledge of the road of the revolutionary historical development of our people and culture succeed best in these tasks. Revolutionary art is created by revolutionary artists whose hearts beat in unison with the hearts of the people. They are required to reflect accurately in their works the fundamental processes and trends of development of our revolution, the contradictions of life, and to fight any manifestation of formalism and stereotyped treatment of them, to faithfully and creatively apply the method of socialist realism, which is the foundation of the proletarian art to which the future belongs.

Our socialist culture is penetrating more deeply among the people day by day and becoming part and parcel of their life. The publication of books and the production of films have been increased and the network of cultural-artistic centres throughout the country extended. The amateur movement has undergone great quantitative and qualitative development, and alongside professional art, is playing an important role in the progress of our new culture and the education of the working people. The masses, the working people, the workers and cooperativists, the women and the youth, old and young, have mounted the stage.

The Party demands that mass cultural work must be raised to a higher level. To this end, it is necessary to form a broader concept about culture, viewing it in all the different aspects of life, and about the cultured man. All the many means the state has placed at the service of the masses should be properly used, and ways and forms found for our culture to go wherever the masses of the people live and work. Today, when the Party is striving to narrow the distinctions between town and country, the front of culture, too, is faced with important tasks connected with raising the cultural level of the peasantry, through a broad activation of the forces of the countryside, as in the city.

The party organizations should have a better appreciation of the great role which culture and arts play in the education of the masses, and should consider them as important sectors of their activity, showing special care for the political and ideological education of the creative artists. The leadership of the Party, the

consistent application of its line and directives in these fields, is of decisive importance for their development on the right road. The state organs also face important duties to increase their concern about culture and arts, as well as to improve the forms and methods of handling them.

Under the leadership of the Party, the League of Writers and Artists should intensify its work for the ideo-aesthetic and professional education of writers and artists, becoming still more a centre where creative work is encouraged and its philosophical, ethical, and esthetical problems are widely thrashed out from the standpoint of proletarian partisanship.

In the all-round efforts to put the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party into life, successes have been achieved also in the development of *science* and scientific experimentation. Functioning in our country today are various scientific organisms, specialized institutes and research centres, apart from those of the chairs and faculties of the higher schools. The founding of the Academy of Sciences was an important achievement.

Over this period, a series of important scientific and technical studies and experiments have been carried out in geology and mining, hydro-energetics, agriculture, etc. A number of valuable studies have been carried out also in the field of social problems, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, history, archaeology, and the Albanian language.

The country's present stage of development and the great tasks ahead of us require that *scientific studies and research are transformed into a general method that must pervade and precede all activities, and give effective help in the solution of present and future problems of the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland*. Science is confronted with great tasks in designing and building large hydro-technical and industrial projects, discovering and using new raw materials and other natural resources, finding new ways for the intensification of agriculture, etc.

The development of science raises the very important problem of carrying out intensified studies in a number of fields, such as biology, genetics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, physiology, etc., without which many problems of the development of

applied sciences and technical progress cannot be solved, and a sound training of the various specialists and of the younger generation in our school cannot be carried out.

Great prospects are opened to the fruitful development of social and economic sciences, with the scientific study and summing up of the revolutionary thinking and practice of our Party and people as their fundamental object. Studies on the history, life, language and cultural and artistic traditions of our people constitute an important field.

As the Party has continuously stressed, the technical-scientific revolution in our socialist society cannot be carried ahead by a few specialized research institutions alone. The activation of the broad masses of workers and peasants, of cadres and specialists of production is of decisive importance in scientific experimentation. The specialized institutions and the centres of scientific research should link their activity more closely with the scientific experimentation of the masses, they should sum up advanced experience and disseminate scientific knowledge among the masses. This is also the way to protect them from the diseases of bureaucracy, technocratism and intellectualism.

At the present stage, all material-technical means and human resources exist to solve many complicated economic, ideological, cultural and technical-scientific problems with our own forces. It is therefore necessary to further strengthen the confidence of the cadres, specialists, and working people in their own creative forces and capabilities, while at the same time getting to know, and applying, in conformity with our conditions, the achievements of world science and technology.

The fulfilment of the tasks in the field of science requires the taking of further measures for the training and qualification of specialized scientific cadres of different branches and the strengthening of the necessary material base.

The development of science and the technical-scientific revolution confronts the research institutions and the higher schools with major tasks for raising the quality and effectiveness of their scientific studies and research, in struggle with alien technocratic and intellectualist, idealist and metaphysical concepts. The Academy of Sciences should play a special role here, especially towards a better utilization and coordination of

forces and means for science and research.

Under the leadership of the Party, the state organs, from the base to the centre, should increase the attention they devote to the organization, planning and development of the activity of the scientific research organs, put forward concrete tasks and check up on their fulfilment, and render all the necessary help in the solution of the problems that arise.

V

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PRA

The construction of socialism in Albania, the struggle of our people for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the Homeland, their efforts to build a secure future, cannot be separated from the international situation in which we live, from the general historical process of world development today.

The Party has followed with great attention and analyzed the events and the creation of new situations, the directions and intentions of the various political forces that are active in the international arena, and has always maintained a correct and principled stand in complete accord with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our national interests, the interests of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

In general, the present international situation appears very complex, full of great contradictions and confrontations that have now embraced the whole globe and all aspects of the human society today. Facing imperialism, social-imperialism and their savage aggressive and expansionist activity, facing the bourgeoisie, the international monopolies and their barbarous exploitation, facing reaction and its violence and terror, with multiplied forces stand the world proletariat and the staunch revolutionaries, the peoples that are struggling for freedom and democracy, for socialism. The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution.

In recent years, a powerful upsurge of the struggle of the proletariat can be seen in all the capitalist countries. The workers and the masses of the working people everywhere are fighting selflessly against political oppression and economic exploitation, to defend their democratic rights and ensure a better life. What

distinguishes this struggle is the broadened scope of the demands of the working people which are ever more going beyond the bounds of economic demands. The strikes, protests, demonstrations of the working people in the United States of America, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Poland, Italy, Germany, Spain, etc., which often end up in bloody clashes with the bourgeoisie and its apparatus of oppression, are striking at the very foundations of the bourgeois and revisionist rule. In these fierce clashes with capital and the bourgeoisie, the working class and the broad masses of the working people are more and more strengthening their proletarian consciousness, preparing and tempering themselves ever better for the coming class battles. The present struggle of the world proletariat once more proves the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the working class and its revolutionary struggle in the bourgeois and revisionist world cannot be suppressed either with violence or with demagoguery. Despite the pressure, the demagoguery, and the large-scale deceptive and disruptive propaganda of the bourgeoisie and its allies, the tendency to break away from the opportunist and undermining influences of social democracy and the revisionists, who unfortunately still manipulate an important part of the working class, is broadening and deepening. The growth and strengthening of the new Marxist-Leninist parties is vivid proof that the proletariat has never lost its faith in Marxism-Leninism, that it sees in Marxism-Leninism its most powerful weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of the revolution.

Day by day, the liberation movement of the peoples is rising to a higher level, both in content and in intensity. The historic victory of world importance of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, which was a victory not only over U.S. imperialism, but also over the plots, intrigues and acts of interference of Soviet social-imperialism, proved that, with all their great power and wealth, with all their modern means of warfare, the superpowers are not able to subjugate the peoples and countries, even small ones, if the latter are determined to fight to the end and make any sacrifice. It confirmed the thesis that freedom and independence are won and defended with the gun, through struggle, that the strategy of the national liberation

people's war is a strategy that ensures victory.

Today Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute a broad front of struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the other imperialist powers. The peoples of these continents are making great and all-round efforts to strengthen their political independence, to shake off colonial and neo-colonial domination. All of us today are witnesses to the determined efforts of the African peoples for their complete emancipation, after their emergence from centuries of slavery. The achievement of independence by countries that only a little while ago were under Portuguese colonial rule has further accelerated the struggle against racism and racial discrimination in Rhodesia and South Africa.

The struggle of the progressive and democratic forces against fascism and reaction is also growing and expanding. The overthrow of dictatorial regimes in some countries, the struggle of the patriots of Brazil and Bolivia, of Thailand and Malaysia, the resistance of the peoples of Chile, Argentina, and Indonesia against the fascist regimes have dealt telling blows at the reactionary forces and their imperialist supporters. The peoples of the Indian Ocean region, of Southeast Asia and the shores of Africa are fighting persistently for the removal of military bases and naval fleets of the two superpowers. Everywhere the peoples are ever more awakening and growing more conscious of the danger that the policy of aggression, expansion and hegemony of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism represents to their existence.

The countries that march consistently on the socialist road constitute a firm support for, and give active help to, the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. They constitute an irreplaceable factor for the triumph of the revolution. Socialist Albania considers it an honour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the great struggle of the proletariat and the peoples, of all who fight for socialism, freedom and independence. By working untiringly for the construction of its new life, by smashing the frenzied attacks of imperialism, modern revisionism, and the anti-communist bourgeoisie, it has made and is making its contribution to defending and carrying forward the cause of genuine socialism.

It is this broadening and deepening of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, this great intensification of the liberation struggle of the peoples, the victories of socialism, all taken together, that have further weakened imperialism and social-imperialism, that have sharpened the contradictions of the capitalist system and shaken it to its foundations.

A direct result of this struggle and of the inevitable contradictions of their system is also the very grave crisis which all the capitalist and revisionist countries are going through today. During the whole period since the Second World War, economic crises have followed one upon the other. But the present crisis is the greatest, a crisis sweeping over not only the developed countries, but also those less developed; it is an economic crisis, but also a political and ideological, a military and cultural crisis, affecting the structures and the superstructures of the bourgeois-revisionist system.

At first, this crisis was apparent in the form of a falling rate of production and an increasing rate of inflation. It became still more acute and assumed broader proportions because it was complicated with an extremely grave energy crisis and the currency crisis, which caused very great upsets in all the capitalist-revisionist countries. Some of them, such as Italy, Britain, Poland, Yugoslavia, etc., are now experiencing extremely difficult situations.

A distinctive feature of the present crisis is that it is developing in the conditions of an acute sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions in the rivalry of the superpowers for the division of markets and spheres of influence. The deeply aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, their thirst for world domination and hegemony, have led to a big increase in state expenditure for the maintenance of military forces and bases in foreign countries, for "military aid" and various subsidies to reactionary regimes. This has created great tensions in the economies of the superpowers and their allies who are compelled to take upon themselves no small part of the burden of the crisis. The militarization of the economies of the great imperialist powers, the increase in military expenditure and budgets for repressive apparatuses to unprecedented proportions — in general, the consumption of national income and

assets for non-productive purposes — makes these upsets ever more marked.

The crisis is further sharpened by the unrestrained competition of the industrialized bourgeois and revisionist countries among themselves, as well as between them and the developing countries, the main producers of raw materials. The operation of the law of uneven political and economic development of capitalist countries drew the Common Market, Japan, Canada and others into the arena of the struggle for markets and privileges and of challenging U.S. domination in the sphere of capital exports.

The present crisis has once again confirmed that, as a social system, capitalism can never escape its contradictions and its ills, that it is incapable of ensuring its own superprofits while at the same time preserving an internal social equilibrium. Life thus repeatedly proves the theory of Marx and Lenin that economic crises are fellow-travellers of the capitalist system, that as long as private ownership and capitalist exploitation exist, economic crisis will exist, too.

All the capitalist and revisionist states try to saddle the masses of working people with the consequences of the crisis. And in fact, in order to keep their profits intact, the bourgeoisie, the monopolists and all exploiters everywhere have stepped up the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the working people, reducing their means of livelihood and curtailing their rights. In these moments of grave crisis for the imperialist and social-imperialist powers and the bourgeois state power of every country, millions of workers — the number of them has now reached about one hundred million — are being thrown out on the street, inflation is rampant, prices for necessities are becoming more and more out of reach. In present-day capitalist and revisionist society that phenomenon of polarization which Marx described, is taking place: on the one hand the poverty of the working people is increasing and, on the other, the wealth of the capitalists is growing.

Big capital and its state power, social democracy, the revisionists and other opportunists, are accompanying this grave situation, this policy of savage oppression and exploitation, with a great amount of lying propaganda meant to convince the

masses of the working people that the present upheavals are allegedly a passing phenomenon, that everything will get back to what it was before, hence they should patiently bear the heavy burden that has fallen on them, and not try to find its causes and rise in revolt. They are striving with every means to avoid the great danger, the revolution, which is the only way for the working class to escape from the crisis and the exploiting capitalist and revisionist system once and for all.

The bourgeoisie and its state power also utilize the trade unions, in which they have incorporated the proletariat and the working people of most bourgeois countries for this counter-revolutionary aim. The trade unions are allegedly democratic, allegedly independent of the bosses and various "democratic", "socialist" and other parties. In reality, these so-called trade unions, openly manipulated by the bourgeois parties and led by the labour aristocracy, strive by all manner of means to mislead the working people and sabotage their revolutionary struggle. As well as this, the laws concerning the workers' activity and struggle for economic, social and other demands, have been constructed and doctored by big capital in such a manner that every action must take place within the limits allowed by the bourgeoisie, that nothing should damage its interests, and in particular must not threaten the foundations of the capitalist state power. When it finds it impossible to cope with the revolts of the workers and people in the pseudo-democratic forms or with the "talk-shop" methods of parliaments, then the bourgeois state clamps down on them with its laws, its violence, its bludgeon. That is what is happening now in most countries where the crisis has sharpened the contradictions between labour and capital and the revolt of the working people in face of the situation created is becoming ever more powerful.

In these situations the danger of fascism is becoming ever more threatening. It is a known fact that when capital finds itself driven into a blind alley and under the heavy blows of the working class, it is compelled either to declare itself bankrupt or establish its fascist dictatorship and head for war. This danger of fascism is evident in Spain, Italy, and in many other countries. If the Italian fascist party, which is called the Italian Social

Movement, lost votes in the recent Italian elections, this is no defeat for it, because it has put its "squadristi" (1) contingents into the Christian-Democratic Party.

*"For it is the great significance of all crises", said V. I. Lenin, "that they make manifest what has been hidden; they cast aside all that is empty form, superficial, and trivial; they sweep away the political litter and reveal the real causes of the class struggle that develops in reality." **

The political, economic and social events of the world today, the causes that give rise to them, the circumstances of actions and the antagonistic forces taking part in them, are extremely variable in character, interests, duration and the forms of struggle employed. It is essential that we should grasp the main things, the issues of principle, and submit them to a Marxist-Leninist analysis if we are to make things clear to the Party and the people, to find our bearings in any activity and in any situation. Otherwise, it is difficult to reach correct and valuable conclusions.

Our Party is of the opinion that the world situation today is turbulent, and consequently, there is no room for complacency, passivity or euphoria. Therefore analysis and assessment of, and a consistent class stand towards, the policy and activity of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the two superpowers in the current conditions assume first-rate importance for all the revolutionary forces, all the nations and peoples fighting for liberation and independence, for peace and security among nations. A principled stand on this fundamental question constitutes the only correct basis for defining a consistent and revolutionary strategy and tactics, and the criterion for assessing who are the progressive forces, and separating them from the reactionary forces.

Concrete facts and actions, the objective reality, leads us to the conclusion that in the world today the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are the biggest and most dangerous aggressive imperialist powers known in history. Each separated or together, the superpowers represent,

1. Members of the fascist terrorist groups.

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 24, p. 219 (Alb. ed.).

in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism, and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a third world war.

The world has encountered and continues to encounter the aggressive and expansionist aims of U.S. imperialism. Ever since the end of the Second World War, U.S. imperialism has been pursuing a criminal policy and carrying out criminal activity against communism and the freedom and independence of the peoples. It was U.S. imperialism that unleashed the barbarous aggression in Korea and in Vietnam, committing some of the most hideous crimes mankind has ever known there. It was U.S. imperialism that intervened in the Congo, that strangled the Dominican revolution, that carried the war to Laos and Cambodia, that set the Middle East ablaze and organized the fascist putsches in Chile and Argentina.

In accord with its imperialist nature, U.S. imperialism has extended its tentacles to all the continents and is strengthening its positions everywhere, and in every way, through "aid", enslaving credits, various agreements and treaties, through military bases established in many countries, through brutal interference in the internal affairs of other countries, up to armed aggression. All these are the ugly features of savage U.S. imperialism.

The numerous compromises and the unprincipled concessions of the Khrushchevites have not made it any softer-natured or better-behaved. It still remains the political and economic bastion of the exploiting capitalist system, the great defender of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the inspirer of racism and the arch-gendarme of international reaction. Our Party consistently upholds the view that U.S. imperialism is aggressive and will remain so as long as it has a single tooth left in its head.

As a result of revolutionary and liberation struggles, of its continuous degeneration and insurmountable internal contradictions, world imperialism has lost many positions. Suffice it to mention the disintegration of the colonial system and the winning of independence by many countries. In the future, imperialism will lose ever more positions as well. But at the same time imperialism, and U.S. imperialism especially, will increase

its efforts to win back its lost positions and to capture new ones. This is the dialectics of the development and decline of imperialism. *Therefore, now just as in the past, the consistent and unceasing struggle to expose the policy and foil the aggressive plans of imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, constitutes an essential condition for the defence of freedom and socialism, for the triumph of the revolution and the liberation of peoples.*

The peoples of the world are also fighting a great battle against the other enemy, just as dangerous and barbarous, Soviet social-imperialism. The policy of the Soviet revisionists is a typically aggressive colonialist and neo-colonialist policy which is based on the power of capital and force of arms. The struggle that the Soviet Union is waging today to occupy strategic positions in the Middle East, its expansion to the Mediterranean, to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, its interference in Africa and in Latin America, its pressure on Europe and its meddling in the affairs of Asia — all these actions bear the stamp of this policy. Like the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists are striving everywhere to put out the flames of the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples.

In competition with U.S. imperialism, the Soviet social-imperialists hatch up counter-revolutionary plots and intrigues against the peoples, stir up conflicts and sow discord among nations, strive to exert their control and dictate wherever they can. *Our Party has continuously stressed that any illusion or vacillation, however slight, in the stand towards the present-day Soviet Union is fraught with catastrophic consequences for those political forces and movements that continue to believe the demagoguery and lies of Moscow.*

In order to carry out their policy of expansion and hegemony, imperialism, social-imperialism, and international capitalism, have created a series of military, political, economic, cultural and other organisms and institutions which, today, are their main weapons and means of domination over the peoples. At the same time, they have also worked out a whole series of theories, concepts and theses through which they try to deceive and intimidate the peoples and justify their hegemonism and oppression, to brainwash people in the direction they want.

Military aggression, economic expansion and ideological aggression, constitute the basis of the general line of these enemies whose main aim is to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution and perpetuate their enslaving system.

Under these conditions the task of the revolutionaries and peoples is to counterpose their united and determined struggle on all fronts and in all directions to this general, all-round onslaught of the enemies, to expose and destroy all their weapons and bases, whether political or economic, military or ideological.

Now, as in the past, the main pillars on which all their hegemonistic and expansionist superpower policy is based and carried out, the principal shields protecting their imperialist systems, the fundamental weapons for their rivalry and war preparations, are NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the political and military alliances of the capitalist and revisionist countries, and their bases and armies in foreign countries.

NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, together with the bourgeois and revisionist armies of the member countries, provide the main protection for the capitalist and revisionist systems and the greatest armed force to attack the revolution and socialism, the freedom and independence of the peoples. The military blocs are the props of the internal reactionary, anti-patriotic forces, of forces who are selling and subjugating their countries to foreigners and liquidating their national sovereignty. NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have been and continue to be instruments for the preparation and unleashing of war.

COMECON and the European Common Market have been created to serve this aggressive, oppressive and exploiting policy. Through COMECON, which is a Soviet revisionist organization for the enslavement of its member countries, the Soviet Union carries out its neo-colonialist policy in the satellite countries, pillages their wealth and achieves their economic integration into the Soviet state. The Soviet Union has impoverished its allies economically, has tied them hand and foot, imposes on them the prices it wants, controls the development of their economy according to its interests, grants them just as much of the raw materials necessary to keep their industry running, to the extent it desires and when it desires, without regard for its progress. The credits the Soviet Union grants to its satellites enslave them.

Like COMECON, the European Common Market is just such another reactionary organization. It is a large union of capitalist monopolies and trusts, bent on the savage exploitation of the proletariat and the masses of the working people in Europe and other peoples of the world.

From its inception, the aim of the Common Market has been to find ways and means of barbarous plunder for the great trusts and concerns and to rescue capitalism from crises and upheavals. In the international arena, the Common Market is a big neo-colonial power which not only competes with the superpowers for the exploitation of the developing countries, but also endeavours to regain and maintain the old privileges of the former colonial powers in these countries.

Though the United States of America is officially outside the Common Market, through the entanglement of U.S. capital with the capital of each member country, the United States, indirectly, plays a very great role in it. In the Common Market, U.S. imperialism has had and still has a powerful support against the social-imperialist bloc. Together with NATO, the Common Market constitutes an organized base and rear area of U.S. imperialism in its rivalry and contest with the other imperialist power, the revisionist Soviet Union.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian state and people are against NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, against COMECON and the Common Market, because these organizations are the basic instruments of the expansionist policy of the two superpowers, because they oppress, exploit and impoverish both the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the developing countries, undermine both the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, and are instruments of enslavement.

The Soviet Union declares that a "community of free and equal socialist states" has been created, but the Soviet fist rules this "alliance". There is nothing socialist about it, it is anti-Marxist and an outright fraud to keep the peoples under the yoke of social-imperialism.

The monopolists of Western Europe, both bourgeois and revisionist, have a great deal to say about the creation of the so-called United Europe. So far some sort of a "European Commission" has been set up with a "Parliament", a "common

government" and some formal laws, which has taken upon itself to create the state unification of the European countries. Plans are being mapped out for this part of Europe to have a joint army, armed to the teeth, and a "powerful" capitalist economy allegedly to confront the two superpowers. In fact, the creation of the United States of Europe is meant to eliminate the notion of nationality in various European countries, to integrate and amalgamate their culture and traditions, in other words, to do away with the individuality of the peoples and states of Western Europe under the management of the cosmopolitan reactionary bourgeoisie of this continent.

This "United Europe", its reactionary content, was exposed and condemned by Lenin as early as 1915 when he wrote:

*"From the standpoint of economic conditions of imperialism — i.e., the export of capital and the division of the world by the 'advanced' and 'civilized' colonial powers — a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary". And further: "Of course, temporary agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the European capitalists. . . but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe" *.*

World capitalism, which is proceeding remorselessly towards crises and decline, just as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin predicted with such genius, has now reached the stage of imperialism in decay. In order to survive, it has devised new forms for the exploitation of the masses, not just on a national scale, but also on a world scale, has contrived its last and most sophisticated means of plunder, neo-colonialism, has created financial links and economic and military alliances through which it intends to hold in complete or partial dependence many states belonging to what is called the "second world", the "third world", the "non-aligned world" or the "developing countries". All these terms, which refer to the various political forces acting in the world today, cover up and do not bring out the class character of these political forces, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the key problem which is predominant today on a national and

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 21, pp. 370-372 (Alb. ed.).

international scale, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world, on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat, and its natural allies, on the other.

The most that these terms and divisions can indicate is the extent of the influence and impact of world capital, international or national, on various states and areas of the world. They can also indicate the more powerful or less powerful support points of imperialism and social-imperialism, and they may also indicate the existence of the peoples' aspirations to live free and independent of the superpowers. But, viewing the question from the angle of the class criterion, with some exceptions, in these states, antagonistic classes and the exploitation of man by man exist, and the proletariat and working people of these countries are ruled by the bourgeoisie in this or that form. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in our epoch, countries are grouped according to the social system prevailing in them, into bourgeois-capitalist countries and socialist countries. The theories of the so-called intermediate stage of non-capitalist development, so zealously propagated by the Khrushchevite revisionists, are meant to sabotage the sincere socialist aspirations that exist in many countries, to cause ideological confusion, and to undermine the struggle of the progressive forces.

Similarly, regarding the assessment of the policy pursued by various states and governments, the Marxists proceed again from the class criterion, from the stands these governments and countries maintain towards imperialism and socialism, towards their own people and reaction.

On the basis of these teachings the revolutionary movement and the proletariat build their strategy and tactics, find and unite with their true allies in the struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. The terms "third world", "non-aligned states" or "developing countries", create an illusion among the broad masses fighting for national and social liberation that a roof has allegedly been found under which to obtain shelter from the threat of the superpowers. These terms conceal the real situation of the majority of these countries, which, in this or that manner, politically, ideologically, and economically, are bound to, and depend on, the two superpowers and the former colonial metropolises.

The Yugoslav revisionists champion the idea of "non-aligned countries". According to them, falling within this group are those countries which have not aligned themselves through military treaties with the big imperialist and revisionist powers, mainly with NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. But without formally participating in these two military blocs, many of these countries are so completely aligned with the superpowers and the big capitalist countries through a series of treaties and agreements, that the word "non-aligned" has a very hollow sound to it.

This situation of the "non-aligned" movement was borne out by the Colombo Conference. With difficulty it managed to cover up the divergencies and the opposing political aims which individual countries and groups of participating states are pursuing. This time nobody spoke out against or openly attacked the United States of America and the Soviet Union by name and opposed their aggressive and warmongering policy and activity. However they did find it opportune and advantageous to attack France!

Many states which pretend to be non-aligned have concluded among themselves defensive and aggressive military treaties in which imperialist powers take part, too. None of the participants have denounced these treaties. Soviet social-imperialism is trying to set up the "Asian Security Treaty", tomorrow a similar treaty on "African Security", etc. All these are different forms of organization intended to turn an allegedly non-aligned country into a country enslaved from every viewpoint.

The slogan of "non-aligned countries" gives the false impression that a group of states which have the possibility of "opposing" the superpower blocs is being created. It gives the impression that these countries, all of them, without exception, are anti-imperialist, opposed to war, opposed to the dictate of others, that they are "democratic", and even "socialist". This helps to strengthen the pseudo-democratic and anti-popular positions of the leading groups of some states which participate among the "non-aligned", and creates the impression among the peoples of these countries that when their chiefs establish or dissolve relations, of any kind and nature, with the imperialists and the social-imperialists, openly or in secret, they do this not only in the capacity of "popular governments", but also in the

capacity of a group of states "with which even the superpowers must reckon".

Our Party is of the opinion that the peoples must be told openly about the situations, because it is only thus that their true unity, the unity of the truly anti-imperialist and progressive states and governments is aided. In order to unite the peoples in the fight for freedom, independence and social progress, against any oppression and exploitation by whomsoever, first it is necessary to establish the dividing line, to make clear who is their chief enemy, against whom they must fight, and with whom they must unite.

Their enemies are imperialism, social-imperialism and the international big bourgeoisie, which pursue a policy of expansionism and exploitation towards the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The superpowers and world capital want to keep intact all the international forms and institutions established in the old colonial period. When their interests are affected, even in the slightest, such as in the case of raising the prices of oil and some other raw materials, they rise in wrath and do not hesitate even to threaten war against the peoples and countries that want to establish sovereignty over their own national assets, that fight for justice and equality in world exchanges and economic relations.

But this plunder and savage exploitation cannot go on forever. Now economic decolonization has been placed on the order of the day, and there is nothing which can stop this new revolutionary process which has emerged on the world stage. The peoples have the undeniable right to establish complete sovereignty over their natural resources and to nationalize them. However protracted and fierce the resistance and counter-attack of the imperialists and other exploiters may be, nothing can prevent attainment of this objective. Nothing can stop the struggle of the peoples for equality in the field of international exchanges, and to ensure that the income obtained from the sale of raw materials is used to develop their industry and culture and improve their life.

The struggle of the peoples for economic independence is spearheaded against the superpowers, against the monopolies of the imperialist states, against the multinational companies.

Therefore, the proletariat, all those who are for revolution and socialism, must closely link their struggle with the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence. This can be done only by resolutely struggling against the bourgeoisie of one's own country, by struggling against imperialism and predatory war. This is also the most effective and direct aid the proletariat can give the liberation movement of the peoples.

The aggressive policy and the counter-revolutionary activity of the superpowers, the international big bourgeoisie and reaction is developed amid great and irreconcilable contradictions between imperialism and social-imperialism, between them and their own allies. These contradictions, which are signs of their weakness and of the telling blows which the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples' fight for liberation has dealt them, again corroborate the immortal theses of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the development of bourgeois society and the proletarian strategy of the revolution.

The major crisis which has descended upon the two superpowers and their allies has a powerful effect weakening the aggressive alliances they have set up. It has rocked many countries of the world on all the continents, and has aroused the well-based suspicion that the misfortunes which have beset them have their source in the aggressive and predatory activities of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. This suspicion has caused splits in the alliances, so that some countries have, partly or completely, broken away from them. Here declared and there kept secret, but always active and corrosive, mistrust towards them is constantly growing.

Now it is apparent that neither the U.S. imperialists nor the Soviet social-imperialists can impose their respective hegemonism on their partners in the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Treaty as they wish. The deep cracks in the military, economic and political groupings of imperialism and social-imperialism are becoming more disquieting for the superpowers day by day. The centrifugal forces, whether of the western capitalist bourgeois states or of the eastern revisionist states, are becoming more apparent and active every day.

Within the revisionist bloc, Soviet social-imperialism is keeping a strict watch over its "allies", to prevent any attempt to

break ranks. Despite this, the political animosity and ideological differences, if not as open as in Czechoslovakia at the time of Dubcek, exist everywhere in secret and are manifested in various fields and forms, especially around economic issues. All the discontent that is showing up in the relations between the revisionist countries and the Soviet Union is covered over with the theories of "limited sovereignty" and "economic integration" expounded by Brezhnev, which means, in other words, in the interests of "socialism" the Soviet dictate over them must be preserved and must not be opposed.

The friction between the revisionist states of the East, and the Soviet Union, their discontent, are further incited by U.S. imperialism and its allies. The United States of America is making great efforts to weaken social-imperialism, to keep its aspirations for hegemony under tight rein, to split the satellites away from the Soviet Union and draw them closer to itself.

And this is the desire of the satellites of the Soviet Union, too. They have had and still have hopes of developing this tendency with the aid of the United States of America. Aware of the economic weakness of the Soviet Union, its urgent need for technology, and especially its pressing need to release internal funds for armaments, now U.S. imperialism is trying to make the most of this situation and to put its plans into practice. It is giving credits to the Soviet government, but giving them to the other revisionist countries, too, and at the same time encouraging the western capitalist states to invest their capital in these countries. This venture is facilitated also by the fact that in these periods of crises West European capital is seeking economic expansion wherever it can.

Despite its efforts to keep its satellites under military and political yoke, economically subjugated and shackled with many steel chains, the revisionist Soviet Union is obliged to allow them to build contacts with the United States of America and the other big capitalist countries of Western Europe, to ask for and receive credits from them. Of course, for each credit they must pledge some economic-political collateral as security, and it is precisely this which worries the social-imperialists most.

On their part, the Soviets, also, are trying to open some breach and infiltrate the western countries. These countries made

a great fuss about what was happening in Portugal, about the interference of the Soviet Union through the revisionist party of Cunhal. And, in fact, such an attempt was made. But all the fuss was raised more for sensation than from fear that the Soviets might eventually get a foothold in the Iberian Peninsula.

At present, the contradictions within the political, military and economic alliances headed by U.S. imperialism, have become very acute. The squabbles and competition between the monopolies of Western Europe and Japan, on the one hand, and the monopolies of the United States, on the other, have now reached a new stage at which each party is trying to secure the maximum superior positions, privileges and favours for itself. The contradictions between them have been even further increased as a result of the energy and raw materials crisis, the narrowing of the sphere for the export of capital, and the increasing difficulties over securing profits through the neo-colonialist policy.

This is fully corroborating Stalin's analysis and prediction of 1952, when he said:

*"Outwardly, everything would seem to be 'going well'; the U.S. has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy, and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to 'go well' for 'all eternity', that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development." **

Within the framework of the alliances of the West, the greatest quarrels are those between the United States and the Common Market, which, under the pressure and various manoeuvres of the Soviet bloc also, tend to increase.

Because of the competition, in order to prevent the Common Market from affirming itself and becoming consolidated, the United States tries to manipulate its members separately and to incite them against one another. Besides its enslavement of the

* J.V. Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," Tirana, 1968, p. 39 (Alb. ed.).

other weak members, the United States is making special efforts to impede the German-French rapprochement by weakening France and supporting Federal Germany and Britain.

It must be said that, despite the organisms they have created, the countries of Western Europe have not given up their great individual efforts in which each strives to grab for itself the maximum number of concessions and markets all over the world. Of course, this competition is directed against the two superpowers, but, in comparison with the economic, military and political might of the two big states, and especially that of U.S. imperialism, these countries are weak. Thus, these countries of Western Europe do not manage to dip their finger "in the honey" as they would like, and not just in the economic field, in the developing countries, but when they raise their voice in political matters very little, if any, notice is taken of them. American imperialism has created such a situation that it has not only eliminated the possibilities of the economic intrusion of these countries, but it has also shut the mouths of its partners in alliance.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, from these situations, the proletariat and the revolutionary forces reach the conclusion that they must intensify their all-round struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the reactionary capitalist bourgeoisie, the struggle to deepen the contradictions and divergencies that exist among their enemies. The enemies must not be given a moment's respite to come to agreement, to group their forces and organize themselves to fight the revolution, socialism, and the peoples with new strength. In this struggle the allies of the proletariat are all those who are oppressed by, and suffering at the hands of, the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and reaction, who want freedom and independence for their peoples, those who oppose imperialism and social-imperialism and their hegemonistic plans.

Loyal to the interest of the revolution, socialism, and the peoples, our Party will support the proletariat and the peoples who are against the two superpowers and for their destruction, against the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie and for its overthrow.

In crisis and with many contradictions between them, in

contradiction with their allies as well as with the peoples, the superpowers are trying to find new forms of collaboration amid divergencies, to invent new demagogical theories, to draft new enslaving plans and to redivide the world into new spheres of influence and markets.

Never before has the world been subjected to such a campaign of propaganda and diplomatic diversion as the one the imperialists and the social-imperialists are engaged in at present, which is intended to prettify the hegemonic and expansionist policy of the superpowers, to justify their aggression and to conceal their war preparations. Both in the East and in the West, the imperialist and social-imperialist leading circles claim that mankind is living in a period of "reduced tension", that the "cold war" and the confrontation threatening a clash between the superpowers has given way to "detente", peaceful co-existence, "international harmony", "general security", etc., that the dangers have passed and the clouds of war and disaster have been dispersed. By means of these high-flown slogans, the superpowers, the international bourgeoisie and reaction, are trying to dupe the peoples, to weaken their resistance and to establish their imperialist control and domination.

The People's Republic of Albania does not accept and publicly exposes the so-called theory about the need to preserve the "balance between the superpowers" as a condition or a basis to avoid war and defend peace. It rejects the imperialist concepts on the preservation of the "spheres of influence" allegedly as factors of stability and security, the concepts of "limited sovereignty" and the "interdependent world", of "bipolarization", the policy of blackmail, etc. These so-called "theories and doctrines" invented in Moscow and Washington, are meant to create a capitulationist opinion that no state or nation can live outside the domination and tutelage of one or the other superpower.

The history of Europe has proved that the "balance of forces" among the big powers has always been a weapon in the hands of exploiting classes to suppress the national liberation and revolutionary movements. Intervention has been always the weapon of the system of balance, to restore it when it is upset or to guard against its being upset.

Peace and international security in Europe and in the world

are not achieved through the establishment of "harmony" or "balance" between the superpowers, but through struggle against imperialist pressures and intervention, through efforts for the liberation of the peoples, through the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty.

The superpowers are carrying on a big trade in arms which is becoming the most lucrative business in our days. In the simple view, it might seem as if those arms add to and strengthen the fighting ability of the countries which receive them. In fact, this trade constitutes a new noose round the neck of the purchasers, chains which bind them hand and foot. Not only can these weapons never be fired in opposition to any eventual aggression by the sellers and their allies, but they cannot be fired at anyone at all without the seller's permission.

By means of their arms trade the superpowers encourage minor arms races among small and medium-sized countries, which then become the cause of quarrels and conflicts among neighbours, stirring up local wars, a thing which opens the way to the expansion and hegemonism of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Through the arms trade, as well as the war psychosis which they develop with powerful propaganda, the two superpowers are trying especially to penetrate into Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia.

In these countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Union are vying with each other. In order to subjugate various countries of these zones, they create and bring to power cliques who put themselves forward under allegedly liberation colours, and set them at loggerheads with one another according to the principle of "divide and rule". In fact, whether U.S. imperialism, in its open and savage way, or Soviet social-imperialism, likewise in its way, which is just as savage but masked with a pseudo-socialist propaganda, they are working to aggravate relations, to stir up and inflate the contradictions among the peoples to further their own interests, to establish naval bases in various countries, to build military alliances, to conclude enslaving trade agreements, etc.

One of the most typical examples of this policy of the two superpowers is provided by the Middle East, where the main issue is oil. The hostilities between the Arab peoples and Israel,

the situation amongst the Arab peoples themselves, who are split and in disagreement with one another, which is being aggravated by the Soviet-U.S. intrigues, are a consequence of this key problem, of the endeavours of the two superpowers to seize the oil resources. The blood of the Arab peoples has been and is being shed on account of this wealth. United States imperialism openly assists Israel to keep the Arab world divided. The Soviet Union allegedly helps the Arab peoples by selling them arms while it is sending large numbers of Soviet Jews to Israel where they are used as cannon fodder against the Arab peoples.

At the same time, the superpowers are also trying to elbow each other out. Notwithstanding its clearly pro-Israeli stance, U.S. imperialism not only succeeded in keeping the course of "friendship" with Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf Emirates in its favour, but it also managed to undermine the Soviet positions in the area. Egypt's denunciation of the Egyptian-Soviet treaty as well as the expulsion of the aggressive Soviet naval fleet from its ports, is a defeat and not a victory for Soviet social-imperialism.

Now it is the Americans who have the upper hand in dictating their schemes in this region. Of course, Soviet social-imperialism is not sitting idly by with folded arms, either. It is striving to make good its loss in Egypt, by clinging to the positions it still has in some Arab country, or by seeking to secure some new base, by attaching itself to new "friends".

On the African continent, the struggle between the two superpowers has just begun and is far from coming to an end. United States imperialism has long ago set up its own bases there. Its imperialist interests here are also interwoven with the interests of its West European allies, and jointly they constitute a powerful barrier to Soviet penetration in this region.

The events in Angola are being advertised as a major Soviet "success", something which serves social-imperialism to pose as a liberator of the peoples. This also serves U.S. imperialism and all world capitalism to fan up the psychosis of anti-communist fear and war, though communism has nothing whatsoever to do with it. The current struggle of the African peoples is a revolt against the interference and plunder of the two superpowers.

The big imperialist powers make the most of the difficult economic and social situations of the peoples, the countries and

states of Africa, where they hatch up a thousand and one intrigues. These are never-ending intrigues engineered to retard the revival of this vast continent with a population which has lived in poverty for centuries but which has an ancient culture, which has new strength and energies, which imperialism, social-imperialism and world capital do not allow to be channelled on to the correct road to the progress, freedom, democracy, and full independence and sovereignty of these states.

Our Party upholds the thesis that both when the superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is others who pay the bill. The collusion and rivalry between the superpowers are the two sides of the one contradictory reality, important expressions of the same imperialist strategy, to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world. They pose the same danger, therefore the two superpowers are the main and greatest enemies of the peoples. That is why one must never rely on one imperialism to fight or escape from the other.

There are states that, aware of a threat from either one or the other superpower, base their defence on the military protection of the United States of America or of the Soviet Union. But military protection by the superpowers is an illusory defence because its aim is to convert the "defended" country into a protectorate. Shelter under the "defence umbrella" of the superpowers is always accompanied with political and economic concessions, with concessions in the realm of national sovereignty and restrictions in the field of decision-making on internal and external issues.

The peoples should not fall into the trap of the so-called "anti-imperialist front" advertised by the Soviet social-imperialists, in which they are seeking to embroil all those who are opposed to and fight against United States imperialism. To join this "front" means to sacrifice the loftiest interests of your country, to expose the people to danger, to become a minion of the social-imperialists and cannon fodder for their ambitions. The contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States of America are not contradictions between socialism and imperialism, as Moscow is trying to pass them off, but contradictions between two big imperialist powers.

While rejecting the demagoguery and deceptive tactics of "anti-

imperialism" preached by the Soviet revisionists, it is necessary also to reject the "anti-social-imperialism" which the United States of America and the monopoly bourgeoisie of the world are propagating. The peoples cannot allow themselves to fall victims to the rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union and become pawns in their imperialist manoeuvring.

The bourgeois and revisionist propagandists are now having a great deal to say about "secure borders", "renunciation of the use of force", "peaceful cooperation" and so on, presenting the Helsinki Conference as the model. Our Party declared its view about this conference at the proper time, calling it a "meeting of European insecurity". We condemned it from the very beginning and refused to participate in it. We acted in this way proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of events. It was not only the Soviet revisionists, but the United States imperialists, too, who wanted that conference. They wanted it as a breathing space to get over the crisis, to build up their strength, to pull themselves together and to create the illusion that Europe is being secured, that it will not be attacked by the Soviets since it will be defended by the Americans. For the sake of appearances, the superpowers sought to freeze the situation in our continent, especially the relations between the two blocs of the East and the West.

The Helsinki Conference was a comedy, with the Soviet Union and the United States as the star performers. All the rest who took part in it did not believe, either before or after the meeting, that it would do any good. The mountain laboured and brought forth a mouse. In fact, nothing has altered in the previous situation except that attempts are being made to create an atmosphere as though a political and ideological status quo and more developed economic cooperation between the states of Europe, with the exception of Albania, are being established. In all these directions, not only was the status quo not confirmed, but new conflicts, such as that between Greece and Turkey, flared up.

The clamour of the Kremlin bosses about a "peaceful spirit after Helsinki" has been increased, but alongside this the excursions of the Soviet naval fleet have been increased, too, and it has now begun to commit arrogant violations of the maritime sovereignty of the freedom-loving Nordic countries and to try to

establish its domination over all the seas of the North.

As concerns the so-called securing of Europe against a world war, this has taken no step forward. What is more, this is unattainable, since neither the East nor the West can disarm themselves and can make not even the slightest attempt in this direction, because both the Soviet Union and the United States of America would be damaged. The only efforts these two imperialist powers are making are to increase their offensive weapons for war and their nuclear arms. The SALT meetings, likewise, have yielded no results whatever, they are bogged down. The parties in the discussion are simply indulging in fruitless talk.

The campaign about disarmament which the superpowers are conducting, their endless plans and schemes, the conferences and talks which have been going on for years on end, are a bluff and swindle aimed at disguising their arming. Their aim is to force the other peoples and states to reconcile themselves to, and allow the sanctioning of, the monopoly of nuclear and other modern weapons of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and to recognize their right to uncontrolled and unlimited arming and ceaseless perfecting of the technology of weapons of mass extermination.

The imperialists and the social-imperialists know that, by maintaining their stocks and monopoly of the production of modern weapons, they can also maintain their blackmail and threat, the fear and insecurity which their military machine instils in others, and the permanent pressure which their weapons exert even if they are not fired.

The problems of war and peace have always preoccupied the peoples of the world, the broad working masses, who want no new disaster to befall mankind again. The danger is real. The superpowers are making preparations for a world war, and to this end, apart from their unrestrained arms race, they are also trying to create the circumstances which they judge suitable, by playing the bourgeois cliques in various countries off against one another, by stirring up nationalist sentiments, to set the peoples at loggerheads with each other, and so on. All this activity and these hideous methods of the superpowers lead straight to the road of preparation of a new world war.

These preparations are accompanied with blackmail and many threats, the work of U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism or other capitalist bourgeois countries. They have created the opinion that the future war which is in the making and may be launched by one or the other superpower, whether an all-out or a partial one, will be a lightning war, so short that within three to four days, the Soviet social-imperialists will succeed in occupying the whole of Yugoslavia (since Albania, according to them, "will be swallowed at one bite"!), and thus, the Soviet tanks will reach the east coast of the Atlantic, in Portugal, in a matter of ten days! This is the utterly misguided state of mind that is being nurtured every day by the propaganda of the superpowers to intimidate the states and the peoples, to weaken their defence, to lower the vigilance and morale of the masses of the people, to sap their revolutionary will to fight in defence of freedom and independence. Our Party holds that this propaganda and these views represent a special strategy and tactics to establish imperialist and social-imperialist control and domination over the national political, economic and military life of all states. Therefore as such, they must be resolutely combated. As to "Albania's being only one mouthful" — watch out, gentlemen, for socialist Albania is a hard bone that'll stick in your throat and choke you! Should the Soviet social-imperialists undertake such a venture against our country, they will suffer an irreparable defeat.

The same holds good for U.S. imperialism, too. Should it dare perpetrate such aggression, it, too, will never come out of it alive. The lessons from its defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia are very fresh.

In any country, its freedom and independence are dependent mainly on the stand adopted, whether you decide to live free and on your feet, or on your knees as slaves. When you are determined to live free and stand ready to fight, then the blackmail is knocked back, strength is revived, the people's courage mounts, and it is difficult for the aggressor to attack you. This is how our people think, and they put this view bluntly to any enemy who may imagine that he would have a "walk-over" in Albania, too. Our people have never been and are not afraid of any power, no matter whether it is a big power or a medium one,

and no matter how well armed it may be, that might dare to attack our country. Our people will fight valiantly, intelligently, and with every means at their disposal, convinced that they will defeat the aggressors, whoever they might be. This stand is based on the sound reality of our country, on the steel-like unity of the people, on the lofty aim of defending the freedom and independence of the Homeland and the great victories of socialist construction at all costs, which the Party has inculcated in everybody, old and young; it is based on the intensive military training of the entire soldier people and the configuration of the territory of Albania. The aggressors will find themselves quite unable to "walk over" Albania. Instead, they will find their own death here. The enemies can be sure of one thing, that they will never set foot on our soil, that their weapons and bombs will never be able to subdue the great resistance, the spirit of heroism, and the ardent patriotic feelings of the Albanian people.

Lenin teaches us that war breaks out when the depth and abrasiveness of the contradictions reaches the most acute stage, when all the talk, propaganda and "economic reforms" are no longer able to restrain it. The imperialists and the social-imperialists are heading for war. But they are not entirely free to act at will. Many factors exert their influence on this issue. War may break out in Europe, as it may in Asia, against socialist China, or in other regions, such as the Middle East for example, where so many contradictions are entangled and such dangerous events are unfolding. No possibility can be ruled out.

The important thing is that the peoples should not fall into fatalism, become passive observers and be caught unawares; they must be prepared for the worst and fight to prevent it from occurring.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that imperialism and the warmongers must be weakened through the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war.

It should be driven home to the peoples that the enemies of the revolution and the world proletariat, the enemies of freedom and the oppressed peoples, the instigators and the cause of the war, are U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the

reactionary bourgeoisie of each country. These powers constitute and represent the savage world capitalism, which has its source in, and draws its strength from, the inhuman exploitation of the masses and the peoples. A stern, consistent, and determined struggle must be organized against these savage powers, against their ideology and various forms of organization, from the different reactionary and demagogic parties, the trusts and multinational companies down to their smallest national and international organism, from the banks and political and military alliances down to their aggressive armies, until, in the end, their state power is smashed right down to its foundations.

The present conditions demand that this merciless and all-round struggle is waged by all the peoples of the world, by all progressive people who have the true and complete interests of their nations at heart and have made them the aim of their struggle and life. If this struggle is led by the world proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, which is guided by the unerring theory of Marxism-Leninism, it will be more resolute, unceasing and ever mounting.

The imperialists and the social-imperialists have as their close allies the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country where they exercise their influence. They use these allies to do their dirty work and wield the whip on their behalf, so they feed and arm them to have them ready as a striking force in a world conflagration and against the peoples who rise in revolution against their internal and external oppressors. Therefore, these forces cannot be separated from one another. Without combating the one, you cannot combat the other, without combating the internal reactionary force until you have overthrown it, you cannot combat the external enemy, you cannot prevent war. You must destroy every kind of base the superpowers have established and created in a given country, for in this way you weaken and destroy the world influence and strength they have based on the enslavement of peoples and countries.

It is essential that we Marxist-Leninists work to arouse the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the proletariat and its closest allies, the peasantry, the working masses, the progressive and

patriotic people. This we must do without fail, because all the enemies are competing with one another to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution and enslave the peoples.

We must base ourselves on the mobilization and strength of the peoples, on the unity of all those who want to throw off the imperialist-revisionist yoke. We stand for unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces who, through their struggle, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers.

Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist line, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have been and are against the two superpowers, against predatory imperialist war, against the monopoly bourgeoisie and international reaction. Therefore, in the future, too, they will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and the world proletariat, all progressive people, to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of the peoples.

At every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom and independence are threatened and whose rights are violated. We have repeatedly declared this stand, and not just in good times, but in dangerous times as well, the peoples of the world can be sure that socialist Albania is with them and fears no sacrifice.

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The important tasks set by the 6th Congress of the Party in the field of foreign policy and our country's relations with the other countries have been successfully fulfilled. Life and the development of events have fully vindicated the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line and stands of our Party in the field of foreign policy.

The international position of Albania is unwavering. The People's Republic of Albania has expressed its opinion on international events and problems publicly, unhesitatingly, and courageously, and it has always maintained a wise and unwavering stand in defence of the interests of our socialist Homeland, the peoples, and general peace and security.

The authority and prestige of our country are ever on the rise. The voice and word of socialist Albania are listened to, and respected by, the peoples, the revolutionaries and progressives. Its many friends and well-wishers love and respect socialist Albania for its frank and principled policy.

The People's Republic of Albania has its independent foreign policy. Its aim is that its opinion on foreign policy should find the approval of the progressive and freedom-loving peoples, the revolutionary progressive forces, the true Marxist-Leninists. We make no secret of this. This is also in the interests of all peoples, and of those states in the world which respect the freedom and independence of our country, irrespective of differences in the economic and social order.

Our socialist state does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country with which it has various political, economic and cultural relations. But this does not mean that, for the sake of these relations, or of good neighbourliness with the bordering states, or of the policy of non-interference in internal affairs, the Albanian state should not air its views on international policy in general, as well as on the ideological and political stands of these states, just as they, too, have the right to express their opinions on the ideological and political stands of the Albanian state.

We think that these attitudes should be no hindrance to economic, cultural and political relations in the fields in which it is considered that we have common interests, because these relations serve to develop friendship among the peoples. For our part, we shall conduct these relations only from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. It is the right of the others to judge them from the viewpoint of their own ideologies, and they are welcome to do so.

The People's Republic of Albania holds that this is the way that relations should be developed with its neighbouring states as well as with the other countries with which we maintain various relations. But the leaders of some states think, and this stems from their political and ideological views, that to have good neighbourly relations, in the aforesaid forms, means that each side should shut its mouth about the ideological line followed by the other. They think that to trade with a given country means to cease polemics, to refrain from expressing one's opinions on the

policy pursued and ideology upheld by that country. The polemics we conduct are always based on facts and well considered. They single out for criticism those stands and actions that assume an international character, that exercise a negative influence in the world, or that damage the interests of our state.

It is common knowledge that contradictions of a political and ideological character, sometimes very profound ones, develop between various countries and continually come to light. But irrespective of this, relations of good neighbourliness as well as economic, commercial, and cultural relations are maintained between our country and a series of states. Our differing political or ideological views do not constitute an obstacle in this direction.

The imperialists and the social-imperialists claim that the smaller states should not be allowed to raise their voice as loudly as the bigger states over different problems. True, Albania is a small state, but it cannot accept such a view. It rejects this discriminatory claim of great-power chauvinism. Our country does not agree that international politics should be a monopoly of the big states alone. They base this monopoly on their economic strength and the powerful propaganda means they have at their disposal, through which they strive to create the opinion and the mental attitude that the world can never find stability except under their tutelage. In other words, this means that he who wants to live, in slavery, of course, should never speak his mind, but should be soft-spoken and wear a sweet smile in face of the crimes, blackmail, fraud and double-dealing of the great or medium imperialist, capitalist or revisionist powers. They accompany these above-stated claims with the fear of war and with direct and indirect threats addressed to this or that state, with the threat and act of the cancellation of some promised credit, etc. These states, whether big or medium, that submit to political blackmail or are afraid of war, are constantly in a fever and lose much, if not all, of their confidence in their own strength.

The bourgeois and revisionist politicians resort to all sorts of trickery, deceit, feints, flattery and hypocritical attitudes according to the circumstances created in the international situation. They are all trying to create, and to a certain extent

have succeeded in creating, the opinion that this is the proper way to act, for this is how "politics" is conducted. According to them, to engage in "politics" means to change flags at any time and on any occasion, to have good relations with one or the other, not to do him some good but to outwit him, to conceal one's real intentions by covering them with smiles. Politicians of this sort aim, on the other hand, to create the false and very harmful opinion that those who openly defend the rights of the peoples, who do not conceal the opinions they have on states and their leaderships, are not skillful politicians, but inflexible and sectarian people.

We Albanians are a people who fear no one, who do not fear the attacks of enemies, let alone slanders, for we are convinced of the correctness of our line and determined to defend it. In case of war, if we are attacked, we have the rifle ready, likewise we have a ready tongue to reply to enemy slanders.

The bourgeois and revisionist world think that we are an isolated country. This is the capitalist-revisionist view of things. The imperialists and revisionists consider that country which has closed its doors to the invasion through their decadent culture and degeneration through enslaving credits, tourists and spies, as isolated. From this point of view we really are, and intend to remain, an isolated country. But this is all to the good of our people. Our country is progressing and flourishing, and our people are living very well. If we were to act otherwise we would become slaves. We have known fascist slavery and the revisionist pressure and attacks, therefore it is not easy for them to deceive us with their slogans and ways of life. We do not and never will allow fascists, spies and agents, people who want to smuggle in bourgeois and revisionist degeneration, to enter Albania. But we are happy to welcome honest and correct people who wish Albania and her people well, friends of our country, even though their beliefs may be different from ours. We respect their friendly feelings and attitude towards the Albanian people. All these, and they are the representatives of the majority of mankind, are welcome here. With these we are friends, with the peoples fighting for their freedom and rights we are friends, with the proletarian and Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries we are friends. With the capitalists and revisionists, who want to enslave and

oppress the peoples and suppress their progressive ideas, we have been and shall be enemies.

The capitalists and the revisionists measure isolation with trade. We have traded and continue to trade with all countries, with the exception of the United States of America, the Soviet Union, Spain, Israel, and some other states ruled by fascists and racists. But trade is of mutual advantage. The capitalists need our goods, just as we need some of theirs. If anybody thinks that Albania will die if some state, for evil aims, refuses to sell us these goods, he is grossly mistaken. The revisionist Soviet Union established a savage blockade against us, but Albania is living and can live a thousand years without trading with the Soviet revisionists and in spite of their blockade.

Cultural exchanges with different countries are a very good thing. We have practised cultural exchanges and will go on practising them in the future, too, but in agreement and equality with one another. Those who want to have cultural relations with us must respect our traditions, customs, feelings, and tastes. Decadent culture is not accepted in Albania. Others, for their part, have the right to accept such of our performances, films, books as are acceptable to their country. This, also, is a question of reciprocity. Our country carries on this practice with many states. Besides socialist China, which is our ally, the People's Republic of Albania maintains cultural relations with such fraternal countries as Vietnam and Korea, but also with France, the Scandinavian countries, Egypt, and many other countries.

We want to develop these relations further, and with each passing year possibilities are created to expand them. Of course, we have our own art, music, literature, traditions and culture, which we love, and would like others to be acquainted with them as well. But we also respect progressive world culture, from which we take what is useful to us and spread what serves us in our country.

Our Party has always given importance and devoted the proper attention to the question of the promotion and expansion of international relations in all fields, between the People's Republic of Albania and the states in favour of respecting the well-known principles of equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit.

During the years since the 6th Congress of the Party the activity of the People's Republic of Albania in the international arena has been constantly increased and strengthened. Today our country maintains diplomatic relations with 74 states. The People's Republic of Albania takes an active part and has its say in the UNO and many international organizations, meetings and conferences, on the problems preoccupying mankind today.

Faithfully and consistently abiding by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in its foreign policy, the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania have aimed, first and foremost, at developing and strengthening the relations of fraternal friendship and militant unity, of cooperation and mutual aid, with the People's Republic of China. The close friendship and cooperation between our two peoples, two parties and two countries have been forged and tempered in the great class struggle against imperialism and revisionism, against the hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and against all the reactionary forces in the world, in the common struggle for the construction of socialism and the triumph of the cause of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people are loyal friends and allies of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. Our two peoples and countries are comrades-in-arms of the same ideal, and are inspired by the same aims and internationalist tasks. No slander or concoction of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda can cast any shadow over the Marxist-Leninist character and the vitality of the Albanian-Chinese friendship. Our Party and people will constantly strive to keep the fraternal friendship and collaboration with the great Chinese people, their glorious Communist Party, great People's China, pure and strong.

The Albanian communists and the Albanian people immensely rejoice at the successes achieved by the fraternal Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, in the class struggle for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the strengthening and progress of their Homeland. The victory of the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution, the smashing of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-ping, have created a revolutionary situation and have consolidated the positions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

The historic victories which the Chinese people have attained in their glorious revolution and the construction of socialism, the creation of the new People's China and the high prestige it enjoys in the world, are directly linked with the name, teachings, and guidance of the great revolutionary, Comrade Mao Tsetung. The work of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist represents a contribution to the enrichment of the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat. The Albanian communists and people will always honour the memory of Comrade Mao Tsetung, who was a great friend of our Party and people.

Our Party and people hail these victories of the Chinese Party and people and wish them new successes. Our Party and country energetically support the right of the fraternal Chinese people and of the People's Republic of China to liberate that inalienable part of their territory, Taiwan.

Our Party and people have hailed the great victory achieved by the Vietnamese people in their armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its flunkies. The liberation of South Vietnam and the unification of the whole country into a single state marked the realization of the lofty national aspirations of the Vietnamese people, for which they have made innumerable sacrifices. We will preserve and further strengthen the militant friendship between our two fraternal countries.

Our Republic maintains relations of friendship and fraternal collaboration with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. Our Party and people support the just cause of the Korean people for the liberation of South Korea and the reunification of the country, and their struggle against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism.

A close fraternal friendship and a powerful militant solidarity, tempered in the struggle against imperialism and its collaborators, exist between us and the Cambodian people. We will strive to further promote the relations between the People's Republic of Albania and Democratic Cambodia on the basis of this

friendship.

The Albanian people have hailed with joy the crowning with victory of the prolonged struggle of the Laotian people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the local reactionaries, and the creation of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos. We stand for the development of friendly relations between the two countries, in the interest of our two peoples and of the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

The People's Republic of Albania has always stood for the development of normal relations with the neighbouring states on the basis of the well-known principles of equality, respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual benefit. The development of relations based on the policy of good neighbourliness responds to the interests and aspirations of the neighbouring and Balkan peoples to live in terms of friendship and understanding with one another.

Our country maintains normal trade and cultural relations with Yugoslavia which are beneficial both to us and the Yugoslavs.

Our policy towards Yugoslavia has not changed and will not change, provided that the Yugoslav government, too, is correct towards us. The declaration of the Party of Labour of Albania, that in case of any eventual aggression against Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union or some other power the Albanian people will stand by the Yugoslav peoples, will always hold good. But the Yugoslav side must respond to this stand of Albania with just and correct actions towards us.

The Yugoslav state, of course, has the right to pursue whatever policy it finds most reasonable, but the Albanian state, also, has the right to criticize those acts which are detrimental to the good neighbourliness between our two countries. The Yugoslav government makes concessions to, provides facilities for, and admits to its ports the warships of the aggressive naval fleet of the Soviet social-imperialists. That is its own affair, but it also concerns Albania, the other Balkan countries, and the countries of the Mediterranean basin.

As a true Marxist-Leninist party, our Party has always maintained a correct stand with regard to our Albanian brothers

who live on their land, in Kosova, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The endeavours made by some Yugoslav authorities to stir up enmity between the Albanians in Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Albania are in vain, but they do great harm. We Albanians are still the same now as we were before, we maintain and will always maintain a Marxist-Leninist stand towards the peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as towards the problem of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. Our fraternal ties of blood and language with the Albanians in Kosova, Macedonia, and Montenegro, the ties of tradition and national customs, give us the right, without interfering in the internal affairs of the Yugoslav state and respecting international norms, to concern ourselves to see that they enjoy all the rights, freedoms, and advantages that the other peoples of the Yugoslav Federation have. And this is not a question of some agricultural cooperative in Albania, which has a Macedonian population who enjoy all the rights provided by the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, or about some non-existent minority from Montenegro in Albania, as the Yugoslav propaganda claims. When we speak of our brothers living in Yugoslavia, we are speaking about more than one million, five hundred thousand Albanians.

It has always been our opinion and desire that the ugly stands and acts of the time of Rankovich should never be repeated, that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia should not be persecuted, or left in poverty, that the Kosova region should not be discriminated against in the political, economic, and cultural fields, and that it should be given equal treatment with the other nationalities. It would be considered as unfriendly policy towards the People's Republic of Albania if attempts, of whatever nature, by the Soviet revisionists to harm our country from Kosova were permitted.

We consider the peoples of Yugoslavia as fraternal peoples, and are convinced that, neither now nor in the future, will they allow the territory of their homeland to be treated like Czechoslovakia. They will accept nobody's yoke, they will not allow the Soviet tanks of the Warsaw Treaty, nor those of U.S. imperialism, to "roll" freely over Yugoslav soil. Despite the irreconcilable contradictions of principle between us and the

Yugoslav state and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in ideology and politics, over which we have not shut our mouth and will not do so in the future, either, we respect and trust the peoples of Yugoslavia, because history has shown that they are valiant peoples.

In regard to our relations with Greece, for our part, they are based on the policy of good neighbourliness, of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, of mutual benefit and respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence. We have sought and wish to live in terms of friendship with the fraternal Greek people, and have made and continue to make every effort to ensure that the ties linking our two countries become constantly stronger. The present Greek government has sought and continues to maintain a friendly stand towards our country. This is in the interests of our two countries and to the detriment of our common enemies.

We realize that the present Greek government is a government of a coalition of parties, and that it has many opponents in the ranks of the opposition parties. Each of these parties has its own stand. Naturally, this is an internal question of the Greeks. Nonetheless, we think and desire that all these parties should consider the friendship, cooperation and good neighbourly relations between Greece and Albania as beneficial both to Greece itself and to Albania.

At any time and under any circumstance, the struggle of the Albanian people in defence of their independence, freedom and sovereignty is at the same time beneficial to the defence of the freedom and independence of Greece and its people. This we say to the fraternal Greek people with an open heart, for we are the descendants of those who aided them and stood loyal to the end to the revolution of the year 1821, when others abandoned and betrayed it. The friendship between our two peoples has been tempered in our common fight against Italian fascism and the German nazis.

We Albanians do not want our policy with the Greek state to be a temporary policy dependent on circumstances, but a realistic, friendly, and durable policy between our two peoples. As for the monarcho-fascists and the crazy self-styled "Northern Epirots" who, from time to time, seek to create a tense

atmosphere in the relations between our two countries with their absurd claims, we wish to say that their cries have brought only loud laughter from the Greek minority living happily in Albania. We tell them: Carry on, if you wish, with your old trade of styling yourselves as "Northern Epirots", because neither we nor the Greek minority in Albania have anything to fear from you, since the Albanians and the Greek minority are closely linked to each other like brothers.

We are convinced that there are reasonable politicians in Greece who view problems realistically and are clear that no evil will ever come to them from socialist Albania, and that the friendship of the Albanians is valuable to them, just as the friendship of the Greek people is valuable to us.

As for the overseas neighbour, Italy, we maintain normal diplomatic relations with it, and are trying to develop trade and cultural relations. But it is understandable that this does not depend on our side alone. We want, and try, to be friends with the Italian people. This desire emanates from the pure feelings of the Albanian people and the correct policy of our socialist state. We hope that every Italian, and every Italian politician who takes a realistic view of things, may also think that friendship with Albania is very important for Italy as well.

To sum up, as regards these three neighbouring countries, it is our desire to live as good neighbours, in open cooperation, without interfering in each other's internal affairs and without anybody trying, in one way or the other, to impose his own views.

Good relations exist between the Turkish Republic and Albania. Trade and cultural exchanges are developing normally. There is no obstacle to our peoples always being friends and living as good neighbours with each other.

We continue to cherish sincere friendship for the fraternal Bulgarian people. But we are obliged to point out that we do not trust the leadership of the Bulgarian party and state in the slightest degree, since it has demonstrated its hostility towards our country and has become a tool in the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists. Bulgaria has been turned into a country which concocts intrigues and has become a Soviet bridgehead. Proceeding from these positions, it is trying to blackmail the neighbouring countries, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and

Albania. With the social-imperialists behind it, Bulgaria is ready at an opportune moment to seize the Dardanelles, and thus the San-Stefano Treaty would be re-enacted. For these reasons, it is our desire that relations between Turkey and Greece proceed towards the best and most appropriate solution for the two Balkan peoples and states, via open and frank negotiations between the two parties. That would be a great victory for us other Balkan countries, as well.

With Rumania, too, as a Balkan country, we want to have good relations and develop them normally. We hail the efforts of the fraternal Rumanian people for the progress and prosperity of their country.

A great deal has been and is being said about all-round cooperation of the peoples of the Balkans, about a Balkan conference, and so on. Our Party and the government of the People's Republic of Albania long ago stated their opinion about Balkan cooperation, and have explained why they did not take part in the Athens meeting. In our view, in the situation in the Balkans today, the indispensable conditions necessary for a multilateral meeting and agreement do not exist. We believe that, at present, the development of bilateral relations is the best way to create a spirit of trust and understanding in the Balkans and the conditions to achieve genuine and sincere cooperation on a broader basis in the future.

Our relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, and the other Arab countries are developing normally in a positive direction, on the basis of the traditional friendship which exists between the Albanian people and the Arab peoples, to the benefit of the struggle against the aggressive hegemonic policy of the two imperialist superpowers and reaction.

For the Arab peoples we nurture sincere feelings of affection and friendship which we shall continue to develop further. They are progressive and peace-loving peoples, who have made a valuable contribution to many aspects of world culture. We believe that the Arab peoples will achieve their complete liberation from the yoke of foreign capital and the bloodthirsty imperialists, and victory in their just struggle against the Israeli aggressors.

We will powerfully and firmly support the just cause of the Arab peoples to oppose imperialist-zionist aggression, to liberate the occupied Arab territories, and to cope with the conspiracies of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Our people and our country support the just struggle of the Palestinian people to gain their national rights, to return to their homes, of which they have been robbed by Israel, the instrument of U.S. imperialism. We maintain ties with and support the Palestine Liberation Organization. We would like to see a strong militant unity, which is the reliable basis of their triumph over the zionist and imperialist enemies, established among the Arab peoples.

The People's Republic of Albania maintains friendly relations with France, and they are developing in the interests of the two countries. We respect the French people for their revolutionary past and their progressive culture. Distinguished men of French science, art and culture, are sincere friends of Albania. We maintain normal relations with the French state, though they do not approve of our regime, nor we of theirs. But we observe that the French government does not interfere in our affairs.

The same holds good for the governments of Belgium, Austria and Switzerland, with which the bilateral relations are correct. We observe with satisfaction that our country's relations with Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Denmark are extending, and we appreciate the realistic and friendly attitude of these countries towards Albania.

The People's Republic of Albania has established diplomatic relations with a large number of countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and will work to promote exchanges in various fields with Mexico, Peru, Tanzania, Pakistan, etc., step by step and within the possibilities. Albania is ready to establish relations with other states, too, which desire such a thing, on the basis of the recognized principles governing relations between sovereign countries.

With the Federal German Republic, we have unresolved problems dating back to the Second World War. There the German revanchists are alive and engaged in full-scale activity. Their policy is expansionist and with hegemonic tendencies. The Bonn government, which poses as a democratic government.

defends the crimes of German fascism and does not make even the slightest attempt to pay the reparations for the damage which the German nazi barbarity inflicted on Albania and its people. The Bonn government should not think that this problem will remain just a propaganda issue. It will be pursued by our side, with evidence and facts, in all the international bodies.

Ever since the revisionist cliques in power in the countries of East Europe embarked on the road of hostility towards socialist Albania, blindly carrying out the commands of the revisionist Soviet leadership, they have reduced relations with our country to a very low and restricted level. As long as they follow this road, there can be no change in our relations with these countries.

The stand of Albania towards the revisionist Soviet Union, the enemy of Albania, socialism, the freedom and independence of all the peoples, remains unaltered. Our country has not maintained and will not maintain any relations whatsoever with the Moscow social-imperialists. The Soviet Union is in pursuit of openly expansionist aims, especially in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. It has hegemonistic designs not only on Rumania, but also on Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania. It is seeking to achieve these ambitions through aggression or subversion. Under these conditions, we, the Balkan countries, have a duty to sharpen our political and military vigilance and be prepared to cope with a possible attack. It is common knowledge that the enemies strike wherever they find weakness and division.

Our stand towards the United States of America is already known. Albania and the Albanian people are not consumed with grief over the lack of relations with America, which has pursued and is pursuing a savagely hostile policy towards our country. In the future, as in the past, we shall always resolutely denounce and oppose the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of U.S. imperialism, which is aimed against socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples.

As regards Britain, this country is very closely linked with the policy of the United States, and in its stand towards Albania takes the same position. Consequently, our stand cannot be different, either. Britain must return the gold it plundered from the Albanian people and make good the damage it has caused Albania. We will never renounce this right.

The Party of Labour of Albania is convinced that the stands of socialist Albania have always been and continue to be correct, and to a certain degree, express the aspirations not only of proletarian revolutionaries but also of progressive people who view many things as we do, but who for many reasons, do not express them openly.

In its analysis of situations, in the conclusions it has drawn, in the assessments it has made and the stands it has adopted, our Party has always acted and continues to act in close unity with the people. That is why the entire Party firmly defends this policy, why the entire people support and implement it. On the other hand, it is this unity, this correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of international events, the principled and resolute stands towards the lofty interests of our socialist Homeland, towards the great cause of the revolution, socialism and the liberation of the peoples, which constitute that sound guarantee that our country will always have unshakable international positions and will always advance on a reliable course, proud and undaunted.

VI

THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

Just as in the past, during the interval between the two Congresses, too, the Party has waged a consistent and principled ideological struggle against modern revisionism, has unceasingly exposed the evil, anti-Marxist, chauvinist and counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionists. With wisdom and courage, socialist Albania and its Party of Labour have faced up to all the hostile ideological attacks, political pressures and military threats, and with an iron fist have smashed the many counter-revolutionary activities which the various revisionists have undertaken against our country. This struggle of major ideological importance has armed the members of our Party and made them ever more aware of the great danger posed by Soviet modern revisionism and its adherents.

Life has proved that the course of open and uncompromising struggle which our Party chose for the exposure of the Soviet revisionists, its resolute defence of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, was the only reliable course to save the situation and to triumph. This encourages us and makes us all the more determined and unyielding to the end in the struggle against revisionism and any other sort of opportunism.

The Party of Labour of Albania has made an extensive and profound analysis of the revisionist betrayal, and it has done this on the basis of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, and its own experience.

Modern revisionism, which seized power in the Soviet Union and the European countries of people's democracy, with the exception of Albania, and established itself, also, in a large number of communist and workers' parties of the world, emerged as a strong international reactionary current. It

represents a motley of anti-scientific currents and pseudo-theories which are counterposed to Marxism-Leninism with the aim of combating it and hindering it from becoming what it is, a powerful weapon and unerring guide to action in the hands of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, to destroy capitalism to its foundations and to build the new socialist society and later, communism, in its stead.

The seizure of power by the Khrushchevite revisionists in the Soviet Union and other countries was a heavy blow to the international proletariat and the revolution. The betrayal by the revisionist cliques in the communist and workers' parties that renounced Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and followed the revisionist Soviet Union, made the situation in the communist movement even more serious. In power or not, the revisionists took Draconian measures against the true communists and revolutionaries, conducted a slanderous campaign of propaganda and denigration against the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, against the work and figure of Stalin, and the socialist victories achieved in the Soviet Union. They undertook the struggle to extinguish the revolution.

First, the Khrushchevites strove to deceive the peoples of the Soviet Union, to eliminate their own internal and external opponents, to mislead world opinion, and to show the capitalist world that the time of Stalin had come to an end. The revisionists went even further in their slanders and adopted as their own the language of that propaganda with which, for years and years on end, international capitalism had been attacking scientific socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. These renegades and traitors did this also to win the trust of the world bourgeoisie, especially the U.S. imperialists.

That was the big down-payment the Khrushchevites made to world capital to ensure it that the era of revolutions had "come to an end", that "detente" had begun, that the theory of class struggle was being eliminated, both in the Soviet Union and beyond it, that co-existence and the "peaceful" competition in every field had started. The revisionist theoreticians, everywhere they happened to be, started to justify the abandonment of the great and essential thesis of Marxism-Leninism about the seizure of power through violence, by means of the revolution, and to

spread the illusion about transition to socialism in a peaceful way.

The Khrushchevites waged a struggle over the whole front in all these directions. The strategy of Khrushchevite revisionism, based on the reactionary, imperialist, bourgeois ideology, was aimed at transforming the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist superpower, for the purpose of dominating the world and the nations together with the Americans.

The Party of Labour of Albania has courageously and consistently exposed the fiendish tactics which the Khrushchevites used in order to throw mud at Bolshevism and Stalin, at the revolution and communism. It has shown that the Soviet revisionists have destroyed all their connections with communism once and for all, and transformed the Soviet Union from a centre of the world revolution, as it was in the time of Lenin and Stalin, into a centre of the counter-revolution. Our Party warned that the Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers in the various parties and countries would turn into zealous collaborators of the bourgeoisie and strive, first of all, to destroy the socialist system, and not only would they work to do this in the countries where they were in power, but they would make, as they actually did, every effort to fight socialism in Albania and China, too. It also predicted that these savage enemies of communism would strive to weaken and eliminate the confidence of the world proletariat and progressive people in the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in the future socialist and communist society.

Life has now fully vindicated these predictions and conclusions of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The Khrushchevite betrayal has transformed the Soviet Union into an aggressive, neo-colonialist, warmongering imperialist power. The Soviet society has become bourgeois down to its tiniest cells and capitalism has been restored in all fields. The revisionist bourgeois dictatorship represented by the stratum of the new Soviet bureaucrats, technocrats and capitalists makes the law in everything. The former socialist base and super-structure have been destroyed to their foundations. Great-Russian chauvinism has been set up as the dominant ideology, national oppression has become part and parcel of the bourgeois

class policy pursued by the ruling clique.

The former socialist countries of Eastern Europe which tagged along behind Khrushchev's bandwagon ended up as mere vassals of the Kremlin. Modern revisionism has demonstrated in practice that it is not only an anti-working class and counter-revolutionary ideology, but also an ideology of national oppression and justification of imperialist slavery. The revisionist parties of the East European countries have become parties of national betrayal. Their leaders, who are removed and installed by Moscow according to its desires and plans, have humbly accepted unrestricted Soviet domination as well as the chauvinist doctrines on "supra-national socialist culture", the "man of general socialist nationality", and so on, by means of which the social-imperialists want to erase the national identity of ancient and famous countries of Europe that have contributed so much to its culture and history.

Life has confirmed, also, that there is no longer anything communist about the pseudo-communist parties of Western Europe, Latin America and Asia which embraced revisionism. They are no longer guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, but by anti-Marxist theories, distorted in content and form, though some of them, to disguise themselves, try to keep up a more or less Marxist phraseology. Their entire program, if it can be called a program, has been reduced to a few simple reformist demands which, far from threatening the bourgeois order, are intended to save it from profound upheavals and make it more workable in the new situations.

When Khrushchevite revisionism came out in the arena of the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeoisie and all international reaction predicted the finish of socialism, the end of the international communist movement. But socialism and the revolution not only withstood the concerted bourgeois-revisionist onslaught, weathering the greatest and most severe counter-revolutionary storm that has ever crashed against them, but also succeeded in scoring victories of historic importance for the revolutionary and progressive development of mankind.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism which were betrayed by the revisionists, have been carried forward by Albania and China, which remained loyal to

Marxism-Leninism, defended it with determination, and declared stern ideological war on Khrushchevite revisionism and its followers. Communism did not die out, as the bourgeoisie hoped, and the opportunists and the liquidationists rejoiced too soon. The proletariat rallied its forces, and as occurred in the time of Lenin, with the great split away from the Second International, brought forth the new Marxist-Leninist parties from its ranks. These parties shouldered the great historic mission of upholding and carrying forward the glorious cause of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat for social and national liberation, which the revisionists had betrayed and discarded.

The revisionist onslaught spread a thick fog over the fundamental questions of the strategy and tactics of the revolution and created no slight confusion that affected broad detachments of the workers' movement and the anti-imperialist forces. But Marxism-Leninism fought off this furious and fiendish onslaught and emerged victorious. While Khrushchev and the other petty theoreticians of their so-called "creative Marxism" suffered bankruptcy and disgrace, the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin remains deeply implanted in the minds and hearts of the entire world proletariat, and is at all times the unerring compass of the revolution and socialism, the victorious weapon in the class battles of the proletariat and the working masses.

At present, the entire revisionist camp is in disarray. The various detachments of modern revisionism have split into hostile rival groups, each struggling to defend and advocate its "own specific road to socialism", its "own national Marxism". All that each revisionist party thinks about, and works for, is how it can capture most positions of superiority and domination in the ranks of world revisionism and how it can make itself beautiful and attractive in the eyes of bourgeois opinion.

The Party of Labour of Albania long ago said that modern revisionism, like the earlier revisionism of Bernstein or Kautsky, can never build that cohesion, that steel-like unity which only Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the working class, is in a position to do. Revisionism is synonymous with splits, lack of unity, chauvinism and anarchy. Our Party was convinced that,

with their slogans that they were "independent", "sovereign", and "capable" of applying the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of their own countries, the revisionist parties would not only break away from the Soviet Union and the so-called "socialist family", but would become involved, as they have done, in irreconcilable conflicts with one another.

The Soviet revisionists have made many efforts to gather up all the revisionists and keep them united around themselves. They needed this united front of revisionism not only to cope with the great ideological and political struggle and polemics of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, but also to stave off the competitive power of U.S. imperialism.

To achieve and defend this "unity", especially to keep the parties of the countries where the revisionists hold sway under their thumb, the Khrushchevites have relied on their military and economic strength as well as on secret subsidies sent by Moscow to the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries. Nonetheless, they have not succeeded. Life has shown that in essence, the revisionist parties did not and do not agree with the Soviet revisionist party. The latter is now endeavouring to save face but its attempts are lame and the crutches with which the revisionist unity is propped up, are breaking one after the other.

Many and unceasing attempts have been made by the Soviet revisionists, with Brezhnev at the head, to call the "communist" parties of the world to meetings, in which they are supposed to affirm their "Marxist-Leninist" ideological "unity", but these efforts were like trying to round up a flock of hares. Discussions went on for more than two years about a meeting of the European revisionists, and the procrastination, caprices and unexpected difficulties resulting from the existing contradictions were almost never-ending. But even when it was held, this meeting, like some previous one, showed only that the revisionists had sunk still deeper into the morass of opportunism and counter-revolution.

The anti-Marxist Berlin Conference will remain in history as a conference that publicly proclaimed the transition of modern revisionism to the social-chauvinist positions which social-democracy has defended up to now, that officially and publicly

abandoned the idea of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "specific national roads to socialism", which each of them advertised on its own behalf at the meeting, in fact, showed the roads the revisionist parties follow to betray socialism, the plans and methods they employ to undermine the revolution and to split the proletariat, and to sabotage the liberation struggle of the peoples. Under the bogus slogan of independence from a single leading centre, they rose against the scientific ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism, which are one and indivisible. Their substitution of "international solidarity" for proletarian internationalism is a reflection of their replacement of the proletarian ideology with bourgeois ideology. To the revisionists, solidarity means solidarity with the bourgeoisie and struggle against the proletariat, solidarity with the imperialists and struggle against the peoples. On the lips of the revisionists, "solidarity" is a formula of justification that allows them to join forces with the devil and his son, with the social-democrats and the Vatican, with the multinational companies and the fascists, with NATO and U.S. imperialism, with anyone who is against the revolution, the proletariat and socialism, anyone who defends the system of capitalist exploitation.

The Berlin Declaration, in which the participants each put down their own political and ideological views as though it were the visitors' book of an exhibition, represents a really rare document of self-exposure of the revisionists as incorrigible opportunists and anti-communists.

In point of fact, the revisionist camp has now split into several opportunist trends, in which each has assumed a well-defined political and ideological physiognomy and is scrambling for pride of place in revising Marxism-Leninism and disrupting the revolution, by openly proclaiming their "specific", "socialist theories". On the one hand, this indicates the extent of the degeneration of revisionism, its utter disintegration, and on the other hand, it reflects the efforts of revisionism to serve the bourgeoisie better and to refine its methods in the fight against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

The situation in the revisionist camp is also a consequence of the persevering and incessant struggle the Marxist-Leninists

have waged against them. This is a victory for the Marxist-Leninist parties and their revolutionary line, which we must always carry forward, increasing our vigilance still further and even more resolutely carrying on the ideological struggle against modern revisionists of all hues, as well as against all reactionary ideologies. The enemies of communism have now stepped up their diversion against Marxism-Leninism. Split or united, dependent on or independent of Moscow or anybody else, in their role as anti-communists, they fight in unison against the revolution and our parties, against Marxism-Leninism.

The imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologists have always worked against communism and continue to do so. Their aim is to disorientate the proletariat and its revolutionary parties, which are their sworn enemies. By spreading the idea that Marxism has allegedly become obsolete, that it has been left behind, that its basic theses and principles must be "reinterpreted" in the new conditions of the 20th century, their intention is to attack Marxism and to sow confusion about its fundamental principles. The bourgeoisie and its "theoreticians", including the revisionists, try to deny the need for revolution and, especially, for the violent overthrow of the bourgeois society, to reject the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, and to write off proletarian internationalism.

Thus the aim of all their work to undermine the Marxist-Leninist ideology is to distort its basic principles so that they will be inoperable. The bourgeoisie is trying to keep every demand of the proletariat within the framework of bourgeois laws, to entangle it in the spider-web of pseudo-freedom of speech, "democracy", and street demonstrations. It tries to have these demands "settled" by the bosses of the parties and the trade unions in the warm rooms with comfortable armchairs of the capitalist employers or their technocratic employees.

To confuse the people, to benumb the revolutionary thought and action of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties, innumerable anti-Marxist trends are in action, the most varied revisionist and "Leftist" "theories" are emerging and being spread. They are the fifth column in the ranks of the world revolution, the aim of which is to prolong the life of international capitalism by fighting the revolution from within to prevent it

from breaking out and, in case it does, to have the firemen to put it out and the scabs to break the will of the working class.

One of these pseudo-theories is that of the technical-scientific revolution. According to its authors, this revolution makes Marx's proletarian revolution unnecessary, because, as a result of the technical-scientific revolution, capitalism and the capitalists have been weakened, the capitalists no longer play any role, and technique and the technocrats have the decisive say. This is a big bluff. Not only have capitalism and the capitalists not been wiped out or weakened, but they are oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and the working people as before, they still have the means of production in their hands and are the real rulers, whereas the technicians and the technocrats are nothing but their obedient employees and servants.

Other "theoreticians" try to provide "arguments" to justify replacing the revolution by the "solution of day-to-day problems" and changing the "way of life" according to the possibilities created by the consumer society. Here the efforts to weaken the class struggle, to prevent attacks on the system, attacks on bourgeois society, are very obvious. But to redress social injustices, the proletariat needs political power, its dictatorship. And this can be attained only through violent revolution, and not by changing the way of life on the model of the consumer society.

The bourgeoisie and its press have given and give major space to all the propagandists of anti-communism, ranging from Marcuse to Garaudy, from Gilas to Fisher. The theories of Proudhonist anarchism against the revolution and communism are flourishing all around, and Trotskyism has become the fashion.

To hinder the proletariat on its revolutionary road, modern revisionism is assisting imperialist reaction in this field with all its means and in every way, open or disguised, with all sorts of pseudo-scientific philosophic theories and slogans.

The first to come out in support of world capitalism and to apply itself with unrestrained zeal to the fight against the revolution and Marxism-Leninism was Yugoslav revisionism, the so-called "self-administration socialism". Born as an opportunist ideological trend and as a political practice to

undermine socialist society and the true communist parties from within, it remains a favourite weapon in the hands of the international imperialist bourgeoisie in the struggle against socialism and the liberation movements. The danger of Yugoslav revisionism stems from the fact that it offers ready-made concepts and "tested ways" to all those who embark on the road of revisionist betrayal and capitalist degeneration. First the Khrushchevites, and then the Togliattists and others have been inspired by Yugoslav revisionism, and found support and encouragement to fight socialism and the Marxist-Leninist ideology in it.

Masquerading as a "socialism" "non-aligned" with Soviet "socialism", Yugoslav revisionism carries on sabotage and undermining activities among the progressive forces of the developing countries, striving to set their sincere socialist aspirations on a wrong course, and mislead the efforts many of them are making to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and create free, democratic, and independent states. Everywhere and on the largest scale possible, it engages in demagoguery of the *ouvrierist* type, and has become the greatest champion of anarchist and liberal Trotskyite views. Titoite "self-administration" has proven to be an eclectic bourgeois doctrine which has led to permanent political and ideological confusion, to weak and disproportionate economic development, to great social differentiation, to squabbles among nationalities, and degeneration of spiritual life in Yugoslavia.

The "self-administration structure" which covers all the fields and all aspects of life, the elimination of democratic centralism and the role of the unified management of the state, the anarchist federalism and the anti-state ideology in general, have brought about a great fragmentation of the working class, a competitive opposition among its various sections, and what is worse, a marked bourgeois individualist spirit of looking after local and sectional interests. Not only does the working class not play a hegemonic and leading role in the Yugoslav state and society, but on the contrary, through the system of self-administration, it has been placed in such conditions as to be unable to defend its overall interests and act as a compact and united body.

As always, in the future, too, our Party will fight to expose the

deceptive nature of the Yugoslav variety of revisionism and the danger it presents.

The ideological struggle against modern revisionism is broad and all-sided. The theories and views of the Soviet revisionists, their opportunist practices, must be dealt with and denounced, as up until now, but with even more determination. Being the ruling ideology of a big country which has large material and propaganda means at its disposal, Khrushchevite revisionism remains the leader of the modern revisionist front. The theories of Bernstein and Kautsky were codified at the 20th Congress, which became a source of inspiration and a base of support for all the revisionist trends. Soviet revisionism represents the most complete and highly elaborated "theory" and practice of revisionist counter-revolution, which has revised the Marxist-Leninist theory in all fields and on all questions.

Time has proven that the theses of the 20th Congress were neither "simple ideological distortions", nor erroneous assessments of situations. The "Khrushchevite theories" represented a consciously chosen course for the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism, ideological and political means specifically chosen for the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist state and the liquidation of obstacles to the implementation of the policy of great-power chauvinism.

The 25th Congress of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, which was held at the beginning of this year, confirmed the intentions of the Soviet leadership to persist in this course. This means that in the future revisionism will continue to step up its savage ideological aggression against Marxism-Leninism and the true socialist countries, that it will continue to fight to undermine the revolution, to subjugate the liberation movements of the peoples and to sabotage them.

Despite the defeats it has suffered, Soviet revisionism still continues to exert influence, not only where it represents the ruling ideology of the state, but also in the majority of revisionist parties, as well as in some national-democratic parties of the developing countries, and elsewhere. It is still able to speculate on the past of the Soviet Union, on the name of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, and its use of communist phraseology as a mask

has been improved further. It is clear that without a radical exposure of the ideological platform of Soviet revisionism, which also constitutes the theoretical basis for its imperialist policy, its expansion and hegemonism cannot be effectively opposed, the mobilization of the genuine anti-imperialist forces to the necessary extent and in the proper form, cannot be carried out, and the aggressive plans of the superpowers cannot be defeated.

The historic importance and necessity of exposing the ideological roots of Soviet revisionism also rests on the fact that this serves to expose all other opportunists, too, who pose as opponents of Soviet hegemonism, but who, with their policy and attitudes, actually serve it.

Our Party holds that the continuation and extension of the ideological struggle against revisionism in general, and of Soviet revisionism in particular, the deepening of that great polemic which began after the 1960 Moscow Meeting, constitutes an important and imperative duty for all the Marxist-Leninists, for all true revolutionaries. Now, as at that time, the historic burden falls on them to defend Marxism-Leninism from revisionist attacks and distortions, to defend the revolutionary line of the true world communist movement from influences and pressures brought to bear upon it by the bourgeoisie and the various opportunist forces, to defend proletarian internationalism against the great-power chauvinism of the Soviet social-imperialists and bourgeois nationalism of the other opportunists. Lenin's saying that, without fighting opportunism, it is impossible to fight imperialism, remains just as valid and indispensable today. The defence of Marxism-Leninism is a question of principle. It cannot be made dependent on the circumstances which arise, on the basis of which the enemies of the proletariat combine and divide their interests.

The Khrushchevite idea, so loudly trumpeted, that the time of violent proletarian revolutions has allegedly gone, and that state power can be taken from the hands of the bourgeoisie "in a peaceful way", "in the parliamentary way", was music to the ears of the revisionists in the various countries of the world. Exploiting this idea, they built up such strategies and tactics which they thought would help them to win the trust of their

bourgeoisie, who would see that the communists had now become tame, that the dangerous old doctrine preached by Marx and Lenin was dead, that their revolution would be a "peaceful", "reformist", "humanitarian" revolution.

The Italian revisionists, headed by Togliatti, and with all his followers up to Berlinguer, this big landowner from Sardinia, had long been waiting to kindle the fire of the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. Since early on they had been sharpening their weapons for the anti-communist struggle, first by proclaiming their theories of "polycentrism" and "structural reforms" and later with their "historic compromise".

Our Party long ago exposed the opportunist character of the Togliattist theories and their counter-revolutionary aims. At the same time it explained that the Togliattists, encouraged and supported by the Soviet revisionists, would go further with their betrayal, that they would become the most zealous champions of European opportunism.

And the facts show that, from seeking collaboration with social-democracy, the Togliattist revisionists went on to turn into social-democrats themselves, from demanding the implementation of the bourgeois constitution, they became the most zealous defenders of the bourgeois order, from peaceful travellers on the road to socialism they turned into armed soldiers of capitalism.

Like all the other revisionists, the Italian revisionist leadership boasted loudly that with its new theories it had found the key to the explanation of world events which neither Marx, Engels, Lenin nor Stalin had foreseen, that it had found the most creative solutions to the problems of the revolution. But phenomena and events overturned all the theories and sermons of the revisionists.

This is especially the case with the events in Chile, which brought to light just how silly the revisionist theories are and the great damage they cause the revolution. The revisionists advertised Allende's Chile as the most correct example of the struggle for socialism, which conformed completely to the new revisionist standards. To them, Chile proved that the transition to socialism could be made in a parliamentary and peaceful way. To them, Chile was the "living proof" of the implementation of the so-called "pluralist", "democratic", and "national" socialism,

the concrete implementation of all theories trumpeted by the whole revisionist world chorus.

But what for the Chilean people is a great tragedy, although a temporary and passing one, for the modern revisionists constitutes an irreparable defeat, a collapse of castles built on sand, of all their opportunist theories.

The fascist coup in Chile was a very stark disproof of the revisionist theories on the peaceful and parliamentary way, just as in the case of Indonesia several years earlier. It showed that the iron laws of class struggle, of revolution and counter-revolution do not change to suit the morbid dreams and subjective desires of the revisionists.

Following the events in Chile, the Italian revisionists, as the zealous servants of the bourgeoisie they are, further elaborated their "theories" committing themselves even more deeply to their course of betrayal. They came out with the thesis that, under the "new conditions", a communist majority in parliament was no longer sufficient for the transition to socialism, that they had first to conclude a general alliance with the main bourgeois parties as well. Thus, the "historic compromise" with the Italian Christian-Democratic Party, with the party of the Vatican and FIAT, NATO and the Common Market, came into being. Now the Togliattist revisionists, entangled in their reformist theories, are insistently begging the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats for a slice of the profits which speculative capital is drawing from the sweat of the Italian people.

It is regrettable that these renegades, who seek to become administrators of the affairs of the bourgeoisie, continue to mislead the Italian proletariat. But we express our belief that the working class of Italy will emerge from the stagnation into which the revisionists and their reformist anti-revolutionary trade unions have plunged it and will realize that in the present conditions of Italy, it must take up the red banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and forge ahead towards the revolution, or fascism is bound to come with all the grave consequences with which it is only too familiar.

In step with the Italian revisionists march the French revisionists, who also have become zealous mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie to attack and denigrate Marxism-Leninism.

The revisionist party of France has now turned into a party of the bourgeoisie. This came out very clearly at its 22nd Congress, when its secretary, Georges Marchais, presented his "strategy" for the transition to socialism. The French revisionists dropped all disguise. They launched an attack against Marxism over a broad front and on the most fundamental principles. They declared to the world that they have renounced the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that their socialism would be achieved without class struggle or the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, without the need for the leading role of the party of the proletariat. The revisionist Marchais called it "socialism in French colours". From all the colours in which this "socialism" is decked out only the red of Marxism-Leninism is missing, the colour which infuriates and terrifies the bourgeoisie and the traitors.

According to Marchais, the transition to socialism will be achieved through the development of bourgeois democracy and freedoms. Under this socialism everybody will live in peace, the wolves and the lambs together. The thesis on the utilization of the bourgeois democracy and freedoms as the road to socialism is a great deception for the masses, a veneer over capitalist society. It is known that in the epoch of imperialism a development of increasing freedoms and democracy for the masses can never take place within the framework of the bourgeois society. On the contrary, this is the period of the great development of the forces of reaction, the militarization of the economy and the other aspects of life, the oppression of the proletariat and nations, which reaches its most savage and barbarous stage under fascism. Only the violent revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can secure the conditions for freedom and democracy for the broad masses of the people to flourish.

In his report to the 22nd Congress of the French revisionist party, the petty-bourgeois Georges Marchais, borrowing from the reactionary theories of bourgeois ideologists to the effect that class differences are smoothed out in the industrial society, said that now, "in France one can no longer speak of a proletariat, but of a working class". But the revisionist Georges Marchais cannot liquidate the proletariat with a stroke of the pen. It lives on and

fighters to dig the grave for capitalism and revisionism.

It is not without a purpose that the modern revisionists and the ideologists of the bourgeoisie change the name of the proletariat. Here we have to do not with a simple question of the name, but with the denial of the absolute necessity of overturning the social relations through revolution, through violence. The revisionists know that, if there is talk of the proletariat, which in capitalism has nothing but the strength of its arm, then it is automatically implied that it must fight its exploiters and oppressors, must break the shackles. It is precisely this struggle, which has the objective of destroying the old power of capital to its foundations, that the bourgeoisie fears. Therefore, its ideologists and its lackeys of the Georges Marchais type strive hard to convince people that the proletariat today is allegedly no longer as Marx defined it, exploited by the capitalists, that it is no longer its labour force which creates surplus value and capital, that allegedly the means of production are no longer in the hands of the capitalists, but of the administrators, the technocrats.

In negating the existence of the proletariat as the main revolutionary force of the society, as the grave-digger of capitalism, the revisionists want to open the way to other anti-Marxist theses, too. Since there is no proletariat, there is no longer any need for a dictatorship of the proletariat, either. On this key problem of the theory of scientific socialism, in fact, everybody in the revisionist camp takes the same positions. However, for tactical reasons, for the sake of appearances, some of them defend the form of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", as do the Soviet revisionists and the parties of the countries taking part in the so-called socialist family, while others, like Marchais, Berlinguer, and Carrillo, drop this mask. In fact this is a bluff on the part of the Moscow revisionists, because the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer exists either in the Soviet Union or in the countries of Eastern Europe. Only one dictatorship, the capitalist, fascist dictatorship, exists there.

In the Soviet "bloc" they even talk about the theory of class struggle, but this, too, only for appearances' sake, for the purpose of misleading people, because class struggle in its Marxist-Leninist sense is not waged either in the Soviet Union or in the other countries of Eastern Europe. Marchais, Berlinguer,

and company, for their part, preach "fraternization despite divergencies", fraternization and unity to go "to socialism through reforms": bourgeoisie, capitalists, workers, police, bourgeois army, etc., all together. Long ago the Khrushchevites declared the class struggle within the Soviet Union to be extinct. But in fact the struggle which the new bourgeoisie is waging against the working class exists there. In the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, the struggle of the proletariat against the savage exploitation by the new bourgeoisie exists and is developing, and as the events in the Soviet republics, in Poland and elsewhere show, the working class is rising in revolts against exploitation. This struggle is bound to gather momentum in the future.

In working out his theory of scientific socialism, Marx refuted all the old forms of socialism preached by the utopians and the others before them. He taught the world proletariat that it must organize itself and fight for the establishment of a new social order based on scientific socialism. Marx denounced and refuted "feudal socialism", "clerical socialism", "petty-bourgeois socialism", "bourgeois socialism" and "conservative socialism". He sternly condemned and unmasked Proudhon's "The Philosophy of Poverty" and to this end wrote his renowned work "The Poverty of Philosophy".

Now, the new Proudhonist Georges Marchais is seeking to impose this philosophy, dressed up in different garb, on the French proletariat. With their theories of "creative Marxism" all pseudo-Marxists like Marchais are trying to deceive the proletariat by depriving scientific socialism of its foundations. When they say they are objective in their recognition of the laws of development of society, they are simply telling lies. In fact they are the lackeys of the consumer society created by the capitalist and imperialist bourgeoisie.

This revisionist activity, with shades of a certain independence from Moscow, allegedly to mislead the bourgeoisie of their own countries, but in fact intended to mislead their own and the international proletariat, is gathering momentum in all the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries. *The Party of Labour of Albania has a duty to unmask this revisionist activity, which is not something separate from the activity of the*

Khrushchevites.

Taken as a whole, the revisionist trends which emerged on the basis of the deviation from Marxism-Leninism and the betrayal of communism, are the offspring of their capitulation in face of new situations in the conditions of the further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and the pressure of the bourgeoisie, in the conditions of ever increasing contradictions between western capitalism and Soviet social-imperialism, the result of the rivalry between the two superpowers, in general.

The bourgeoisie and the social-democrats are jumping with joy now that the revisionists have thrown out the "Leninist heritage" and are putting themselves forward as "loyal partners in the democratic confrontation". But the bourgeoisie and its lackeys are rather hasty in celebrating their "victory".

The betrayal and opportunism of the social-democratic and revisionist chiefs has brought grave damage to the class interests of the proletariat, but the revolutionary struggle of the working class can never be extinguished. Opportunists and renegades come and go, but the proletariat and its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, remain an indomitable force. The socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are an historic necessity, and there is nothing which can stop them from coming about.

In the revisionist parties of the world, the Soviet, French, Yugoslav, and other definitions of proletarian internationalism are being discussed. In fact what they are discussing is how to oppose proletarian internationalism.

In the phrase "proletarian internationalism" only the term proletarian links internationalism indissolubly with the world proletariat, links it in unity of struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie, against the trusts and monopolies, against imperialism and social-imperialism. Proletarian internationalism is the unity of thought and action of the proletariat of each country in particular and of the world proletariat in general, for the purpose of overthrowing the old capitalist world by violence, by smashing the power of the bourgeoisie to its foundations, and becoming the masters of means of production and everything else that serves the capitalists for the exploitation of man by man.

The goal of the proletarian revolution is to establish the

dictatorship of the proletariat through which the construction of socialism and the suppression of the remnants of the ruling classes are realized. If the class struggle is allowed to die down, these remnants constantly strive to seize back state power and restore the old bourgeois-capitalist order either in the guise of "constitutional monarchy", "bourgeois democracy", the "progressive republic" or, finally, the bourgeois-revisionist, social-imperialist "socialist republic", etc.

To carry out its program, whether a minimum or maximum one, the proletariat of each country must be led by its vanguard, the revolutionary party of the working class. This party cannot be other than a Communist Party, a party that in all its struggle, before and after the seizure of state power, is guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary party of the working class always applies these ideas in the correct way, without distorting or deviating from them, both in organizing itself and the proletariat, and in leading the revolutionary struggle. It also makes the teachings of Marxism-Leninism the basis of its work to map out and implement its policy of alliances, which are necessary over different issues and at different moments, in order to prepare, organize, and wage the revolutionary struggle that will lead to the overthrow of the capitalist order. The essence of proletarian internationalism lies in this interpretation and implementation of Marxism-Leninism.

Today, the world proletariat is not a single bloc, it is split by various bourgeois ideologies: capitalist, reformist, social-democratic, "socialist", revisionist, etc. All these different ideologies and political trends have the single objective: to split the proletariat, to prevent it from rallying and organizing itself into a great force as the grave-digger of capitalism that it is. Therefore, all these anti-Marxist ideologies and trends are props for local and international capital, are forces against the revolution, socialism and proletarian internationalism.

For us Marxist-Leninists, the international solidarity of workers and proletarian internationalism are understood from the angle of, and developed according to, the principles of Marx and Engels expressed in the Communist Manifesto: "*Workers of all countries, unite!*" This motto of Marx and Engels, to which Lenin and Stalin remained loyal and which they carried further

ahead, is militant, revolutionary, and always very important. It was a call for unity among the workers by the First International; it was a call for unity among the workers by the Third International.

The Second International betrayed Marxism, and its parties become mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie, turned into reformist parties. They disowned the call of Marx and Engels, "*Workers of all countries, unite!*".

With the formation of the Third International the call, "*Workers of all countries, unite!*" resumed the genuine revolutionary meaning of the Communist Manifesto. This call gained still greater power of inspiration and mobilization with the setting up of the first socialist state in the world which became the pivot of this slogan of the Manifesto. The world proletariat now had the first Fatherland of liberated proletarians.

When the Comintern decided that the existence of the Communist International was no longer necessary, because the communist and workers' parties in the world had been formed, strengthened and tempered in class battles, Marx's formula, "*Workers of all countries, unite!*" still remained a powerful call for unity.

After the Second World War, with the victory over fascism and the reactionary bourgeoisie, the working class took state power into its hands, established the dictatorship of the proletariat, and began the construction of socialism in many countries of the world. The motto of Marx and Engels became still more powerful, because the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin had triumphed in many countries, and the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism was thus confirmed in practice.

But modern revisionism emerged and usurped power in the Soviet Union and in many other former socialist countries. Many communist and workers' parties of the world deviated from, and betrayed, Marxism-Leninism, they turned into social-chauvinist parties, even into social-fascist parties. In this situation, in which these pseudo-socialist states are no longer the dictatorship of the proletariat and these pseudo-communist parties are no longer parties of the proletariat, whether in power or not, they have definitively broken all their connections with communism, with Marxism-Leninism, with scientific socialism,

the proletariat and its doctrine which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin elaborated. To them, the call, "*Workers of all countries, unite!*" has lost all meaning.

The evil, the danger, is that by way of disguise, the modern revisionists, whether in power or not, continue to utilize these formulae that are the guiding essence of our doctrine, depriving them entirely of their force for leadership and organization. The revisionists not only apply these formulae in practice in the opposite sense, but they also distort and deform them in a cunning and sophisticated way. The whole aim of the modern revisionists is, by preserving some formulations, to distort the entire Marxist-Leninist doctrine, to build a set of other anti-Marxist theories meant to disorganize the proletariat of a given country or the world, to extend the life of the capitalist bourgeoisie, to put off the proletarian revolution, if not to suppress it altogether, be it in a single country in which the conditions are ripe for it or in several countries simultaneously.

The next great, through not insurmountable, evil is that the modern revisionists who have seized power, have profited from the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and become superpowers or important states, as in the case of the Soviet Union, while the revisionist parties, big or small, misuse the past and the previous struggles which the proletariat of their countries has conducted on the Marxist-Leninist road, for their own ends. The Soviet revisionists proclaim, "We are Leninists", "We defend Lenin", at a time when they have trampled underfoot and betrayed his teachings. The others do the same. They try to weaken, to raise doubts about, or to wipe out altogether the love, respect, and trust which the proletariat has for its great leaders and the revolutionary doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

In this situation the greatest evil is that amongst the proletariat there still exists the correct idea created in its consciousness about the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, which Lenin founded after the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution and which became the first powerful state of the proletariat and a colossal support for the entire world proletariat. Now this state no longer exists, because the revisionists have turned it into an anti-proletarian state. This situation can and does cause

weaknesses, uncertainty about final victory, because willy-nilly, the cult of the "great proletarian state" has been created. This weakens the unity of the proletariat and its "bite" in the struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie and the traitors to Marxism-Leninism.

The present situation in the international communist movement resembles the heroic period in which Marx and Engels struggled and worked. The world proletariat and we Marxist-Leninists, must return to, and study, the doctrine of Marx and Engels, their strategy and tactics of struggle and victory. Marx and Engels are no longer alive, but their doctrine lives on, and it should guide us. They are our irreplaceable leaders.

The present situation in the international communist movement resembles the period of the principled revolutionary struggle of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. They had Marx and Engels as their only and unerring guide. At the head of the Russian proletariat, they led the revolution to its triumph and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin and Stalin died, the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union turned into a revisionist party and the first state of proletarians was transformed into a bourgeois chauvinist and social-imperialist state. Neither Lenin nor Stalin had the experience of a proletarian state prior to them, but they created it with the revolution, through revolutionary violence and work, being guided step by step by the doctrine of Marx and Engels which they further enriched.

Now the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice remains as a great store of wealth for the world proletariat. It should study and apply it consistently. The study and implementation of Marxism-Leninism in the correct way on the part of the proletariat and its revolutionary communist parties on the basis of the situation in each country and in the international arena, the merciless struggle against modern revisionism in whatever form it crops up, the exposure of the bourgeois ideology, the struggle against the disruptive activities, oppression and exploitation by the enemies of the working class, all this is the struggle for the cohesion and unity of the proletariat of the world. This is an indispensable prerequisite for success in the fight against world imperialism, social-imperialism, the capita-

list bourgeoisie and world reaction. *In this great and difficult struggle the proletariat should act in close unity, but the unity of its ranks is achieved only by faithfully following and applying the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Our Party has marched and will continue to march on this road. It has and always will put Marxism-Leninism in command.*

Proletarian internationalism is the ideology of the proletariat, is one of the most powerful weapons and a condition for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of communism. It is an indivisible whole, and there are not several kinds of internationalism, one Soviet, one Italian, one Yugoslav, one French, etc., as the revisionists claim.

*"There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism", wrote Lenin as early as April 1917, "and that is working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception." **

In struggle for the cause of the revolution and communism, in struggle against modern revisionism, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the various countries of the world are developing, growing stronger, and achieving successes. Our Party sincerely rejoices at their victories which it regards as common victories that belong to the world proletariat as a whole.

The existence of Marxist-Leninist parties in all the continents and regions of the world shows that conscious champions, determined revolutionaries who fight with all their strength for the great cause of communism, have now risen in defence of the interests of the world proletariat, of the revolution and socialism.

A good number of fraternal parties are working in difficult conditions of illegality because the fascist regimes attack them with the most furious means of suppression and terror. Others are compelled to carry on their activity under the difficult circumstances of the struggle that the big bourgeoisie, the social-democrats and revisionists conduct against them. But all these difficult conditions and circumstances have failed to check the

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 24, p. 63 (Alb. ed.).

revolutionary drive of the Marxist-Leninist communists, have not been able to prevent the consolidation of their ranks, or the ever greater growth of the influence of these parties among the working class and the masses of the working people.

Many outstanding fighters of the Marxist-Leninist movement have been barbarously murdered by the fascist criminals who are ruling in many countries, have died under police torture, or are still languishing in the dark dungeons of reaction. Through their determination, their courage, their lofty spirit of self-denial and their devotion to the great cause of the proletariat, they have become radiant beacons of the struggle of the masses of the working people for national and social liberation.

With very deep respect we honour the memory of our beloved comrades Pedro Leon Arboleda, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L); Carlos Daniel, Member of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil; Thakin Zin, Chairman of the Central Committee, and Thakin Chit, Secretary of the Central Committee, of the Communist Party of Burma; Charu Mazumdar, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist); as well as the memory of the brave Spanish FRAP fighters and the Basque patriots. Their unblemished image and revolutionary life will live on in the hearts of all true patriots and communists as a lofty example of inspiration, a call to arms in the struggle against the bloodthirsty bourgeoisie and reaction.

The Party of Labour of Albania proclaims its complete internationalist solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist parties. The bourgeoisie and the revisionists would like our Party to stop supporting and helping the new Marxist-Leninist parties. But this will never happen. Now, as always, our Party is of the opinion that for the freedom of a nation, the revolution, the defeat of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism, it is an important duty to give internationalist aid. Marx and Lenin have taught us this, and this lesson guides the struggle of our Party. *Just as the Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples everywhere in the world have helped us, in the past, in our struggle for national liberation and the establishment of the*

dictatorship of the proletariat, we, too, are duty-bound to help the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the progressive forces in the struggle they are waging so that their peoples, too, will win their freedom and build socialism.

This aid is by no means interference in the internal affairs of other states or export of revolution, as the imperialists and social-imperialists, together with all the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, would like to present it. We know why they do this. They want to have their hands free to oppress the proletariat and the peoples, to keep them under their yoke and prevent them from organizing and making revolution.

But our actions, our thoughts, and the correct meaning of our aid to the peoples and revolutionaries, cannot be put on a par with the aggressive actions of imperialism, revisionism, and the reactionary bourgeoisie against the peoples fighting for their liberation and the Marxist-Leninist, progressive, and revolutionary parties that lead them. Our actions constitute a proper internationalist collaboration, whereas their actions are brutal, aggressive, colonialist attacks.

The Party of Labour of Albania supports the revolutionary struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties with all its strength. In our view, each Marxist-Leninist party relies, first of all, on the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people of its own country, but it also enjoys and should enjoy the support of the proletariat of the whole world, the support and solidarity of all the true Marxist-Leninist parties of the different countries and above all, of the true socialist countries. But in order to ensure this support continuously and unsparingly, it is essential that each party should be guided consistently by Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the proletariat.

Today, the new Marxist-Leninist parties are resolutely facing up to the savage and wily struggle of the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie, as well as of their ordinary and secret police. Our comrades have gained rich experience in this struggle, which helps them take the necessary measures to repulse the attacks that may be launched against them from various quarters and in the most varied forms. The Marxist-Leninist parties cherish not the slightest illusion about "bourgeois democracy", and the sham "trade union freedoms" of the capitalist countries.

At the same time, as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries also take advantage of the legal conditions, but always bearing in mind that our principles must not be caught up and damaged in the thorns the bourgeoisie has planted on the road to the revolution. The true communists never for a moment forget these lessons, but strive to make them their own flesh and blood, for it is only in this way that the new Marxist-Leninist parties can successfully lead the struggle of the proletariat and the democratic and freedom-loving forces, a struggle that is neither easy, nor painless, nor without sacrifices.

Great sacrifices have been, are, and will continue to be the order of the day for the members of the true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties, and they are conscious that they make these sacrifices for the sake of the lofty interests of the revolution and socialism. Without these sacrifices, without fighting with lofty revolutionary self-denial, victory cannot be attained. Under the example of the sacrifices of each Marxist-Leninist party, the proletariat of each country marches forward, and likewise the proletariat of the world. This is what instils confidence in Marxism-Leninism and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist communist party, among the proletariat. The party is tempered in unceasing battles and struggles until final victory.

The bourgeoisie is afraid of the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat and its vanguard. On the face of it, the capitalists and the revisionists pretend to make light of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, but this attitude of apparent unconcern is by no means real. They fear the revolutionaries, therefore either openly or secretly they prepare their attack. The great leaders of the revolution have taught us that, along with the legal struggle, we must also organize the illegal struggle. Our Party has been and still is of the opinion that the second variant, the illegal struggle, is the greatest guarantee for the achievement of victory. If this is not organized, at the moments it finds appropriate the great striking force of the bourgeois dictatorship works havoc and extinguishes any resistance of the proletariat and its vanguard.

The bourgeoisie has adopted and continues to adopt numerous laws to protect itself against this organization. Apart from its incessant surveillance and onslaughts on the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, it encourages crime, anarchist and

terrorist struggle, prepares, supports, and sets in motion fascist gangs that kill, attack, and rob the masses in the streets, and it does this in order to keep the working people under terror, to intimidate them. In the end they carry these actions as far as the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in this or that capitalist country.

But through these organizations and actions the bourgeoisie is also trying, on the one hand, to create confusion among the masses, and on the other, to present them as actions of the communists and the revolutionary proletariat, in order to discredit them. The Marxist-Leninist parties always bear in mind these manoeuvres and wiles of the class enemies and fight to expose and foil them.

Every day the Marxist-Leninist parties are confronted with a deafening demagogic, pseudo-democratic, pseudo-Marxist, pro-fascist propaganda conducted by the reactionary bourgeoisie in every capitalist country, as well as by social-imperialism and the revisionist traitor parties in the world. The aim of the enemies is to influence the immature and untested revolutionaries with the aim of throwing them into confusion. They think that, through such intensive demagogic propaganda, they may gradually and imperceptibly create dangerous illusions in the ranks of Marxist-Leninist parties in order to make them lose their revolutionary impetus and lead to their weakening, degeneration and liquidation.

The Marxist-Leninist parties respond to these all-round attacks and manoeuvres of the enemies by unceasingly strengthening the party, by always aiming at quality rather than quantity in their ranks. Along with this, they attach importance to the theoretical education of party members in Marxism-Leninism, to their constant tempering in the daily revolutionary activity to make them vanguard fighters, unwavering under any circumstances. They keep in mind the well-known fact that, if their ranks are not strengthened with members of a special quality, the enemies, who are very experienced in undermining the revolutionary parties, will smuggle their agents into the organizations in order to cause disruption and create factions in the ranks of the party, to weaken and liquidate it.

Lenin and Stalin have taught us that the assessment of the

people to be admitted to the party should not be based on words, but on deeds. Communists are tested and tempered through concrete revolutionary actions, which require maturity and also courage and a lofty spirit of sacrifice and self-denial. Such virtues are found, first and foremost, among the best elements of the working class, of the poor, oppressed and suffering peasantry, in the ranks of the pure and truly revolutionary youth.

Facing a savage enemy of many faces, who strives to infiltrate our ranks by all manner of means, the Marxist-Leninist parties also thoroughly understand the need which the working class of each country has for unity, for a truly revolutionary leadership, its Marxist-Leninist party, of which there is only one, because there is only one Marxism-Leninism, and the proletarians have no differing or opposing interests among themselves. The Marxist-Leninist parties have gained valuable experience in the struggle for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces. They fight both against narrow sectarian and subjective attitudes, and against the liberal concept of unity for unity's sake, which may endanger even what has been built with so much difficulty and effort. The Marxist-Leninists cannot accept unity divorced from principles and revolutionary actions, or unity which may bring the spirit of opportunism, liberalism, dogmatism and sectarianism into the party.

Our Marxist-Leninist parties are preparing the revolution and are in struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie. In order to come out victorious from this struggle, they draw up a correct and appropriate strategy and tactics, which enables them to find loyal allies from among the various strata of the masses of the working people, first and foremost, the poor peasantry. On this question Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have bequeathed us very valuable teachings. We must deepen these teachings in the conditions of the epoch we are living in without being deceived by pacifist slogans, or bourgeois parliamentarianism and electoralism.

In the countries dominated by capital, the youth constitute a great reserve for the revolution. The mass of the unemployed youth, abandoned and deprived of all hope and prospects by the bourgeoisie, number millions. A great revolt against social injustice is seething among them. Great forces are gathering and

building up for revolutionary outbursts. It is up to the Marxist-Leninists to unite the enthusiasm of the youth, its revolutionary aspirations, with the drive and aspirations of the working class, to lead it on the correct course towards the liberation of all society from the yoke of big capital.

The problem of unity and alliances in various fronts and organizations, in which the Marxist-Leninist parties should never conceal their identity, is a very delicate problem of first-rate importance. A single mistake in line, an incorrect or rigid attitude, disregard of progressive thinking on this friendship and unity created in struggle, is fraught with great dangers.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of different countries face a common enemy and wage a common struggle, relying on common basic principles, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. But their struggle cannot be the same, it cannot be waged without regard for the conditions and circumstances in each country. It is impossible to lay down prescriptions on how to act in all the varying and intricate situations which arise and which cannot be foreseen, and in any case, they are not always advantageous. On the contrary, striving to implement a rigid line which does not conform either to Marxism-Leninism or to the concrete conditions of the particular country in which each Marxist-Leninist party is carrying out its activity, is often harmful and dangerous.

In its time the Comintern carried out intensive and very useful activity for the organization and tempering of communist parties. It was created at a time when it was essential to carry Marxism-Leninism, as a scientific theory, deep among the masses of the world proletariat, when it was necessary to clear the minds of the revolutionary elements infected by the opportunist ideas of the social democracy of the Second International, and make them conscious of the need for the consistent implementation of the ideas of Marx and Engels in their struggles. In creating new Marxist-Leninist and workers' parties in the world, the Comintern tried to help them become independent from the bourgeois parties, to launch them into struggle against those parties and the capitalist bosses. Thus, in the time of Lenin and Stalin, the Marxist-Leninist parties were restored and strengthened, and they passed, so to say, from the

stage of infancy, to a higher stage of revolutionary maturity and organization.

The revisionists savagely attack the great work of the Comintern, precisely because it created and developed the communist parties in the world, which taught the millions of the proletariat how to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country so that it would not be able to perpetuate its power. The modern revisionists and, together with them, the bourgeoisie, unceasingly attack the Comintern and spread the slander that it had allegedly become a tool of the Soviet Union and Stalin. But, at that time, the Comintern was an indispensable organization which made a major contribution to the strengthening of the revolution and the victory of socialism. It was the great good fortune of the world proletariat that the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin became a powerful support for the proletarian struggle all over the world.

There are people who do not fail to say that the Comintern allegedly made mistakes. That mistakes may have been committed cannot be ruled out, but mistakes involving violation of major principles were not made. On the other hand, it should be realized that, even those mistakes that may have occurred, were either brought about deliberately by deviationist elements who had managed to infiltrate the world communist movement or, some of them, by inexperienced revolutionaries. Thus, sometimes, inaccurate or completely wrong information was sent to the Comintern, and consequently, being misinformed, willy-nilly, it took incorrect decisions in some cases. However, the grave conditions of the bourgeois-fascist terror under which the communist and workers' parties and their sections in the Comintern had to carry on their activity, must not be forgotten. The present critics of the Comintern fail to realize that the communist and workers' parties of that time had to seek and create alliances with progressive elements and groupings who sometimes changed their positions. Thus, the directives issued by the Comintern were useful for activities at a given time, while later, when new circumstances arose, they lost their value.

It is not our intention here to analyze the activity of the Comintern or to raise the question of setting up such an international organ again. For the time being, it is inappropriate

and it would not bring the benefits expected to the revolutionary struggles which are being and will be waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties all over the world. Our Party holds that having a correct concept of the major role formerly played by the Comintern at the time of Lenin and Stalin, we, the Marxist-Leninist and workers' parties, are duty-bound to constantly strengthen and temper the close cooperation among our parties, of course, with none being dependent on, or taking orders from, any other. As internationalist communists, we need to exchange our experiences and, each of us, in the conditions of his own country, must act on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It is essential that this should be done, because, of course, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists are carrying on collusion between them, and are doing so in many forms and ways, right up to holding so-called regular "international" meetings. Their aims are clear to us. First and foremost, they are struggling to preserve their exploiters' state power to the detriment of the people and, by means of the numerous intrigues they hatch up, to fight the proletariat and prevent it from organizing and tempering itself with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and establishing socialism and communism through revolution.

We think that the cooperation in the true revolutionary way between our Marxist-Leninist parties must be many-sided. The exchange of experience may be done on a bilateral or multilateral basis. The situation may also mature to the point that a large meeting of the representatives of all the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties can be achieved. Long ago, at the time of its 5th Congress, our Party raised this important question. Our Party is determined to defend and implement the great principle of revolutionary cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties.

We the Albanian communists assure our brothers of the same ideals and comrades-in-arms that we shall continue to fight with determination against the common enemy for the victory of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism, as we have done until now. The international working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties, all those peoples who are fighting against the superpowers, against the bourgeoisie and reaction, have found and will always find in the Party of Labour of Albania, in the

Albanian working class and people, a loyal ally, a reliable support and backing. We consider this our basic internationalist duty, which we shall carry out resolutely and conscientiously.

Comrade delegates,

In concluding this report, the Central Committee expresses its complete confidence and conviction that the communists, the working class and all our working people, will set to work with renewed revolutionary vigour, to translate the great tasks put before us by our 7th Congress into life.

Let us work tirelessly, comrades, with multiplied energies, to strengthen and temper the Marxist-Leninist unity of the ranks of our Party and the steel-like unity of the people around it more and more, to raise the leading role of the Party to a higher level, and make it more effective in all fields, in the entire life of the country.

Let us work unceasingly for an ever better implementation of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, which is the line that guarantees the present and the future of our socialist Homeland and our heroic people. Let us assimilate and resolutely implement the teachings of the Party, and carry the socialist construction in Albania constantly forward.

Let us mobilize ourselves totally and with great enthusiasm to fulfil and overfulfil the new five-year plan. Let us master the Marxist-Leninist science, let us acquire as much knowledge as possible, and make ourselves talented workers and consistent fighters for the further strengthening and progress of our socialist Homeland. All of us, the entire people with the communists at the head and on the most difficult fronts, must master our military art, be vigilant and fully prepared to make even the supreme sacrifice to defend the Homeland from any danger.

With the Party in the forefront and the banner of Marxism-Leninism aloft, forward to new victories, comrades, for the happiness and prosperity of the Homeland, the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the defence and victory of the Revolution!

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC AND INDUSTRIOUS

PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS PARTY OF LABOUR OF
ALBANIA, THE LOYAL, WISE AND RELIABLE LEADER
OF OUR PEOPLE!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

*The "8 Nëntori"
Publishing House,
Tirana, 1976*

**CLOSING SPEECH DELIVERED
TO THE 7th CONGRESS
OF THE PLA**

November 7, 1976

Comrade delegates,

The proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Party are drawing to a close with a full success and amidst indescribable revolutionary enthusiasm.

At its 1st Plenum, the new Central Committee unanimously elected by the 7th Congress, elected the Political Bureau and the Secretariat. To the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee the following comrades have been unanimously elected:

Members of the Political Bureau:

Enver Hoxha, Adil Çarçani, Haki Toska, Hekuran Isai, Hysni Kapo, Kadri Hazbiu, Manush Myftiu, Mehmet Shehu, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, and Spiro Koleka.

Alternate-Members of the Political Bureau:

Lenka Çuko, Llambi Gegprifti, Pilo Peristeri, Qiriako Mihali and Simon Stefani.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee:

Enver Hoxha, Hekuran Isai, Hysni Kapo, Prokop Murra and Ramiz Alia.

First Secretary of the Central Committee:

Enver Hoxha

Chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission:

Pilo Peristeri

Allow me to assure the Party and the entire people, on behalf

of all the comrades you elected to the Central Committee, that the new leadership will fight and work untiringly, with loyalty and devotion, for the cause of socialism in Albania, and the freedom and independence of the Homeland, that it will always measure up to its great mission and remain unwaveringly loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

The proceedings of this Congress and the election of the leading organs of the Party provided fresh evidence of the revolutionary communist features which characterize our Party, of its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, on which the Party always bases itself to guide the construction of the socialist society in Albania with a firm hand, to smash the obstacles and overcome the difficulties that our country has faced on its victorious march, to guarantee the people a happy and brilliant future.

The 7th Congress was another brilliant manifestation of the unity of the ranks of the Party, of the sound revolutionary solidarity which has been the invincible and all-conquering weapon in all the great class battles against internal and external enemies. From this Congress our unity emerged even stronger, and this is another guarantee that the enemies will never find cracks in our Party.

During these days, delegates who broadly represented the entire Party and all sectors have spoken in the Congress. With their mature and profound participation in the discussion, they made a valuable contribution to deepening the analyses and making the tasks now facing the Party clearer. They were an expression of the determination of the members of our Party and our entire people to carry constantly forward the communist ideals for which our heroic Party has fought boldly and dauntlessly.

The proceedings of the Congress were characterized by boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our Party, by loyalty to revolutionary principle and lofty proletarian consciousness. This is a testimony to the strength of the Party, a proof that it has in its hands the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism, which helps it to avoid mistakes and score ever greater victories.

The decisions which the Congress adopted, like those of earlier Congresses, will be another brilliant page in the glorious history

of the construction of socialism in Albania, of the resolute struggle it is waging for the victory of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism.

Now, a great program of work and struggle lies ahead of the Party and the people. In the documents which our Congress endorsed, all the targets and objectives which have to be attained in the coming five years have been laid down in a clear and concrete way. Achievement of them will make our economy even more powerful, will make the defence of the Homeland even stronger, raise our culture to a higher level and further improve the life of the people. Therefore, let us mobilize all our forces to carry out the 6th five-year plan.

The successes achieved, the waging of the class struggle on the correct road, revolutionary determination and lofty patriotism of our people, the maturity and rich revolutionary experience of the Party, its correct Marxist-Leninist line enable us to say with firm conviction that the new objectives and tasks laid down by this Congress will be achieved and fulfilled successfully in all fields.

Therefore, just as up to now, we must spare nothing for the further strengthening and tempering of our heroic Party, the tested and reliable leader of our people, we must ceaselessly study Marxism-Leninism, the triumphant science of the proletariat, must assimilate and use more and more the rich experience of our people's revolution and the construction of socialism, further strengthen the unity of the people around the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the invincible weapons for the successful construction of socialism and defence of the Homeland.

Comrades,

A large number of representatives of the Marxist-Leninist sister parties from all continents took part in the proceedings of our Congress. This is a great honour for our Party. Allow me, in your name, and in the name of the entire Party and people, to extend my heartfelt thanks to our dear friends and comrades for the ardent greetings which they brought us and the warm words they addressed to our Party, and to thank the Communist Party of China for the fraternal message it sent our Congress.

The support which the Marxist-Leninist sister parties give to the efforts of our Party for the construction of socialism, their evaluation of its struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, Soviet-led social-imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction, are a great and very valuable source of encouragement to us.

We assure our comrades-in-arms, the Marxist-Leninists everywhere in the world, that their sister Party of Labour, the Albanian communists and the Albanian people will always march forward on their road of the revolution and socialism, that they will never submit to any threat, however terrible it may be. Our Party will fight unflinchingly, always stand shoulder to shoulder with the Marxist-Leninist parties and the genuine revolutionaries in the class battles, and together, we shall conquer and triumph over our enemies, because we are all guided by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The militant unity and internationalist proletarian solidarity of the Marxist-Leninists have been and are very precious to our Party. We shall not spare our efforts to strengthen them continuously, certain that in this way, we are performing our internationalist duty. Our Party will never cease its struggle against the aggressive plots and plans of the two superpowers, against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, its determined struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, for the victory of communism.

Forward, comrades to put the decisions of the 7th Congress into practice as quickly and effectively as possible, to score new victories on the brilliant road on which the Party leads us.

**LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOUR, THE
INDOMITABLE LEADER OF THE VICTORIES OF THE
PRESENT AND FUTURE OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA!**

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

I declare the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania closed.

*Albania Today,
Nº 6 (31), November-
December 1976*

**A CONSTITUTION THAT EMBODIES
THE TRUE FEATURES OF
SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM**

*Report Submitted to the 5th Session of the
8th Legislature of the People's Assembly on
Behalf of the Special Commission for the
New Draft Constitution of the PSRA*

December 27, 1976

Dear comrade deputies,

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Special Commission set up by this Assembly to draw up the new draft Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have charged me to present to you, on their behalf, the final draft of the new fundamental law of our socialist state which you have the honour and the great responsibility to discuss and approve.

After the initial draft that was published by the People's Assembly in January this year, the broad masses of the working people, in town and countryside, under the direct leadership of the Party and its Central Committee, acquainted themselves with its provisions and held an exceptionally broad, vigorous, revolutionary discussion of the draft in the most democratic forms, in order to supplement and improve it and make it more precise in its political, ideological, juridical, organizational, and other aspects.

The acquaintance of the masses with the draft Constitution and the discussion of it conducted with a most effective method and style of work, not only made a great contribution to our socialist country in the drawing up of a most democratic and revolutionary Constitution, but at the same time served as a great theoretical, political and moral school. This broad activity has given and will give an unprecedented impulse to production, to

progressive thinking and to revolutionary action. All these things will open brilliant perspectives for speeding up the construction of socialism in Albania.

Taking into account the great number of the contributors to the discussion throughout Albania and their many profound and valuable contributions, it can be stated with confidence that the entire draft that is being presented to you for approval bears the seal of the wise and revolutionary opinion of the people. The draft Constitution is a major work of our Party and people, a brilliant reflection of our reality, and shows the great political and ideological maturity of our Party and people, as well as their vitality, courage, determination and unwavering consistency in carrying forward and defending their socialist Homeland, strengthening it and making it prosperous and rich.

All the all-round work carried out for the great popular discussion of the new draft Constitution in the context of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its Congress, was crowned with success. In an atmosphere of indescribable enthusiasm, the 7th Congress of the Party was unanimous in its high appraisal of the draft of our new socialist Constitution.

With a proper appreciation of the task with which it was charged by the People's Assembly, after thoroughly acquainting itself with the materials prepared by the Central Committee, with the many additions, alterations, and improvements proposed by the broad masses of the working people, by the cadres, institutions, organizations and organs of the Party and the state, as well as with the high assessment which the 7th Congress of the Party made of the draft, the Special Commission for drafting the Constitution arranged them systematically, and after careful study, included them in the final draft.

You, comrade deputies, are acquainted with the content of the provisions of the draft Constitution, because, together with the people, you, too, took an active part in the discussion and the whole process of drawing up the draft Constitution.

In the report the Central Committee of the Party presented to the 7th Congress, a special chapter was devoted entirely to the Constitution. The Congress defined the line of the Party in the political, economic and organizational fields, on questions of our foreign policy and our stand towards the problems of the

international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement. The historic decisions of the Congress, which guide our entire Party and people, have inspired the masses of the working people of our country and have aroused a high spirit of enthusiasm and mobilization at work everywhere.

At this session of the People's Assembly I shall dwell on some of the essential problems of principle of the draft Constitution.

The draft Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a synthesis which reflects our socialist reality and its trend of development, the line of the Party and its revolutionary teachings and experience, and is pervaded from end to end by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the basic principles of scientific socialism. And this is why the content of the draft has not only been approved by the masses of our working people, who have found in it the faithful expression of the correct line of our Party during the ceaseless development of the socialist revolution and the construction and defence of socialism, but has also aroused a positive response in the world at large.

The Constitution of our socialist country is an expression of the will of the Albanian people themselves, and nobody else. It is the fundamental law, the basis on which the entire life of the people is carried on. On one hand, this Constitution corresponds to the concrete reality of our country, a reality attained through blood, toil and sweat, and, on the other, it opens to socialist Albania brilliant and sure perspectives from every viewpoint.

Clarity is its characteristic feature, and this is apparent in every article that deals with problems of the structure and superstructure, organization, or the rights and duties of Albanian citizens. Our people, of whatever social origin and cultural level, interpret and implement the articles of the Constitution as individuals and collectively in the great interest of the socialist society that is being built under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, which with great loyalty and consistency, follows and implements the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of our country.

The originality of our Constitution lies in the things in which it differs from the constitutions of other countries. This originality does not split the unity of the people but strengthens it; does not weaken their vitality but invigorates it; does not incite moral and

political degeneration, but, on the contrary, exalts, strengthens and tempers the sound and pure virtues of our man, love for one's comrade, loyalty to the socialist Homeland, the sense of justice. It exalts work as a means of education and the creation of material blessings for the man who struggles, inspired by the desire to raise his individual and family well-being and that of society as a whole, considering these questions as closely and firmly linked in unity and concentrated voluntarily in most democratic forms. The originality of our Constitution lies in the important fact that the Party of Labour of Albania is the leadership in our country, and without this there could be no free Albania and no socialist society.

Historical experience has proven that the ideas of genius of the great teachers of Marxism-Leninism on the undivided leading role of the Party of the working class, on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the class struggle are basic principles for the construction of socialist society. They must be kept firmly in mind until all internal and external, objective and subjective causes for the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism have been completely eliminated, hence, until communism has finally triumphed on a world scale. Proceeding from these teachings of principle, the draft Constitution sanctions that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people, which ceaselessly carries on the revolution, upholding the class struggle, and that the Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard of the working class, is the only leading political force of the state and society.

With the raising of these fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles to constitutional norms at a time when the modern revisionists have flagrantly distorted them, we are not only performing a great service to our Homeland, and the Albanian working class and people, but are also demonstrating in our practice the ever fresh creative power of Marxism-Leninism, and defending the unshakable principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the immortal ideas of scientific socialism.

The draft Constitution also sanctions another very important idea that in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Marxism-

Leninism, the ideology of the working class and of its Party, is the ruling ideology. This constitutional norm, which expresses a great historic victory attained in our country, on one hand, affirms the important thesis of principle that socialism can be built only on the basis of this scientific ideology, and, on the other hand, bars the way to the spread in our country of alien ideologies and all the theories of the modern revisionists about "ideological pluralism", "the free circulation" of reactionary ideas and cultures, which are weapons of the political counter-revolution and ideological aggression, which prepare the ground for armed military aggression.

In the present conditions of world development — when imperialism and social-imperialism are doing their utmost to dominate the people, when the ideologists in their service are spreading most monstrous "theories" about the subjugation of nations — the defence of state sovereignty, the independent position of the state in all fields, assumes first-rate importance. The majority of the peoples of the world today are making great efforts and forcefully opposing colonial laws and neo-colonialist domination, the rules, practices, customs, the unequal agreements, old and new, established by the bourgeoisie to preserve its exploitation of the peoples, its odious distinctions and discriminations in international relations. The two superpowers are striving in every way to preserve and perpetuate these laws because they are trying to plunder the wealth of other countries, to ensure privileges for themselves and to enslave other peoples. The progressive peoples and the democratic states that are not reconciled to this situation and struggle to establish national sovereignty over their resources, that struggle to strengthen their political and economic independence, and for equality and justice in international relations, enjoy the solidarity and full support of the Albanian people and state.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which, as the draft Constitution proclaims, resolutely upholds the principle of self-determination of nations and exercise of complete national sovereignty, rejects any form of limitation of sovereignty in any field whatever. In sanctioning this stand, which stems directly from the line of our Party, the draft Constitution proclaims: "Nobody, apart from the organs expressly defined in this

Constitution, can exercise the sovereignty of the people and any of its attributes in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in its name". With this provision of the law we not only give a firm reply to the false bourgeois "theories" that consider sovereignty as an "anachronistic concept", a "source of evil in the world today", etc., but we also categorically refute the "theory" of the Soviet revisionists about "limited sovereignty", in favour of the "supreme interests" of the so-called socialist community.

Every state that respects itself and others has its norms which guide it in its friendly relations. These norms differ according to the world outlook of each state. None can impose its norms on another.

A thing that is agreeable or suitable to one regime may not be agreeable or suitable to another. No state leaves its opinions and viewpoints in obscurity, without expressing them, even in critical and polemical form, towards another state. It is logical that there should be truly sovereign states, like ours, that have not agreed and do not agree to obey the "conductor's baton" or any other.

If there are some who want to accept the "conductor's baton" or the "big stick", that is their affair, but our Constitution and our ideology allow and oblige us to oppose such pressures that violate the interests of our socialist state and its peoples.

Our Constitution sanctions in a clear-cut manner that no one can give himself the right to exercise sovereignty and seek "aid" in order to justify any intervention in Albania on the part of its imperialist, revisionist, reactionary, or other enemies. In this way we eliminate the possibility of attempts to disguise and justify the aggression that U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which conduct an aggressive policy, want to practice. Practice of this kind, which the peoples and history must never forget, are the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the revisionist Soviet Union in 1968, and the aggressive wars and the rapacious interventions which U.S. imperialism has perpetrated in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, etc.

Of great importance for the preservation and strengthening of our independence, the defence of the Homeland, and the victories of the revolution is the principle expressed in the draft Constitution that the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is inalienable and its borders are inviolable. Nobody

has the right to sign or to accept the capitulation or occupation of the country in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Any such act is condemned as treason to the Homeland. Thus, from the constitutional viewpoint as well, any act that would legalize the capitulation of the country to the enemy is invalid.

The provisions of the draft Constitution affirm the categorical stand of our Party and our people that the establishment of foreign bases and the stationing of foreign troops within the territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is prohibited. This principle is of vital importance to Albania, for it clearly and unequivocally expresses the determination of the Albanian people and their sovereign right to defend their country. At the same time, this constitutional norm also expresses the principled, internationalist, friendly foreign policy followed by socialist Albania, with the aim that its territory will never, and under no circumstances, be used as a base for aggression against other countries and peoples.

The juridical norms of the Constitution dealing with the defence of the country and the victories achieved have found a warm response in the hearts of the heroic and patriotic Albanian people. "Even if we are a hundred years old, when the Party sounds the alarm, we shall turn out, without feeling our years, standing as straight as the rifles in our hands with which we shall defend our Homeland", wrote some veterans, fired with enthusiasm and patriotism, after acquainting themselves with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

To defend the independence of the country in the economic field, to keep the socialist economic order and the socialist ownership of the means of production inviolate, the draft Constitution affirms that, in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the granting of concessions, the setting up of foreign economic and financial companies and institutions, or participation in joint ventures with the bourgeois or revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as taking credits from them, are prohibited.

U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys express "concern" about how socialist Albania will live and develop relying on its own forces without taking credits from

the capitalists.

We shall advance on the basis of our own strength. Time and the undeniable reality of our country, the great achievements in the economy, education and culture have confirmed this determination.

We have different concepts about aid in the form of credits that a state receives from abroad. On one hand there is the aid granted by a fraternal socialist state and, on the other, the credits provided by the imperialists, social-imperialists and capitalists. The former is fraternal, disinterested aid, free of political pressure, not linked with passing circumstances, whereas the aim of credits provided by imperialism, social-imperialism and world capitalism, in whatever form they are given, is to violate the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples of different countries, by putting them under continuous political pressure.

Our country has never accepted and never will accept such enslaving credits which are nothing else but forms of neo-colonialism. The new Constitution leaves no way open to equivocation or interpretation to the detriment of the freedom, independence, sovereignty, and defence of the Homeland. At the same time, it does not infringe upon the rights of any other state. The Constitution does not allow any state or individual to meddle in the internal affairs of our country and, vice versa, does not allow our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country.

A socialist state like ours with its most democratic Constitution cannot fail to be on good friendly terms with the peoples of the world.

Our Constitution is not a constitution that brings about the isolation of the country, as some people claim, but on the contrary, it arouses love and respect among nations and democrats, among progressive people and states.

In many of its articles, the draft Constitution embodies the Marxist-Leninist principle that socialist democracy is inseparable from the dictatorship of the proletariat, that only through the complete implementation of broad democracy for the working people can the dictatorship of the proletariat be preserved and consolidated, and that only this dictatorship can

ensure genuine democracy for the masses of the people.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania all state power stems from the working people and belongs to them. The working class, the working peasantry, and the other working people can exercise their constitutional rights in governing the country not only through the representative organs, but also directly.

The spirit of socialist democracy thoroughly pervades the entire structure of our socialist state, ranging from the people's councils of the lowest levels to the highest organ of state power, which is the People's Assembly. In carrying out their activity, the representative organs and the other state organs rely on the creative initiative of the working people and the social organizations and render account to the people.

A vivid and concrete expression of the leading role of the working class and socialist democracy in action is the right of the working class, under the leadership of the Party, to exercise control over the activity of state organs, economic and social organizations and the working people, which is sanctioned in the Constitution. The workers' control is a component part of the line of the masses and not only constitutes a basic principle of the activity of the Party and state, but also expresses a distinctive and characteristic feature of our socialist reality.

Most constitutions of capitalist countries, where the savage dictatorship of the bourgeoisie prevails, as well as the constitutions of the countries ruled by the revisionists, abound in democratic phrases, but behind their beautiful words and empty promises of "freedom", "equality", "justice", etc. lurks the violence of exploiting classes and ruling cliques which is exerted over the working people.

Today the masses of the working people in the four corners of the earth are struggling to achieve democratic rights and freedoms. As Lenin said, they want to gain not just the promise of freedom, not freedom on paper, but genuine freedom. Whenever the masses demand the enactment of constitutional norms which are proclaimed only to deceive them, their efforts are immediately labelled as activities which endanger the state and political order, and are suppressed with fire and sword. This reality confirms the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis that

wherever the dictatorship of the proletariat has not yet triumphed, or where it has been abolished, the masses of the working people cannot enjoy truly democratic rights and freedoms.

In our socialist Homeland, through the implementation of socialist democracy, citizens have been guaranteed by law rights which they enjoy in reality, because in our country there is no gulf between the law and reality. Such rights are, in particular, the equality of citizens before the law regardless of sex, race, nationality, education, social position and material situation; the right to elect and to be elected to all the organs of state power; the right to work and rest after work; the right to the necessary means of livelihood in old age, in case of illness or loss of ability to work; the guarantee of medical services free of charge, as well as of treatment in the health institutions of the country; the right to education; the right to join various organizations, which act in the political, economic, and cultural fields, as well as in any other field in the life of the country; the right to present demands, complaints, suggestions and proposals to the competent organs about individual, social and state problems, as well as many other rights which are recognized by our fundamental law and the other laws. Albania is the first country in the world to do away with all taxes.

Likewise, the draft Constitution not only proclaims the rights of national minorities but also provides that any infringement of these rights is condemned by law.

Corresponding to the many fundamental rights that the state guarantees our citizens are their duties, which at the same time, are also an honour for them. Citizens have the duty to respect the Constitution and other laws of the country; to protect and strengthen the socialist order and to implement the rules of socialist communal life; to defend and strengthen socialist property and to take a conscientious attitude towards work; to defend the socialist Homeland, and in this connection, to engage in universal military service and continuous military training. In Albania everybody is a soldier, always fully prepared to defend his socialist Homeland and the great victories of our people's revolution.

In opposing the class struggle, the dictatorship of the

proletariat and the leading role of its party, with a view to defending the capitalist order and justifying the restoration of the bourgeois order where it has been overthrown, the enemies of freedom and socialism "theorize" about "democratic socialism", "socialism with a human face", and a return to the democracy lost by the exploiting classes and the enemies of the people.

As has been pointed out, in our country the citizens are guaranteed all the rights recognized by the Constitution and the other laws, but the path has been closed, and will always remain closed, to the enemies of our state and social order to do even the slightest harm to the interests of the people, the Homeland, and socialism. With us there has not been, is not, and will never be, freedom of action for the enemies. Defending this line of the Party, the draft Constitution prohibits the setting up of any organization of a fascist, anti-democratic, religious, or anti-socialist character; prohibits fascist, anti-democratic, religious, warmongering, or anti-socialist propaganda or activity, as well as the incitement of national and racial hatred. In this stand our Party proceeds from the teaching of Lenin who said: *"Together with a very broad extension of democracy which, for the first time, becomes democracy for the poor . . . and not democracy for the rich, the dictatorship of the proletariat brings a series of restrictions of freedom for the oppressors, the exploiters and capitalists."*

The rights of citizens are indivisible from the fulfilment of the duties, and they cannot be exercised in opposition to the socialist order. The rights and duties of citizens are in unity and are built on the basis of reconciling the interests of the individual with those of the socialist society, always giving priority to the general interest. The development of socialist society leads to an ever better integration of personal and social interests, for, as Marx wrote, socialist society creates conditions such that the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all.

In regard to the economic order, too, the draft Constitution reflects the fundamental principles of the economic policy of the Party and legalizes those aspects of the system of socialist relations of production which constitute the essential features of

true socialism.

On a juridical plane, the draft Constitution proclaims that the means of production are socialist social property in the forms of state property, which belongs to the entire people, and cooperativist property in agriculture, which belongs to the group of the working people of the countryside.

On the basis of the socialist ownership of the means of production and through the conscious activity of the Party and the masses of the working people themselves, city and countryside, mental and manual work are coming ever more closely together, and the gradual abolition of the various distinctions that still exist in our society is being brought about.

Because the socialist ownership of the means of production constitutes the inviolable basis of the socialist economic order, the draft Constitution proclaims as a constitutional norm the duty of the state to defend this ownership.

Personal property, too, which consists of income from work and other lawful sources and serves to meet the material and cultural needs of the individual and the members of his family, is recognized and protected by our state with the sole limitation that it cannot be used to the detriment of the social interests.

Among other objects the land, too, has been proclaimed state property. In proclaiming the land as exclusively property of the state, the draft Constitution aims to express in juridical form the reality which, in fact, has long been attained in our country. The proclamation of the land as state property does not mean the slightest change in the relations that exist today and that stem from its being given to the agricultural cooperatives or social organizations for social use.

Comrade deputies,

Besides these principles and norms which I mentioned briefly, as you know, the draft Constitution also sanctions many other principles and norms of importance for the construction and the functioning of the entire political, social, economic, cultural, etc., life of our country, such as those that regulate the social-economic order, the relations of ownership and distribution, the planned development of the economy, the relations between cadres and the masses, between the state and society, the

principle of the unity of the state power, democratic centralism, socialist law, etc.

These principles and norms, sanctioned in the draft Constitution, give a full picture of our socialist society that is forging ahead on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which have been completely confirmed in our revolutionary practice. The new Constitution will be the main source and the basis of our future legislation. Its adoption should mark the starting point for new work for the further improvement of the principal laws of our state.

First of all in this context come the various codes, which have played an important role but which have now become outdated in some directions, and therefore should be revised so that they respond better to the requirements of the present stage.

Comrade deputies,

Our socialist regime is the regime of the working class, its dictatorship, which has its social basis in the unbreakable alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, the regime of genuine revolutionary democracy. In a regime such as ours the people have taken their fate in their own hands and govern the country.

The new Constitution reflects, develops, and defends these great ideas. The great strength of our people lies in these ideas and in their implementation. The foundation of these ideas and of the correct and resolute actions is the correct policy which the Albanian state follows in the international arena and which the peoples and progressive individuals understand and respect. Our policy is honoured and respected, for it is characterized by goodwill towards other states and the desire for the existence of good relations on the basis of the recognized principles of equality, respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit. We are going against the imperialist and revisionist current. Our current is the revolution and the destruction of the capitalist order, which will be replaced by socialism and communism, the classless society. This society is the future of mankind, which will be built through class struggle, with bloodshed and sacrifice. But it will be built. Imperialism and

social-imperialism are in decay. Socialism will triumph, the world and mankind will be saved from these plagues.

The approval of the new Constitution is a great event in the history of our people, a step of major importance in their struggle for the construction of their socialist society. Based entirely on the Marxist-Leninist principles implemented in a creative way by our glorious Party and being a scientific synthesis of our revolutionary experience, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a document of great theoretical and practical importance which will serve the complete and successful construction of socialism in our country.

Carrying out the great tasks set by the 7th Congress of the Party, our heroic people, who are building their life undaunted by the imperialist encirclement, will carry the construction of socialism further forward, will further strengthen the defence of their Homeland. In their Constitution, the people will find fresh inspiration for still greater victories to make Albania stronger and more prosperous, to guarantee socialism and the Homeland against any danger, wherever it may come from.

The broad masses of our people have now had their say on the new Constitution. Faithfully carrying out the mandate of the people, I invite you, comrade deputies, to adopt the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania unanimously and enthusiastically, the Constitution that embodies the true features of triumphant socialism, the freedom-loving and courageous spirit of our people, the wise Marxist-Leninist line of our Party.

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA!

LONG LIVE OUR STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

Albania Today,
N^o 1 (32), January-
February, 1977

**MESSAGE TO THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
BRAZIL ON THE HEROIC DEATH OF COMRADES
PEDRO POMAR, ANGELO ARROJO AND
JUAN BATISTA DRUMOND**

January 1977

Dear comrades,

With profound grief, we learned the news of the heroic death of the comrades Pedro Pomar and Angelo Arrojo, members of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee and Comrade Juan Batista Drumond, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil. The news has deeply grieved the hearts of the Albanian communists and of our entire people, who greatly respect and admire the sister Communist Party of Brazil, its brave leaders and militants, who are boldly and resolutely fighting, without sparing even their lives, for the freedom of the people, the independence and democratic progress of the country, and the ideals of communism.

The atrocious killing of Comrades Pedro Pomar, Angelo Arrojo and Juan Batista Drumond, as well as the arrest of other comrades is an expression of the fury gripping fascist reaction in Brazil, of the barbarous repressive measures taken by the military dictatorship in the service of U.S. imperialism, against the Brazilian people, against their best sons, their patriots and most progressive people. This new wave of reactionary violence testifies to the weakness of the fascist regime, which is trying to check the revolt of the masses and drown it in blood, in an effort to extend its lifespan by turning the entire country into a dark dungeon.

We will always preserve the memory of the comrades fallen in the revolutionary struggle against the Brazilian fascists. We will not forget especially the memory of our beloved Comrade Pedro Pomar, one of the renowned leaders and founders of the

Communist Party of Brazil, who was also a close friend of our Party and a firm supporter of the struggle of our people for the construction of socialism. His visits to Albania have always been a source of special joy and encouragement for us.

The loss suffered by the Communist Party of Brazil is serious, but we are convinced that no fascist violence, no terror or repression whatsoever, can defeat its strength or break its ties with the working class and the deep roots it has struck among its own people. The comrades who have fallen will certainly be replaced by hundreds and thousands of others who will rise and always keep aloft and unstained the banner of the revolutionary struggle against fascism at home, against imperialism and social-imperialism, as well as against modern revisionism, for the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

**GLORY TO THE HEROES WHO HAVE FALLEN IN THE
STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND
SOCIALISM!**

*Albanian Telegraphic Agency
News Bulletin,
January 6, 1977*

GREETING TO THE GJIROKASTRA PEOPLE

*On the Occasion of the Inauguration of a New Museum Centre
and the Obelisk Dedicated to the Pioneer Teachers of
Albanian Education and the Albanian Language*

May 1977

In heart, mind and memory I am there, together with you, in the midst of the people, in the small square where 60 years ago, together with my friends from the "Drita" school, we played in its small yard with the ABC in our hands, repeating the lesson. Precisely in that square, a series of Leagues, democratic societies and patriotic clubs were founded, one after the other, and carried out their patriotic and cultural activity. Together with my mother's songs and stories, they were the first school of my childhood and early youth, where I learned to love and honour, wholeheartedly, this beloved Homeland, this glorious people, our beautiful language, our brilliant traditions, our ancient and progressive culture, and like all our honest and patriotic people, dedicated my life to them. Today, that little square, with the young pioneers, resembles the field of Cajup covered with trigonella, in the midst of which rises an obelisk, great and majestic, like all those brave men of the rifle and the pen, who fought in very difficult times against obscurantism, the occupation and tyranny, who followed the heroic, militant, freedom-loving traditions of our forefathers, who kept this tradition alive, carried it further and left it to us as a heritage, who opened the way for us, tempered us with patriotism, taught us to always keep the gun in our hands, to learn knowledge and strengthen the love among us.

Today, we elder people, the children of those heroic times — when we lacked both paper and pencil and could hardly find an ABC with the old letters of the alphabet of Istanbul and Salonika, brought in secretly in knapsacks under the rifles and

goatskin cloaks of Cerciz Topulli, Bajo Topulli, Mihal Grameno, etc. — recall with great honour those brave men and fiery patriots who went up and down the streets of the Gjirokastra bazaar. So deeply have they been engraved in our minds and hearts, that even now it seems as if we see them as they were: modest, hair whitened by age and troubles, but with eyes which sparkled when we, the youth and little children, saluted them with respect.

We — who bowed before Uncle Bajo Topulli, Idriz Guri, Hasan Xhiku, Hysen Hoxha, Hasan Sino, Polo Meksi, Papapano (the old priest), Veli Hashorva, and others, who were revolted when the murderer Zog assassinated our Avni, the leader of the youth, when our elder comrades left to attack Tirana — feel a great pride for those patriotic men who showed us the way with arms and pen, feel a special pride, because we have had the great privilege of honouring them at first hand, of having spoken with them and they have patted our heads, with those iron hands, with which they carried and fired the “Mauser” and the “Manlicher”.

The internal and external enemies pursued and persecuted our honoured patriots, but more than this they were unable to do. The enemies could never prevent the outburst and could not wipe out the features of our people's patriotism, the freedom-loving, militant and progressive spirit of our men, the Albanian courage and loyalty, because these lofty virtues had their roots in the centuries and had spread through the minds and hearts of all the people.

In the name of this patriotism there resounded the song of the Motherland, of Andon Zako Cajupi, for our sacred soil, brave men of Selam Musa Salaria poured out rivers of blood in the epic war of Vlora in 1920, while in Paris the pistol of the democrat revolutionary, Avni Rustemi, shot the traitor Esat Pashe Toptani through the heart for the great national cause. . .

Such were those brave men of rifle and pen, whom we commemorate and whose work we immortalize. The people preserve the memory of their patriotic efforts as the most sacred thing and our glorious Party of Labour places them on a pedestal.

On this glorious land, in this never-ending stream of patriotism and bravery, in this great school of life, were taught

and educated those sons and daughters of the people, who later, in the difficult years of the fascist occupation, united around the Albanian Communist Party and became its flesh and blood, became the glorious heroes of the Party and the people.

The beautiful and significant monument you are inaugurating today, towers over Gjirokastra as an ever blazing beacon.

In the name of the Party I thank you and congratulate you on having made reality of its word, that a magnificent obelisk would be set up to the eternal memory of the teachers and pedagogues who toiled courageously and valorously, facing imprisonment, torture and death, to open the Albanian schools in Gjirokastra, as in many other areas of Albania. With profound respect and gratitude I want to remember, on this occasion, our first teachers, honoured patriots such as Thoma Papapano, Andrea Konomi, Ilia Dilo Sheperi, Asaf Cipi, and later, a whole pleiad, with Iliaz Hoxha, Xhafo Poshi, Urani Rumbo, Rexho Muci, and others, who, following the road of Koto Hoxhi, and Pandeli Sotiri, on the territory around this hill, with great efforts opened the Albanian school "Liria" (freedom) and later the one called "Drita" (light).

Our teachers, pupils and students have always learned from their work and struggle, from the great passion and zeal of the pupils of these patriotic teachers, and have still more to learn.

The leaders of our Renaissance considered knowledge as light, because by means of knowledge, the darkness which had engulfed our people through centuries would be dispersed, because knowledge would raise high the consciousness and patriotism of the Albanians, because together with the rifle it would consolidate the independence won and would bring progress and prosperity to the Homeland. The heroic Party of the Albanian communists, who knew how to apply Marxism-Leninism, this unerring universal science, so well, so correctly, and with such courage and heroism, in close connection with the heroic, freedom-loving and progress-loving traditions of the Albanian people, opened this road and gloriously advanced on it with the heroic National Liberation War. Thus, we can see the great value of the activity of these patriotic and cultural associations, clubs and leagues, what glorious work you, our brothers and sisters, have done in setting up this new museum

centre which, apart from other things, is the best testimony that our Gjirokastra is a museum city, first of all, on account of its glorious patriotic and revolutionary history, because of the ceaseless struggle and efforts of its sons and daughters for freedom and independence, for the Albanian language and school, for democracy and for all our all-round economic and social development and progress.

Along with the other museums and cultural centres, this new centre will be a real school for education in patriotism and courage, in love for our national language and culture, in respect and profound gratitude for all the outstanding traditions and the practical revolutionary activity of our forefathers, for the present and future generations.

By acquainting themselves with these outstanding traditions of the past, the present and the future generations will also understand the political and ideological line of the Party better, will understand its philosophy better, because they will see concretely that the word and the deed of the Party is not something divorced from the glorious past of our people, on the contrary, it is a further continuation and all-round enrichment of it in content and form, with the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

I shall have the occasion to come and see our beloved Gjirokastra, which I miss so much, and we shall talk about the new museum centre which is being inaugurated, in connection with which I have so many memories from my childhood and youth, especially of the "Studenti" association of which I had the good fortune to be a member myself. . .

I take the opportunity, brothers and sisters, to send you my heartfelt congratulations over the lofty title, "Hero of Socialist Labour", which was awarded to the district of Gjirokastra a short time ago. The people of the district of Gjirokastra fully deserve this title, and I express the conviction that with your work and all-round efforts, all united tightly around the Party, you will work with even more determination, like the whole of our heroic people, to make our socialist Albania, our glorious Homeland, for which so much blood has been shed during the centuries, ever more beautiful and ever more impregnable.

*Albanian Telegraphic Agency
News Bulletin, May 25, 1977*

YOUTH GIVES LIFE AND ANIMATION TO THE COUNTRY, NEW BLOOD TO THE PARTY

*Speech at the Meeting of the Political Bureau
of the CC of the PLA (1)*

June 17, 1977

The 7th Congress of the Albanian Labour Youth Union will be held at the end of September of this year. This Congress, like all the other congresses of the youth, has great importance for the present and the future of our country. Therefore the Party must devote special attention to the youth organization and its leadership, and give intensive, well-studied and concrete assistance with the aim of making this Congress an outstanding event in the life of our people, and especially the youth.

This Congress is a very serious event, because it has the task of defining the clear, mobilizing, Marxist-Leninist line of the younger generation, which is playing an important and decisive role in the construction of socialism, the present-day development of the new life. The Albanian Labour Youth Union is playing an important role in the education of the broad masses of the youth and is preparing them so that gradually, they will enter active revolutionary life in all fields of the activity of our country.

The masses and organizations of the youth are the life-giving tissues, are like the clear lungs of a healthy body which give the Homeland life and vigour. They are those powerful organs which strengthen our Party, which provide new blood for the heart of the people and the Party. When we speak about new blood, we mean all those young men and young women of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, educated in the Marxist-Leninist spirit and ideology, with proletarian disci-

1. This meeting discussed the Report presented by the CC of the Albanian Labour Youth Union on the education of the youth, and the Theses on the Report of the 7th Congress of the Albanian Labour Youth Union.

pline, with sincerity, honesty and courage which are valuable characteristics of our people.

The mature thinking of the Party must flow among the youth, it must display the necessary seriousness in carrying out the tasks it is faced with, in finding the forms and methods it must use to carry them into effect; the creative thinking of the young men and young women who are educated by the Party in schools, factories, the army, in the countryside and elsewhere, must stand out. In this way, their rallies become really joyful as well as fruitful. All these things build up the morale, knowledge, intelligence, courage and heroism, not only of our youth, but also of the people because such a spirit characterizes also the adults, the people who work in plants and factories, the workers in the fields, the men of the pen, and all this is combined in a special harmony which cannot exist except in a country where socialism is being built, in a country which is led by a Marxist-Leninist party, such as our Party.

In all its activity, whether study, creative or productive activity, in the schools, factories and fields, in the great national and local actions which it is continually undertaking and carrying out successfully, the youth must always be imbued and tempered with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, with the teachings of our Party, which must, without fail, be made comprehensible to the youth. We must ensure that the theory and practice of our Party is understood in the course of its implementation. Practice will develop the creative thinking of young people and their ability to assimilate the Marxist-Leninist theory more easily, and to link it with life, with their everyday struggle. So from books and from practice they must succeed in gaining a profound understanding of the laws of our Marxist-Leninist theory.

In other words, it is the task of the Party, through such work, to ensure the future of the country, socialism, which the people are building, the people are defending and the people are developing and driving constantly forward.

But these people must always have their sleeves rolled up in order to lay the stones one upon the other, to bind them well together with mortar and steel and hand on this work to the younger generation one after another, so that they advance

continuously under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, which they know how to apply in practice, in the development of the socialist society. This means that they must be constantly enriching Marxism-Leninism. This is a major objective ahead of our Party. The task falls on us to think deeply about this question and to take care that the correct ideas of the Party are implanted in the hearts and minds of the younger generation.

As the Party has repeatedly stressed, both now and in the future, we must strive to ensure that our youth understand that there will always be difficulties also ahead in life, because the struggle for the complete construction of socialism, the struggle to defend the socialist Homeland and the victories achieved, cannot be crowned with success without encountering and fighting against the internal and external enemies. From our side, the class struggle must always be waged on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, so that we are neither sectarian nor opportunist.

We must know how to solve the numerous problems facing us correctly, how to distinguish the antagonistic contradictions between the people and the enemies and the non-antagonistic contradictions among the people. The resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions among the people is a great, complicated and many-sided task. Maturity and wisdom are required to solve these contradictions in favour of socialism and to the disadvantage of the enemies of the proletariat and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The non-antagonistic contradictions of which there is a wide range, in the most varied forms, at different places and times, must be observed, studied, corrected, and explained with great patience, because such is their nature. The mark of the ability of the Party and the youth is that they must know how to resolve these contradictions properly, and to achieve this, as I said above, they must work to acquire Marxist-Leninist maturity which creates that good sense, that sound judgement in people, which helps them to cope with and overcome any difficulty they may be faced with.

In this direction, the Party should bear in mind that the work with the youth is very delicate; therefore, it should be vigilant because the class enemies are not only working to sabotage everything at present, but are also striving to undermine the

future. In this direction, the youth is one of the fields of their activity. The enemies know that if they manage to influence the youth through their degenerate petty-bourgeois and decadent life, their crazy music and their evil vices, then the future of our people will decay, and the young saplings, those who will take the place of the old and have to uphold the torch of socialism will degenerate. With this in view, we must ensure that the youth understands the importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thoroughly and well, in theory and in practice, understands that the dictatorship of the proletariat is that means which has guaranteed it and the entire people all those advantages, all this happy, prosperous and cultured life, with an extensive, sound and just democracy.

We must work so that the youth does not understand the dictatorship of the proletariat superficially. The bourgeoisie is trying to describe the dictatorship of the proletariat as the enemy of a "broad democracy", that allegedly exists in the capitalist countries. In fact, in these countries there is a formal democracy, democracy for the rich only and not for the broad working masses, not for the proletariat. The dictatorship in the capitalist countries is comprised of the armed forces and other state apparatuses of compulsion of these countries, which secure the bourgeois-capitalist order, secure the assets of the monopolies against the struggle of the proletariat and the other masses of poor working people of town and countryside, who are exploited to the bone. . .

In all the plants, factories, cooperatives, schools, wherever the youth are working and studying, in all the forms and at all levels, we must know how to combine political education, moral education and ideological education in such a manner that we launch a youth into life which is not only qualified and trained technically, but pure and sound, morally, politically and ideologically, first of all.

The Party has the duty to use all methods and means to ensure that our youth which was born and has grown up in socialism, but which has taken part in this magnificent construction carried out in our country, knows about the past of our people, about the gloomy economic and political past, but also about the brilliant past of their patriotic and revolutionary traditions. Work must

go on ceaselessly in all forms so that these revolutionary and patriotic traditions of our people in all fields are deeply implanted in the hearts and minds of the young people to ensure that they live and work in the socialist reality, and also appreciate and love this reality, because it is the work of their own blood and sweat and that of our forefathers. Thus, every step forward we take becomes many times more valuable. It is vital that we make it clear to the youth that they must never forget that every furrow in this soil has been filled with the blood, sweat and bones of our courageous, freedom-loving and industrious people.

In many and different ways the Party must continuously arouse in the youth the desire to learn and educate themselves, in order that this lesson may be absorbed with the greatest zeal, persistence and seriousness; the youth must understand the great aim of learning which illuminates the personality of man and gives him a priceless weapon which must be used properly in the general interests of the people, the Homeland and socialism. It must understand that to utilize learning and knowledge to serve the general interest means that each person must serve wherever the Homeland requires it and must work with total self-denial, even up to the supreme sacrifice if the needs of the people and Homeland require it.

It is not advisable for us to always make everything a bed of roses for the youth, even when it is not a bed of roses, but we must work so that it understands that for "a bed of roses" to be always in bloom it must be kept "free of weeds", "watered" and "hoed", and that when we plant the "roses" they must be looked after. The youth should know, too, that there are all sorts of difficulties of growth for these "roses", there are diseases and weeds which can infect them and there are "atmospheric agents", which, on many occasions, if we are not careful and do not protect them, will ruin the "rose garden", weaken and wither the "roses" raised with such care. Therefore it remains our permanent duty to acquaint the youth and accustom it to difficulties so that it understands these difficulties correctly, both objectively and subjectively, and fights to overcome them with success. Precisely here lies the force of a truly Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary education for the youth.

When we say that the youth is the future of our country, the

Party should make a profound judgement of it and study it with the greatest care. This means that, it must be envisaged that young, capable, revolutionary, loyal and cultured men and women will be brought into the leading positions, the key positions of every sector and they must gradually take the work into their own hands, in close collaboration with their elders. The latter, the older cadres, have the task of teaching the young men and women, of training them as their replacements, treating them with the greatest love, warmth and care.

We must always have confidence in the rising generation, in this healthy generation which is being educated by the Party, we must strive to gradually hand over the torch to our young men and women and we can be sure that they will do their job properly. These young people will see that the word and thought of the Party are creative and unforgettable, comprise that great force which makes man capable, equips him with rare virtues at the service of the Homeland.

The struggle and powerful heartbeat of the youth is making itself felt throughout the entire life of our country.

*Albanian Telegraphic Agency
News Bulletin,
July 13, 1977*

**GREETING TO THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE
ALBANIAN TRADE UNIONS ON BEHALF OF
THE CC OF THE PLA**

June 20, 1977

Dear comrades,

It is a great joy for the Party, for its Central Committee, and for me personally, on the occasion of the 8th Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions — this outstanding political event — to send you delegates from the sectors of industry and agriculture, education and culture, from the fronts of the work and struggle for the construction of socialism, and through you, to all the working people of our country, the most ardent revolutionary greetings. The Party wishes you, comrade delegates, and the Albanian Trade Unions, this fighting organization in which the working people of our country, the builders of the new socialist society and the defenders of our glorious Homeland militate, complete success in the proceedings of your Congress.

The holding of your 8th Congress in the historic and beautiful city of Korça has a great significance. Korça is a city with an outstanding patriotic past with rich revolutionary traditions in the workers' and communist movement. It was a powerful base of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. Korça has given the Homeland outstanding patriots, who have fought with rifle and pen for freedom and independence, for knowledge and culture. The first workers' organizations as well as the first revolutionary political organization of the Albanian working class, the Communist Group of Korça, were created in this city. Here many outstanding communist militants like Ali Kelmendi, Miha Lako, Pilo Peristeri and many others have worked and struggled. These great revolutionary and patriotic traditions have always been and continue to be an inspiration to the working class and all the working people of Korça to stand in the forefront of the struggle for the construction of socialism and the progress of the

Homeland. May these traditions be a further revolutionary inspiration for the success of your Congress.

The 8th Congress of the Trade Unions and the tasks it will set, have special importance not only for your organization, but also for the whole country. It is meeting only a short time after the holding of the 7th Congress of our glorious Party, which made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the internal and international situation, which summed up the rich revolutionary experience of our Party and people in a scientific way, and put forward a great program of work for the present and future of the country.

You comrades are bringing to the Congress the great drive and enthusiasm of our heroic workers, our revolutionary youth, our courageous women, our people's intelligentsia, the state farm workers and the patriotic peasantry. You bring the total mobilization and commitment with which they are working in order to put into practice the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party.

There is not the slightest doubt that this vigorous, life-giving revolutionary spirit will characterize the proceedings of your Congress too, which, on the basis of the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party, will examine the work of the trade unions and will charge them with new, greater, more difficult and more fruitful tasks, to educate and mobilize the working people of our country on the brilliant road of socialism.

Loyally adhering to the teachings of the great Lenin, that the trade unions are schools of communism, the Party has always stressed that their main task has been and still is the communist education of the working people. The trade unions have made and are making a most valuable contribution to the general, ideological, political, cultural and professional uplift of our working people. This contribution and this untiring work is expressed in the high level of consciousness which characterizes the working class and all the working people of our country, in their courage and determination to march always ahead on the road along which they are being guided by the Party. The trade unions have great tasks for the education of the working class to ensure that it always remains unwaveringly up to its historic mission. The leading role of the working class is a major question

of principle, a decisive condition for the maintenance and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the guarantee of the successful construction of socialist society. Today there is no important problem of the Party and state on which the working class does not have its say with complete confidence and certainty. This reality has been sanctioned in the new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which guarantees the working class all its rights and recognizes its leading role in our society.

The 7th Congress of the Party laid down the task that in the future, too, the leading role of the working class must be further raised and strengthened, so that it takes an active part in governing the country, and that under the leadership of the Party, it must exercise direct control of all sectors and set the tone for the whole life of the country with its example.

The trade union organizations have a wide field for educational activity here. They also have major tasks in the ceaseless strengthening and steeling of the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, an alliance which constitutes the fundamental principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the foundation of the unity of the people around the Party.

The taking up by the working class and cooperativist peasantry of these duties to the state and society, the further development of the close, all-round ties between town and countryside, the strengthening of the cooperation between industry and agriculture, the education of the city workers with love for the countryside and work in agriculture, the implementation of the program of the Party for the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside are factors which make the alliance of the working class and peasantry even stronger and make the unity of the people around the Party even more unbreakable.

For the communist tempering of the new man, the trade unions must devote special attention to the education of the working class and the other working masses with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the teachings of our Party. It is the proletarian ideology, the revolutionary experience of the Party, which makes our workers resolute fighters for the revolution and

the construction of socialism, which extends their horizons and gives them clear perspectives and strengthens their confidence in victory. Along with this education in the revolutionary traditions of the heroic working class with its lofty proletarian virtues, knowledge of the titanic struggle which it and our whole people have waged for the construction of socialism in Albania constitutes a great mobilizing and inspiring force, an example which should be followed and enriched.

The trade unions link the Party with the masses, carry its line and directives to them, patiently explain to them the concrete tasks which it puts forward, and bring to the Party the voice of the masses and their opinions and experience of life. In the daily work and efforts for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the Party, they educate the masses to maintain a high level of revolutionary vigilance, to be irreconcilable with the internal and external enemies, with manifestations of alien bourgeois-revisionist ideologies and with any bureaucratic distortions and liberal attitudes, and wage the class struggle correctly and consistently.

The trade unions have an important role in the field of production. It is required of them that they work tirelessly and with a high level of political and ideological consciousness to ensure that everywhere, in the enterprise, in the workshop, or the brigade, the vigorous creative thought of the workers will be seething, the militant spirit will be kept high and the socialist emulation will be developed more and more powerfully. They must strive to utilize all the internal reserves and possibilities, to secure supplementary resources for the economy, more income for the state and more goods for the people.

With unprecedented enthusiasm our people have set about the work to carry out the 6th five-year plan which will raise the economy and culture of our country to a higher level, will improve the well-being of the masses and make the defence capacity of the Homeland even stronger. The results which have been achieved in all sectors up to date show that the objectives set by the Party are realistic and completely achievable. From the first year of the five-year plan, all the bread grain which the country needs was produced locally; our first pig-iron and steel

were poured; production of many articles, items of equipment and machinery which were previously imported, began; new mines were opened, extraction of minerals increased. However, the difficulties which emerge in the course of our development are by no means small and various shortcomings and deficiencies still exist. But the Party is confident that our working class and all our working people will conquer and overcome them, as they have done up until now, and will struggle in a lofty spirit of heroism and sacrifice to ensure that the plan will not be just fulfilled, but overfulfilled.

Our socialist society is vitally interested in seeing the plans for production completely fulfilled in all indices. Oil, chromium, copper, coal, iron-nickel, electric power, bread grain and milk, spare parts, the machinery which we produce ourselves, are powerful weapons in the hands of the working class and the people to strengthen the economy in the defence of the country, to increase the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the Homeland, to face up to the blockade and smash the encirclement.

In all their educational, organizational and mobilizing activity, the trade unions must bear in mind that the successful fulfilment of the great tasks of the 6th five-year plan requires work in a revolutionary spirit and with proletarian discipline, with high productivity and quality everywhere, requires that everybody fulfil his work norms, that everybody put the general interests of the state and the people above everything, that common property must be constantly defended and strengthened, and that a strict regime of saving be implemented in every field by everybody.

Our people are building socialism encircled by savage and perfidious imperialist and revisionist enemies, who are exerting continuous political, ideological, economic and military pressure on our country. They are trying to hinder the development of the economy, to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and strangle the revolution in Albania.

Our working class, all the working people of town and countryside, led by their Marxist-Leninist Party, are responding to these furious efforts by further strengthening their unity around the Party, by further increasing the high patriotism

which characterizes our people, by raising higher their mobilization at work, the spirit of courage, self-denial and determination, by carrying out their military training and preparation for the defence of the Homeland at the highest levels. They are replying to it by implementing the great revolutionary principle of self-reliance with full confidence both in the field of production and in that of defence.

These rare and revolutionary qualities, this unyielding and indomitable character of our people must be preserved and cultivated by the trade unions in all the working people, old and young, men and women. The increase in the confidence of the strength of the socialist order and that of the people's economy, the strengthening of the conviction that the skillful hands and enlightened minds of our working people can do the impossible, multiplies their strength to overcome every obstacle and surmount any difficulties.

Today, the new socialist Albania has a powerful material-technical base, a developed and stabilized economy, modern industry and advanced agriculture and an education and culture for the broad working masses. It has a working class and a people highly trained politically and ideologically, with a high educational, cultural and technical-professional level. This level is expressed in the talent of our workers, technicians and engineers who are building such complex and majestic projects as the metallurgical combine, the Fierza hydro-power station, the deep oil processing plant and many others.

However, the success achieved and the future of the economic and social development of our country require the further raising of the overall political and ideological level of the working people, the raising of their cultural level and knowledge. Trade unions must devote special care to these problems, thus working with might for the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution in all sectors, for the dissemination of the advanced experience so that our workers will become innovators in production and militants in the socialist construction.

Comrades!

Today the peoples of the world are being subjected to all-round pressure, to a permanent threat and a great danger to their

freedom and independence which comes from the aggressive, expansionist and hegemonic policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and the diabolical manoeuvres of the international bourgeoisie and the intrigues of world reaction.

At the same time, the big imperialist powers, the entire bourgeois-revisionist world, has been gripped by an all-round economic, financial, political and social crisis. Inflation, falling production, unemployment, rising prices and so on, are characteristic of this world and its decadence. The bourgeoisie and its apparatus of domination are trying to get out of this grave situation by increasing the exploitation and oppression at home and by adventures abroad. As a result, international tensions have been raised and the threat to the peoples increased.

The working class, communists and cadres, the youth and the women, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, must see their tasks in close connection with these situations. They must struggle to fulfil the plans everywhere, to strengthen the monolithic unity of the people around the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist economy and the defence of the country and to keep their revolutionary spirit and military readiness at the highest level.

Educated by the Party in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, our working class and all our working people are following closely and with great sympathy the struggle which the international proletariat is waging against the capitalist exploitation, against the crisis and the danger of fascism, against the arms race, and the preparation of the two superpowers for war. We rejoice at the successes which the peoples of the world are achieving in their efforts to gain and defend their freedom and independence, to drive out neo-colonialism and to establish their own complete sovereignty over their national assets.

While fighting resolutely as always against imperialism and social-imperialism, against the monopoly bourgeoisie, modern revisionism and reaction, the trade unions must preserve and further strengthen the internationalist solidarity of our working people with the struggle of the world's proletariat and the peoples' liberation movement and must support and back up all those who are fighting for the revolution and socialism, for freedom and democracy throughout the world.

The Central Committee of the Party expresses its belief that the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the Trade Unions and the decisions it will take will give a new impulse to their all-round activity, will add even more to the drive and mobilization at work of the working class and will raise the level of its consciousness and its revolutionary actions even higher.

Dear comrades,

Let the spirit of determination, sacrifice and heroism at work of our glorious working class be raised to a higher level on all fronts! Let the vigour and enthusiasm of the working class, the women and the youth, the working masses of town and countryside burst out powerfully to fulfil and overfulfil the plan of 1977 and the whole five-year plan to make the socialist Homeland stronger, more beautiful and more prosperous!

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC WORKING CLASS!

LONG LIVE THE ALBANIAN TRADE UNIONS!

LONG LIVE OUR PARTY!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

Central Committee of the
Party of Labour of Albania
First Secretary

Enver Hoxha

*Albanian Telegraphic Agency
News Bulletin,
June 20, 1977*

**MESSAGE OF GREETING TO THE 7th CONGRESS
OF THE ALBANIAN LABOUR YOUTH UNION
ON BEHALF OF THE CC OF THE PLA**

September 26, 1977

Dear comrades of the youth,

Today, not only the youth but our entire people, the whole of Albania, are living with your Congress. It is a great joy for me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, with a high feeling of affection for the younger generation, the beautiful future of the Homeland, to extend my warm greetings, and from my heart, to wish you full success in the holding of the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Albanian Labour Youth Union.

The Party is fully confident that you, comrade delegates, will be worthy representatives of the wonderful younger generation. To that great tribune, you will bring the powerful voice and the clear thought of the youth, their unshakable loyalty to the people, who gave birth to and brought them up, to the Party which made their life joyful and happy, to Marxism-Leninism and the communist ideals which mould and temper them as true revolutionaries. You will once again express their readiness to take upon themselves new and greater tasks in all fields of socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland, for the successful implementation of the decisions of the historic 7th Congress of the Party.

With its animated discussions and the mature decisions it will adopt, your 7th Congress will carry ahead all the mobilizing and educative work of the Youth Union, this militant organization which is so dear to the youth, the loyal auxiliary and fighting reserve of the Party.

You have assembled in the beautiful city of Elbasan, whose name is connected with the many voluntary actions of the youth, especially the building of the railways. But the fact that your

Congress is holding its proceedings precisely in one of the sectors of the metallurgical complex, this monumental work of the Party and of our heroic working class, where our glorious youth are also shedding their sweat, is of great significance. By living these moments in that industrial environment, think, comrade delegates, of the heights to which the Party has raised our beloved Homeland. Today, Albania has become a flourishing country with modern industry, advanced agriculture, with developed education and culture, with invincible defence. The beautiful dreams, for which Qemal Stafa, Vojo Kushi, Misto Mame, Margarita Tutulani, Zonja Curre, Manush Alimani, Shyqyri Ishmi, and thousands upon thousands of other martyrs laid down their young lives, have been realized under the leadership of our beloved Party.

The youth of our country have been and remain the active force of the revolution and socialist construction. They have always behaved like ardent patriots, as loyal fighters for the cause of the Party and fiery defenders of its Marxist-Leninist line.

The Party, the people and all of us, the comrades of the generation of the war, have witnessed the heroic youth of our country clashing with the enemy, defying even death, in the name of the liberation of the Homeland, because, without that war, freedom could not be won and our people's power established. We have seen them going from one voluntary action to the other, building roads and bridges, factories and industrial complexes, erecting the dams of hydro-power stations in order to give light to the country, draining marshes and taking to the hills and mountains to give the people bread, sitting at the school and university benches in order to learn and master knowledge and culture, science and technique, because new Albania longed for knowledge. On every front of struggle and work to which the Party has called the youth, they have responded with the dynamism of their age, with high enthusiasm, revolutionary drive, complete readiness, communist determination.

Every important event in the life of the Party and the country immediately finds its way into the life of the younger generation. Every program of the Party arouses new energies among the youth. The 7th Congress of the Party and its historic decisions

have strengthened their hands and given the youth inexhaustible energies, have illuminated their thinking for greater and more heroic deeds in the future, in the interest of the people and the Homeland. No doubt, the youth and their militant organization will stand as always in the frontline of the battles which await us in the future, in order to carry our victorious revolution through to the end, to make Albania still more beautiful, more prosperous and stronger.

In our socialist Homeland, the youth are surrounded by the great care of the Party and the people. The Party has opened up brilliant prospects for them, has created all the possibilities for them to work, study and live like revolutionaries. This cannot happen in the capitalist and revisionist countries, where the youth are living through a difficult situation. Imperialism and social-imperialism, the bourgeoisie and revisionism, are working to sap the strength of the youth, to throw them into general ideological and moral confusion and disarray, to urge in them inclinations towards an empty life, devoid of ideals, to throw them into anarchic and adventurous actions. Meanwhile, their propaganda does not fail to brag about the "freedom" and "personality" of man, especially of the younger generations. But what freedom and personality can be talked of in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, when masses of youth, without jobs and hope, hang about the streets, when the doors of the schools are closed to them, when the churches and numerous religious institutions choke them with their mystical and gloomy vaults, when night and day, drug addicts, tramps, thieves and murderers, who commit crimes of ever growing proportions, roam about the streets? The miserable situation of that decaying world cannot fail to lead the youth to their legitimate revolt, in their efforts for a better life, for freedom, democracy and socialism.

The Party, the working class and all the working people of our country have committed themselves more than ever to the great struggle to solve the problems of the further development of the socialist society by relying on their own efforts, to cope with the continuous pressures and blockades of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement as they have always done with success, to defend Marxism-Leninism from the attacks of the bourgeoisie

and reaction, from the attacks and distortions of old and new revisionists and opportunists. By taking part in this struggle, as a shock force and assault detachment, the younger generation embellishes its socialist and communist present and future, is educated and tempered to remain always an invincible generation of revolutionaries.

The education of the youth with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, with the ideology and teachings of our Party, is a permanent task for all the Party and the Youth Union. The communist ideals give the youth a purpose in life, in the struggle and efforts they are making under the leadership of the Party for the construction of socialist society. These ideals unite them in steel-like unity with the working class and the other masses of the working people around our Party. Imbued with the revolutionary ideology of the working class, the youth can find their bearings correctly in any situation, temper themselves to become determined fighters, loyal to the end to the Party and its line, ready to devote their energies, talents and lives to the construction of socialism, the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist Homeland. The active participation of the entire youth in the political and ideological, economic and cultural life of the country, their drive in revolutionary voluntary mass actions and undertakings, their activation in waging the class struggle against the external and internal enemies, against manifestations of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology and liberal stands towards them, against patriarchal and conservative leftovers, must serve this great purpose.

The patriotic traditions of our forefathers, the sentiments of freedom and patriotism, the love for culture and work which they fostered through their innumerable heroic deeds and sacrifices over the centuries, the lofty moral and political virtues which were further tempered and enriched in the great epic of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the years of socialism, are a great treasury, an inexhaustible source of inspiration and education for the younger generation. By acquainting themselves with these outstanding traditions, the present-day youth and the coming generations will better understand the line of the Party, its Marxist-Leninist ideology, the content of the struggle it has waged and is waging at the head of the masses of the working

people to defend the freedom and independence of Albania, the gains of the people's revolution, to build the most advanced society in the history of mankind — socialism and communism.

The 7th Congress of the Party adopted the 6th five-year plan, the fulfilment of which will strengthen the people's economy still more, will develop socialist culture to a higher degree and further strengthen the defence of the country. Without the broad involvement of the younger generation, of the young workers, cooperativists and the representatives of the new intelligentsia, the objectives the Party has set for this five-year period cannot be attained with success. As always, in the struggle for the fulfilment of the state plan, the fiery patriotism of the youth and their huge force will burst out, their revolutionary consciousness and spirit will soar higher.

With unshaken confidence in the line of the Party, with boundless love for the people, comrades of the youth, go over to the attack on all fronts of the construction of socialism, wherever the difficulties are greatest, in the countryside and wherever our socialist Homeland needs you.

The construction of socialist society calls for work and knowledge, for people with profound Marxist-Leninist understanding and with a broad horizon and culture. It is up to the younger generation, to the young workers and peasants, to the school youth and students to equip themselves with education and culture, to grasp knowledge with a will, persistence and affection, to master science, technology and our military art and always put all this in the service of the people, the Homeland and socialism.

Comrade delegates,

The Party has made the life of the younger generation, just as that of the entire people, beautiful and happy. Of course, that was not easy to do. On our road, we have met and we will meet with many difficulties and obstacles caused not only by the process of growth but also by the class enemy. The youth have never been afraid either of difficulties or enemies or the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement, nor will they ever be. Beside the pick and the book, they hold the rifle, too, firmly in their hands, ready to give the deserved answer to anyone who would

endeavour to touch, however slightly, the freedom and independence of the country, the gains of the revolution and socialism.

Developments in the world today are turbulent and fraught with great danger, because of the aggressive, expansionist and warmongering policy of the two superpowers. Our youth must follow the course of international events carefully on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, make a correct assessment of the situation, draw conclusions and tasks, know how to cope with the plots of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism wisely and skilfully, always be staunch fighters against revisionism and opportunism of every hue. Educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, they must, as always, support the just revolutionary struggle the youth are waging in the world, convinced that no matter how enormous the forces of reaction are, the future belongs to the peoples and the youth.

Experience so far has proved the decisive importance of party leadership to the fate of the people and the youth, to the present and the future of the revolution and socialism in our country. The deeper roots this understanding strikes in the consciousness of the youth, the more convinced they will become of the great role they play in socialist society, and the greater their efforts will be to develop a profound understanding of the line of the Party, to defend it selflessly and to apply it resolutely to the letter.

The Central Committee of the Party expresses its conviction that in the future, too, the organization of the Albanian Labour Youth Union will continue to play the great role incumbent on it in the organization, mobilization and education of the broad masses of the youth, that they will always be the right hand of the Party, its steel pillar.

Let the lofty figure of our youth, of the glorious younger generation of socialist Albania, shine with all its beauty, purity and heroism, under the leadership of the Party! Let the revolutionary vigour of the youth, their sound mind, their powerful hand, be felt everywhere in the factories and the fields, in schools and army units, so that our beloved Homeland may always progress and prosper!

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC YOUTH OF OUR COUNTRY!

**LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY AND MILITANT
ORGANIZATION OF THE ALBANIAN LABOUR YOUTH
UNION!**

LONG LIVE OUR GLORIOUS PARTY!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

On behalf of the
Central Committee of the
Party of Labour of Albania

Enver Hoxha

*Albanian Telegraphic Agency
News Bulletin,
September 26, 1977*

**SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE CLOSING SESSION
OF THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE ALBANIAN
LABOUR YOUTH UNION**

September 29, 1977

Dear comrades,

Before the banners are awarded, I wish to express my heartfelt love and that of the Party and of the Central Committee for the heroic youth of our country. I had a burning desire to be here amongst you. So I came, to rejoice with you, and congratulate you on this historic Congress. I followed your Congress closely. I saw you and heard you from the television. I saw you come one after another to the tribune of this Congress to express your progressive opinion and your ardent and boundless love for our glorious Party, the Albanian people and our socialist Homeland.

You inspired all of us! You made me feel twenty years younger! You, our heroic youth, have displayed great maturity and determination, courage and heroism, in following the line of the Party, in understanding and applying it correctly. Everything in your contributions pleased me. You will have to excuse me because I cannot repeat all the things that you said. But I want to repeat just one idea of a son of the working class who works here in the metallurgical combine, who in my opinion has thoroughly understood our theory, Marxism-Leninism, and links it well with practice. He said that the blast furnace cannot work and could not produce steel if we do not clean it of the slag. This responds to the main principles of Marxism-Leninism and the class struggle which must be carried out sternly against internal enemies as well as external enemies. We must clean out the slag to the end. We must sweep away the slag with our ideals, with our Marxist-Leninist ideas.

You young comrades have a beautiful life ahead of you, because both for this beautiful life which we have built, and for that of the future, which will be even more beautiful, you have

poured out your blood, you will pour out your sweat. You have given the strength of your young muscles, your creative thought, your knowledge, and the love of your ardent hearts. Here you spoke about only some of those great works which you have given the people. You were modest in what you said. But it is very good to be modest. I congratulate you, because your works are innumerable. The Party recognizes them. The people recognize them and are proud of you. You are the most beautiful blooms of the Homeland, but you are as strong as steel. Stronger than any steel that could be poured by any of the most modern combines in the world! You are of these special steels, just as the communists are of a special steel. You are unbreakable, just as the communists. You are such because you are the sons and daughters of an heroic people. You are such because the Party of Labour nurtures you every day with the immortal ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which tempers you in work and life so that you learn to link theory well with practice. And see what you have achieved with your deeds! Our whole people sees them. Our friends and our enemies see them.

The Party has entrusted you, young men and women, to manage the affairs of the state, of the economy, the army, culture and science. The Party has great confidence in you, and the fact is that hundreds of thousands of young men and women are managing the construction of socialism marvellously, that their work and high vigilance are defending the dictatorship of the proletariat. As the Central Committee stressed in the greeting that it sent you, the Party and the people have great confidence in you, and we, the older generation, will pour out our sweat shoulder to shoulder with you, and will shed our blood too if need be, and will always help you to forge ahead and take up the torch and carry it further forward. You will take care of the younger generations which will come after you, that they too should be raised like you in struggle and work, and be tempered on the glorious anvil of the Party, the party of the proletariat, that they fill its ranks with new blood so that our Party, right up to communism, will always be young, strong, indomitable and triumphant. And this is what it certainly will be.

We don't say this just to boast. Until now, we have battled through great storms and tempests and have coped with them

successfully. And in the future too, we will have to do battle with enemies. But we are not afraid. Those who think we are isolated are gravely mistaken. At no time have we been, are we or will we be isolated, because our Party advances under the triumphant, scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which has captured the hearts and the minds of the world proletariat and guides the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. This is a solid steel-like force against which the imperialists, social-imperialists, revisionists and charlatan enemies will break their heads.

Therefore dear young comrades, we must love and temper our heroic Party to which we owe all our successes. The people are indebted to it for this beautiful socialist life we have built, which we are going to make even more beautiful. But this love must be tempered, not as something sentimental, but in a Marxist-Leninist way. We must strengthen the unity within the Party. We must protect the Party from precisely what that worker from the metallurgical plant said, from the slag. And we must protect from the slag too, our youth, which is so pure, heroic, courageous, daring, so mature and so happy. The Party and the youth, united as one with the people, cannot be broken by any force in the world. This unity exists, and it will be made even stronger.

Your Congress, following the historic Seventh Congress of the Party, will give an unprecedented vigour to the social and economic development of our country. Here you have taken courageous pledges. The Party thanks you, and is convinced that you will carry them out. It will give every assistance so that you can fulfil them successfully. In the name of the Central Committee of the Party, and in my own name, I say to you: Work! Think! Create! Achieve! and, Be Vigilant!

A young girl here . . . if I am not mistaken, said that we have keen eyes on the rifle sights. And that is as it should be. While carrying out these great works, we must be armed and always on guard to protect the Homeland and the victories of socialism. We must be strategists in the construction of hydro-power stations and combines, but military strategists as well. Our people have been valiant fighters. As the Party teaches, its sons and daughters who have inherited the lofty patriotic virtues of their forefathers,

and raised them even higher in the glorious National Liberation War, and reinforced them with the Albanian people's military art, will smash any enemy, internal and external, whether the United States imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, or their lackeys. Therefore we must strengthen the country internally and must also assist in strengthening international Marxist-Leninist unity.

We can see here how proletarian internationalism, which Marxism-Leninism teaches us, is developing and growing stronger. Friends and comrades from many countries have come to this Congress. I heard them speak from this tribune with fire and love for the Albanian people, for the Party of Labour, for our youth, and we love them with our whole heart and soul. And with our whole heart and soul we shall always assist them, and collaborate with them in our common struggle for the cause of the revolution. We assure our Marxist-Leninist friends and comrades that we will fulfil our duties to the end. In the name of the Central Committee of the Party, I thank them for the great and unlimited assistance which they give us in the international arena, assistance which we prize and greatly appreciate. They are fighting in difficult conditions, and we are advancing, spreading the Marxist-Leninist ideas, fighting for socialism and the triumph of the revolution. I express my heartfelt thanks to all these delegates.

Once again I greet you comrade delegates, and through you all the young people of our country. I greet the heroic working class, and especially the workers of the metallurgical combine where this Congress is being held, which will strengthen our economy, the country and the working class itself. I greet the Albanian technicians and engineers and the Chinese technicians and engineers for working together. And I congratulate the Chinese specialists on their national celebration on the 1st of October. I greet the heroic women of our country. I greet the cooperativist peasantry. I greet the glorious people's army, the defenders of the victories of our Homeland. I greet the militant, progressive and education-loving citizens of Elbasan.

LONG LIVE THE PARTY!

LONG LIVE THE YOUTH!

Radio Tirana, September 1977

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